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TRAVELS

INTO

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK.

INTERSPERSED WITH HISTORICAL RELATIONS AND POLITICAL INQUIRIES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

By WILLIAM COXE, A.M. F.R.S.

FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE revolution of 1741 placed Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great and Catharine I. upon the throne of Ruſſia. In the following year the empreſs nominated her nephew Charles Peter Ulrick, ſon of Charles Frederick duke of Holſtein Gottorp, and of Anne, daughter of Peter the Great, ſucceſſor to the Crown. Accordingly that Prince, then only fourteen years of age, having publicly embraced the Greek religion, was appointed great-duke of Ruſſia, with the accuſtomed formalities; and aſſumed the name of Peter Feodorovitch. In 1745 he eſpouſed Sophia Auguſta princeſs of Anhalt Zerbſt, who, upon being re-baptized according to the rites of the Greek church, was called Catharine Alexiefna. She was born in 1729, and was ſixteen years of age at the time of her marriage. Their only iſſue were the preſent great-duke Paul, born 1754; and Anne, who was born in 1757, and died in 1761.

During the firſt years of their marriage the moſt perfect union ſubſiſted between them, which however was at length ſucceeded

ſucceeded on both ſides by mutual averſion and diſguſt. Peter, whoſe mind had been warped by a bad education, and who was purpoſely eſtranged from political affairs, was held by Elizabeth in a ſtate of dependence: a prey to idleneſs, and without the power of amuſing himſelf with rational occupations of literature, he gave himſelf up to the moſt trifling purſuits, or to the loweſt gratifications. He was perpetually beſet by ſpies, who occaſionally made the moſt unfavourable reports of his conduct to that empreſs, ever ſuſpicious of his intentions, and who was conſtantly alarmed with the dread of a revolution ſimilar to that which had placed her upon the throne. At Peterſburgh he had apartments in the imperial palace, and lived more in the ſtyle of a ſtate priſoner, than of a ſucceſſor to the crown. When the empreſs removed to Peterhof, he was permitted to reſide at his favourite palace of Oranienbaum, where he indulged that taſte for military purſuits which became his ſole amuſement during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign. He began by drawing out his ſervants in a body, trained them to military exerciſe, and was accuſtomed to attend regularly at the hours appointed for that purpoſe. The empreſs, conſidering this employment as an innocent amuſement, and likely to draw his attention from political intrigues, ordered a ſmall body of ſoldiers to be draughted from ſeveral regiments, who were allowed to repair to Oranienbaum, and to be quartered in that place.

Peter, eager in the purſuit of his new occupation, built in the garden a fortreſs in miniature, a few feet ſquare, by which he ſtudied practical fortification. Pleaſed with this firſt eſſay, he cauſed a larger and more regular fortreſs to be conſtructed near the palace: within was a brick houſe for himſelf, called the governor's houſe, wooden habitations for the principal officers, and barracks capable of containing 1500 ſoldiers. Every thing wore a martial appearance: the hours of morning and

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evening parade were marked by the firing of cannon; a regular guard was ſtationed; the troops were dreſſed in the German uniform, and taught, under his inſpection, the Pruſſian diſcipline. This houſe in the fortreſs was the principal ſcene of his convivial entertainments; there, when he was not employed in exerciſing his troops, or in iſſuing his military orders, he amuſed himſelf in drinking and ſmoking with the officers; and he generally puſhed the pleaſures of the table to an exceſs of intoxication.

Mean while, impatient of the conſtraint under which he was kept by the ſuſpicious Elizabeth, he occaſionally broke out into open and bitter invectives: he was often heard to ſay, that he had been called into Ruſſia in order to be confined like a ſtate priſoner, frequently expreſſed a deſire to return into Holſtein, and founded his only hopes of comfort on the death of Elizabeth. Theſe expreſſions, always carried to the empreſs, and either wantonly exaggerated, or malignantly interpreted, made ſuch an impreſſion on that princeſs, who became more and more ſuſpicious as ſhe advanced in years, that ſhe was once nearly prevailed upon, by the chancellor Beſtuchef, to exclude him from the ſucceſſion, and to declare his ſon Paul her heir, and Catharine regent, in caſe of a minority. Beſtuchef repreſented to the empreſs, that Peter had by his conduct proved himſelf unworthy of the crown; that he openly expreſſed the utmoſt contempt for the Ruſſian nation, and placed his whole confidence in foreigners; that he was guilty of the baſeſt ingratitude to her; and that ſhe would confer a ſignal ſervice upon her ſubjects, by excluding a perſon ſo diſqualified for directing the reins of empire. Elizabeth, won over by theſe arguments, and alarmed by the apprehenſions of a conſpiracy ſaid to be forming againſt her perſon, almoſt conſented to the propoſal; but, upon more ſerious reflection, ſhe perſevered in her former appointment of

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of Peter, and Beſtuchef* was diſgraced. Such was the ſituation of the court, when Elizabeth died on the 25th of December, 1761.

Upon this event, Peter III. aſſumed the reins of government, with all the joy of a perſon enlarged from a long impriſonment into a ſtate of the moſt perfect liberty. He immediately releaſed the principal ſtate-priſoners who had been confined by Elizabeth: among theſe were Biren duke of Courland †, marſhal Munich ‡, and Leſtof §; and in all ſtate affairs he conducted himſelf upon political principles diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of the late empreſs.

Elizabeth, at the time of her deceaſe, was, in conjunction with the courts of Vienna and Paris, engaged in a war with the king of Pruſſia, which promiſed a ſpeedy and glorious termination. Frederick's reſources were nearly exhauſted; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous and ſucceſsful oppoſition he had hitherto maintained, he ſeemed on the point of being overwhelmed by the number and perſeverance of his enemies. But Peter had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than, ſacrificing every other conſideration to his extravagant enthuſiaſm for the character of the Pruſſian monarch, he diſpatched an envoy to Berlin, in order to propoſe an immediate reconciliation. Frederick acceded to the propoſal without delay: and a ſuſpenſion

* Of all the principal nobles diſgraced by Elizabeth, Beſtuchef was the only one who was not recalled to court by Peter III. A ſtrong proof of his intrigues againſt that prince; who, with all his weakneſs, was of a temper exceedingly humane and forgiving. He was recalled at the acceſſion of Catharine.

† Biren was a native of Courland, the favourite and prime-miniſter of the empreſs Anne; elected, at her recommendation, duke of Courland. At her death, in 1740, he became regent during the minority of the young emperor Ivan. The ſame year he was arreſted by marſhal Munich; and Anne, mother of the emperor, proclaimed regent in his ſtead. He was firſt confined at Schluſſelburgh; and afterwards, at the acceſſion of Elizabeth, ſent to Yaroſlaf, from whence he was recalled by Peter III. He was reſtored to the duchy of Courland by Catharine II. and died at Mittau.

‡ For an account of marſhal Munich ſee the next chapter.

§ Leſtof was a ſurgeon; by birth a German: he was favourite to Elizabeth, and aſſiſted her in planning the revolution of 1742. But that ungrateful princeſs forgot this favour; and, becauſe Leſtof grew haughty and impertinent, ſhe baniſhed and detained him in priſon until ſhe died.

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of hoſtilities was ſoon concluded. Peter recalled his ſoldiers from the Auſtrian army: and in a ſhort interval ſent a reinforcement of 20,000 men to his favourite hero. Thus, within the ſpace only of a few months, Ruſſian troops joined the Pruſſian army, in order to drive from Sileſia thoſe very Auſtrians, who not long before had been brought into that province by the Ruſſian arms.

Having gratified his inclination in this treaty without conſulting his allies, or the intereſts and honour of his empire, he aimed at recovering his paternal inheritance the duchy of Sleſvick; and was determined to involve his ſubjects in an expenſive war with the king of Denmark, on account of claims conſidered by many as ill-founded and chimerical. Peter, as duke of Holſtein, formed pretenſions to that duchy, although it had been ceded by a treaty in 1732: and he had no ſooner concluded the peace with the king of Pruſſia, than he ordered an army to march into Holſtein, which he propoſed to command in perſon.

With reſpect to the interior adminiſtration of affairs, the emperor turned his attention to reform his kingdom: and envy muſt allow, that, notwithſtanding the precipitancy and imprudence with which he acted, Ruſſia dates ſeveral uſeful and important alterations from his ſhort adminiſtration. Peter annulled the ſecret council or inquiſition* of ſtate; aboliſhed many prerogatives which were oppreſſive and tyrannical: he formed a plan for correcting the abuſes in the courts of judicature, and for introducing a regular and leſs corrupt ſyſtem of juriſprudence. He freed the nobles from the obligation they were under of ſerving in the army, and permitted them

* This ſtate inquiſition was invented by Alexèy Michaelovitch: it conſiſted of a ſecret committee of confidential perſons, appointed to judge criminals ſuſpected of high treaſon. Perſons of all ranks and ſexes were liable to be arreſted upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, and tortured in the moſt dreadful manner. There was a catch word—Slovo i delo, "Words and "deeds;" which, if any one only pronounced againſt another, was ſufficient cauſe for the latter's being immediately apprehended, and ſent to the ſecret committee.

to

to travel into foreign countries, which before depended upon the arbitrary will of the ſovereign.

The emperor, during the firſt ſix weeks of his reign, propoſed ſo many beneficial regulations, and made ſo many judicious reflections upon them, that many perſons, who had formed a mean idea of his capacity, conceived themſelves miſtaken; and imagined, that, during the reign of Elizabeth, he had, from motives of policy, affected a deficiency of underſtanding. His ſubſequent conduct, however, fully proved, that he was ſtill the ſame weak and imprudent prince; that he had juſt ſenſe enough to adopt the ſchemes ſuggeſted by others, but did not poſſeſs abilities ſufficient to carry them into execution; that he had all the rage of reformation, without the judgement neceſſary to a reformer. The ſalutary regulations mentioned above were accompanied with others that were trifling, ſome that were detrimental, and ſeveral, which, although in themſelves uſeful and proper, were very imprudently propoſed in the commencement of a reign, on account of their total repugnance to the cuſtoms and genius of his people.

He irritated the clergy by ſecularizing the eſtates of the monaſteries, and aſſigning, in lieu thereof, ſome penſions far inferior in value to what the eccleſiaſtics poſſeſſed before this alteration; by forbidding the admiſſion of novices into convents before the age of thirty; and by ordering many painted images of ſaints to be removed from the churches. He baniſhed the archbiſhop of Novogorod, for refuſing to conſent to theſe ordinances; but finding this act of arbitrary power attended with general diſcontent, he was obliged to recall him. Being himſelf bred up in the Lutheran church, he had embraced the Greek religion, with a view of ſucceeding to the throne; and he was no ſooner in ſecure poſſeſſion of it, than he thought himſelf freed from the neceſſity of diſſimulation, and imprudently diſplayed his public contempt of many rites

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rites and ceremonies, regarded by his ſubjects with the moſt profound reverence. He built a Lutheran chapel in the fortreſs of Oranienbaum, was preſent at the dedication, and diſtributed with his own hand books of hymns to the German ſoldiers. This circumſtance might have paſſed unnoticed, if he had not been abſent at the conſecration of a Ruſſian church in the ſame place.

He offended the army by the preference which he publicly ſhowed to his Holſtein troops, by introducing the Pruſſian diſcipline, and appointing new uniforms to ſeveral regiments. He particularly gave umbrage to the guards, accuſtomed to reſide in the capital, by ordering two regiments to march into Pomerania, where the army againſt Denmark was aſſembled.

He affronted the nobility by appointing his uncle prince George of Holſtein generaliſſimo of the forces; and by the ſuperior confidence which he placed in foreigners. He inflamed the general odium by the public contempt he expreſſed for the Ruſſian nation, for their religion and manners. He raiſed great diſcontents, as well by engaging in the war with Denmark, a war which ſeemed totally unconnected with the intereſts of the empire, as by his boundleſs admiration of the great Frederick, with whom Ruſſia had been ſo lately and ſo long in a ſtate of moſt violent hoſtility. During the life of of Elizabeth, he expreſſed his concern to one of the foreign miniſters, that the empreſs had invited him to Ruſſia: "If," added he, "I had remained duke of Holſtein, I ſhould now "have commanded a regiment in the Pruſſian ſervice, and "have the honour of ſerving perſonally ſo great a monarch, "an honour which I eſteem far ſuperior to that of being great-"duke." After his acceſſion, he uſed publicly to call him *maſter*. Talking with one of his favourites upon this topic, he ſaid, "You know I have been a faithful ſervant to my *maſter*; "for you remember that I tranſmitted to him intelligence of "all

"all the ſecrets of the cabinet." And as the perſon, to whom this diſcourſe was addreſſed, ſeemed ſurprized at the aſſertion, and heſitated making any reply, "What are you afraid of?" returned the emperor; "the old woman is not now alive; "and ſhe cannot ſend you into Siberia." He generally wore a Pruſſian uniform, expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction at the formality of being appointed an officer in the king's ſervice; and when he ſent his miniſter to Berlin to negotiate a mutual alliance, gave him ſecret inſtructions to be careful that no perſon ſhould be promoted above him in the Pruſſian army. Upon receiving the patent which conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant-general in that ſervice, he inſtantly dreſſed himſelf in his new uniform, ordered a general diſcharge of the cannon in the fortreſs of Oranienbaum, gave a magnificent entertainment in honour of his promotion, and drank his *maſter*'s health until he became quite intoxicated.

During his ſhort reign he maintained a conſtant correſpondence with the king of Pruſſia, and always received from him the moſt ſalutary advice which the circumſtances would admit. That able monarch earneſtly diſſuaded him from the war with Denmark; but finding him obſtinately determined to engage in it, adviſed him to be firſt crowned at Moſcow with the uſual ſolemnities; and, when he marched to Holſtein, to carry in his train all the foreign miniſters, and ſuch of the Ruſſian nobles who were ſuſpected of diſaffection. Frederick alſo cautioned him againſt alienating the lands of the monaſteries, and interfering with the dreſs of the clergy; and particularly recommended to him a due attention to his conſort. Indeed, the king, whoſe penetration is equal to his valour, foreſaw the conſequences which were likely to reſult from the emperor's imprudent conduct; and ordered his embaſſador at Peterſburgh to ſhow every mark of reſpect to the empreſs.

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Had the advice of the king of Pruſſia been adopted, Peter might have avoided his unhappy deſtiny; but it was the character of that miſguided prince to purſue with unremitted obſtinacy what he had once reſolved, and to remain unconvinced by the moſt powerful arguments. Though his plans of reformation were, in many reſpects, highly ſalutary, yet the precipitancy with which he endeavoured to carry them into execution, and his impolitic defiance of popular prejudices, deſtroyed the affection of his ſubjects, fomented the intrigues of the oppoſite party, and terminated in his dethronement.

In no light did the inconſiſtency of the emperor's character manifeſt itſelf more ſtrongly than in his behaviour to his conſort. During the reign of Elizabeth, Catharine had employed her hours of leiſure in a courſe of aſſiduous ſtudy; and had particularly applied herſelf to thoſe authors who were moſt eminent for political knowledge: born with ſuperior abilities, ſhe had improved them by a conſtant habit of reflection, and had paid an unremitting attention to the cultivation of her mind. Her mild and inſinuating manners, her engaging addreſs, the graces of her perſon, her unwearied aſſiduities, and a perpetual fund of intereſting converſation, had conciliated the favour of the ſuſpicious Elizabeth, who ever treated her with complacency and affection. Even her huſband, though his general behaviour to her was contemptuous and unmannerly, occaſionally teſtified great reſpect for her ſuperior abilities, and uſually aſked her advice in every emergency. Whenever any quarrel aroſe between him and Elizabeth, Catharine was ſure to mediate between them; and Peter owed more than once a favourable reception at court to her influence. After his acceſſion, though he frequently gave public marks of deep-rooted averſion, yet he would often behave to her with that deference, which the ſuperiority of her underſtanding challenged. By an unaccountable act of imprudence, he would,

would, in a full court, inveſt her with the exterior decorations of ſovereignty; while, in the character of a colonel, he preſented to her the officers of his regiment. At the Bleſſing of the waters, when the Ruſſian monarch appears in all the pomp of majeſty, while the ceremonial part was left to the empreſs, he mounted guard as colonel, and ſaluted her with his pike. Under all theſe circumſtances, the dignity of her deportment was ſo ſtriking, that it was impoſſible not to contraſt her behaviour with the trifling levity of her huſband's conduct; and to give the preference where it was ſo evidently due. Thus this infatuated prince, at the very time he was fully determined to divorce and impriſon his wife, imprudently diſplayed to his ſubjects her capacity for empire; and, while he proclaimed her forfeiture of his own eſteem, adopted every method to ſecure to her that of the whole nation. Meanwhile the breach between them was continually widened: he would occaſionally behave to her with the moſt brutal contumely; and once, in particular, at an entertainment he gave in honour of the king of Pruſſia, he publicly affronted her to ſuch a degree, that ſhe burſt into tears, and retired from table. Thus his inſults, no leſs than his deference, equally attracted odium to himſelf, and popularity to Catharine.

It is alſo a well-known fact, that he more than once avowed an intention of arreſting both her and the great-duke, whom he propoſed to exclude from the ſucceſſion, and of marrying Elizabeth counteſs of Voronzof, his favourite miſtreſs. This alarming meaſure was ſcarcely adopted before it was immediately conveyed to Catharine, through the imprudence of the counteſs. By the ſame, or other means, as well as by the indiſcretion of Peter himſelf, the empreſs obtained early intelligence of every reſolution formed againſt her perſon. She was thus enabled to ſeize the deciſive moment of enterprize; and to ſecure her ſafety by preventing the deſigns of her huſband.

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Indeed her danger became every day more and more imminent, and the moment of her being arreſted ſeemed at hand. A brick houſe, conſiſting of eleven rooms, had been conſtructed by the emperor's order in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh *, for a perſon of very conſiderable conſequence; and had been raiſed with ſuch expedition, as to be almoſt finiſhed within the ſhort ſpace of ſix weeks. Peter had been himſelf at Schluſſelburgh to examine it; and no great depth of penetration was requiſite to perceive that it was conſtructed for the empreſs. In this important criſis a meeting of her party was held at Peterſburgh. This party was extremely ſmall, and, excepting the princeſs Daſhkof, and her particular adherents, conſiſted only of a few among the principal nobility. The moſt conſpicuous of theſe were prince Volkonſki, count Panin governor of the great-duke, and count Roſomofſki Hetman of the Ukraine. In the firſt conſultations for dethroning Peter III. it was propoſed, according to the plan of chancellor Beſtuchef, to declare the great-duke emperor, and Catharine regent during his minority; and this would have been the meaſure naturally followed in any country, wherein the order of ſucceſſion was more fixed than in Ruſſia. Nor was it but a few days before the revolution, that the inconvenience attending a minority, joined to the popularity and abilities of the empreſs, induced the inſurgents to adopt the reſolution of placing her upon the throne. At theſe meetings various plans of an inſurrection were propoſed; but it was at length unanimouſly agreed to delay their attempt until Peter's departure for Holſtein, when Catharine might ſeize the capital during his abſence, and aſcend the throne.

Although only a few perſons were engaged in this momentous enterprize, yet the deſigns of the party could not be concealed from the friends of the emperor, who earneſtly in-

* See the deſcription of this building in Vol I. Book IV. Chap. VI.

treated

treated him to inveſtigate the foundation of the report: but Peter, who had committed the care of the empreſs's perſon to thoſe in whom he placed the higheſt confidence, could never be prevailed upon to give the ſlighteſt credit to the rumour; and indeed he was ſo convinced of its falſehood, that any ſuggeſtions on that head always offended him. One of his confidents preſented him a memorial in writing, in which the names of ſeveral conſpirators were mentioned. "What, always the "old ſtory!" ſaid the emperor; "here, take back your paper; "and do not trouble me any more with ſuch idle tales." His uncle, prince George of Holſtein, ſaid, he was tired with tendering remonſtrances; and that the emperor was inſenſible to the danger of his ſituation. On the very morning of the revolution, about two o'clock, an officer, who had a great ſhare in Peter's confidence, arrived at Oranienbaum, and demanded to ſpeak with him upon an affair of the greateſt importance. Being, after ſome difficulty, admitted, he acquainted the emperor with ſeveral circumſtances, which ſeemed to indicate a conſpiracy upon the point of breaking out. But that infatuated prince was ſo far from paying the leaſt attention to the intelligence, that he ordered the officer under immediate arreſt, for preſuming to diſturb him at ſo late an hour. And yet at this very hour his dethronement was determined; which event was accelerated by a circumſtance perfectly unconnected with the intentions of the oppoſite party.

The arreſt of one of the empreſs's adherents, a lieutenant in the guards whoſe name was Paſſec, greatly alarmed her friends, as they concluded that the emperor had penetrated their deſign; and although they ſoon diſcovered that his arreſt had been occaſioned by ſome irregularity of which he had been guilty as an officer, yet the conſternation it had ſpread amongſt them haſtened the execution of their enterprize. Every moment was big with danger; and a diſcovery ſeemed inevitable if

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if the inſurrection was delayed until the empetor's departure for Holſtein.

The empreſs, however, who continued at Peterhof, ſhuddered at the advice to precipitate the hour of action; her reſolution at this awful criſis, when immediate deciſion was neceſſay, ſeemed for a moment to fail, and ſhe heſitated to aſſent; but her party at Peterſburgh, convinced that the leaſt delay would prove fatal, diſpatched, on the evening of the 27th of June, an empty carriage to Peterhof, the appointed ſignal for her approach to the capital. Catharine, whoſe greatneſs of mind ſoon recurred to ſupport her in this dreadful ſtate of agitation and ſuſpence, inſtantly eſcaped from her apartment; and, at three o'clock in the morning, having traverſed the garden alone to the place where the carriage * was waiting for her, was conveyed with all ſpeed to Peterſburgh. It had been preconcerted, that count Panin ſhould attend to the ſafety of the great-duke's perſon; that Gregory Orlof ſhould remain in the capital to win over ſome of the guards; and that count Roſomoffſki ſhould prepare his regiment for the reception of the empreſs. In conſequence of this determination, Catharine, upon her entrance into Peterſburgh, immediately repaired to the quarters of the Iſmailoffſki guards. The hour was ſo early that Roſomoffſki, the lieutenant-colonel, was not yet arrived; an alarming circumſtance, ſufficient to have diſconcerted a perſon of leſs ſpirit; but the empreſs, having diſpatched a meſſenger to him, ſummoned before her the officers and ſoldiers. A few who had been apprized by Orlof were ready: while the greateſt part, being rouſed unexpectedly from their ſlumber, made their appearance ſcarcely half dreſſed.

* This carriage was conducted by one of the empreſs's moſt confidential adherents, I believe by count Alexey Orlof; but as I found it impracticable poſitively to aſcertain the perſon, I was unwilling to advance any fact, of which I was not as perfectly convinced as the intricate nature of theſe affairs would admit.

The

The empreſs inſtantly laid before them the bad conduct of the emperor; his avowed contempt of the Ruſſians; his averſion to their cuſtoms; and his attachment to foreigners. She expoſed the dangers which awaited her own perſon, her ſon, and the principal nobility; ſhe expatiated upon the probable ſubverſion of their religion and government; and exhorted all thoſe to follow her, who were deſirous of ſaving their country, and of reſcuing her and the great-duke from certain deſtruction. Her ſpeech, occaſionally interrupted with ſighs and tears, was ſhort and pathetic; and, further enforced by the graces of her perſon, made an inſtantaneous impreſſion: the greateſt part of the ſoldiers anſwered her with loud acclamations; a few officers, indeed, at firſt ſeemed to heſitate; but the arrival of Roſomóſki quieted their apprehenſions, and the whole regiment offered to ſacrifice their lives in her cauſe. Catharine now proceeded to the church of the Virgin Mary of Caſan; being joined in her way by various bodies of guards, and by many of the principal nobility. Service was performed by the archbiſhop of Novogorod, and the empreſs took the accuſtomed oath to preſerve inviolate the privileges and religion of the Ruſſians; after which the nobles and people flocked in crowds to ſwear allegiance to the new ſovereign. At the concluſion of this ceremony ſhe repaired to the ſenate, the members of which body acknowledged her ſole empreſs. A report, induſtriouſly circulated, that Peter was killed by a fall from his horſe, proved very favourable to the ſucceſs of the revolution. The ſuite of the empreſs continually augmented. Two regiments of guards, who had ſcarcely quitted Peterſburgh in order to join the army in Pomerania, were immediately recalled; and as they were exaſperated againſt the emperor for having forced them to leave the capital, they repaired without delay to the ſtandard of the empreſs.

Even

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Even in thoſe governments where the pretorian bands, ſtationed in the capital, depoſe ſovereigns, or raiſe them to the throne, ſome plauſible pretence muſt be urged to render a revolution popular, and to engage the general voice to ratify the deed of the ſoldiery. When Elizabeth ſeized the reins of empire, the attachment of the nation to the memory of her father induced the public to applaud that tranſaction: and in this inſtance Peter III. had, by ſome part of his conduct, rendered himſelf ſo odious, and, by others, ſo contemptible to his ſubjects, that the firſt account of his dethronement, and of Catharine's acceſſion, announced in the following manifeſto, was received with univerſal joy.

" Catharine II. by the grace of God empreſs and autocratrix " of All the Ruſſias, to all our faithful ſubjects, &c.

" All the true ſons of Ruſſia have clearly ſeen the danger to " which the whole Ruſſian empire has been expoſed. Firſt, " the foundation of our orthodox Greek religion has been " ſhaken, and its tradition expoſed to total ruin, ſo that it was " to be feared that the faith, which has been eſtabliſhed in " Ruſſia from the earlieſt times, would be entirely changed, " and a foreign religion introduced. In the ſecond place, the " glory which Ruſſia had acquired at the expence of ſo much " blood, and which was carried to the greateſt height by her " victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by the peace " lately concluded with its greateſt enemy. And, laſtly, the " domeſtic regulations, which are the baſis of the country's " welfare, have been totally overturned.

" For theſe cauſes, overcome by the imminent dangers with " which our faithful ſubjects were threatened, and ſeeing how " ſincere and expreſs their deſires were on this head; we, put- " ting our truſt in the Almighty and his divine juſtice, have " aſcended the imperial throne of All the Ruſſias; and have

" received

" received a ſolemn oath of fidelity from all our faithful " ſubjects.

" Peterſburgh, June 28, O. S. 1762."

All the adherents of the emperor were arreſted; amongſt the reſt prince George of Holſtein, who had come to Peterſburgh on the 26th, under pretence of making preparations for the emperor's departure; but, in reality, to watch the oppoſite party. It was he who had given orders to arreſt Paſſec; and, by thus alarming the inſurgents, had been the innocent cauſe of haſtening the revolution, which put a period to the reign of Peter III. Not the leaſt oppoſition was made from any quarter to the proceedings of the empreſs; and, notwithſtanding the ſtreets of Peterſburgh were filled with ſoldiers, who are generally tumultuous and ungovernable in ſuch dreadful periods, yet the greateſt order and diſcipline was preſerved, and no injury was offered to any individuals *.

At ſix in the evening the empreſs, habited like a man in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn ſword in her hand, and mounted upon a grey ſteed, marched towards Peterhof, accompanied by the princeſs Daſhkof, the Hetman Roſomofſki, the Orlofs, and her principal adherents, at the head of 10,000 troops. She had ſcarcely advanced three miles, when prince Galitzin, vice-chancellor, approached her with a letter from the emperor; but, being pre-

* Several Engliſh merchants had quitted their houſes before they were apprized of the revolution; but they found no difficulty in returning through the ſoldiers poſted in different parts of the town. One gentleman in particular informed me, that he went about ſix in the morning to the Cuſtom-houſe, and was ſurpriſed to find no one there. After ſtaying ſome time, he returned home; and, in his way over the bridge of the Neva, he met a friend, who aſked him what was the matter, for every thing appeared in confuſion. He had ſcarcely finiſhed theſe words, when about 300 horſemen, with drawn ſwords in their hands, galloped acroſs the bridge. A prieſt traverſing the bridge at the ſame time in a carriage, the two Engliſhmen ſtood by the ſide of it. Some of the guards, as they paſſed by the prieſt, waved their ſwords over their heads, crying out at the ſame time, " All goes well—vivat " Catharine II." And this was the firſt intelligence theſe merchants received of the revolution.

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vailed upon to join her party, he took the oath of allegiance. At Craſnoe Cabac, a public houſe about eight miles from the capital, the prime-miniſter, count Vorontzof, made his appearance: "I come, madam," ſaid he, "from the "emperor, my maſter, to know your majeſty's intentions." Some of the by-ſtanders, informing him that the empreſs had aſcended the throne, and that he was now addreſſing himſelf to his ſovereign, concluded by proffering the oath of allegiance; but, as he nobly refuſed to deſert his maſter, his ſword was taken from him, and he was ſent a priſoner to Peterſburgh, ineffectually lamenting the fate of his unhappy ſovereign.

Craſnoe Cabac was only one miſerable hovel, into which the empreſs entered, and employed herſelf for ſome time in tearing and burning a large quantity of papers. She then flung herſelf in her clothes upon an ordinary bed, ſlept about an hour and a half, and was on horſeback by break of day. She proceeded about four miles further, to the convent of St. Sergius at Strelna, into which ſhe retired while the troops encamped around. About eight o'clock general Iſmailof arrived at Strelna with a meſſage from the emperor, whoſe ſituation was now become truly critical. But it is neceſſary to lay before our reader the train of circumſtances, which had concurred in reducing a ſovereign of ſuch unlimited authority to ſo abject a ſtate.

While the revolution was carrying on at Peterſburgh, Peter remained at Oranienbaum in thoughtleſs ſecurity. He had paſſed the evening which preceded the revolution in the fortreſs, in company with a few choſen friends, with whom he indulged, as uſual, in the pleaſures of the table; and, having puſhed them to exceſs, retired late to reſt nearly intoxicated. In the morning he dreſſed himſelf in his Pruſſian uniform, and ſet out about eleven for Peterhof, in order to celebrate the feaſt

of

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of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, expecting to meet the empreſs at dinner, and intending *, as it is reported, to put her under an arreſt. He was accompanied by Elizabeth Vorontzof, her uncle count Vorontzof, his favourite Godovitz, marſhal Munich, and many of the nobility of both ſexes, who formed his court. He had not proceeded far, before he was met by a nobleman of his party, who had found means to eſcape from Peterſburgh. This perſon immediately ſtopped the carriage, and acquainted the emperor that he wiſhed to ſpeak with him in private. Peter, however, ordered his attendants to proceed, adding, in a joking manner, "Why are you in ſuch a hurry? Turn back to "Peterhof, and there you will have time enough to ſpeak to "me." The other repeating his ſolicitations, the emperor at length alighted from his carriage, and was informed of the revolution at Peterſburgh. Yet even now his obſtinacy and his infatuation were ſo great, that he for a long time ſuſpected the truth of the intelligence; but, when an enumeration of particular circumſtances had at length awakened him to a ſenſe of his danger, he teſtified the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of amazement and horror, and was reduced almoſt to a ſtate of ſtupefaction. Recovering at length from this paroxyſm of deſpair, he diſpatched an adjutant to Oranienbaum, with orders for the garriſon to follow him immediately to Peterhof. Upon his arrival at that palace he found that the empreſs was departed, and could obtain no information of her proceedings from any perſon of her court. Marſhal Munich adviſed him to put himſelf at the head of his Holſtein troops, and to march without delay to the capital: "I will go before you," ſaid that gallant veteran, "and your majeſty's perſon ſhall not be

* If Peter really, as it is ſaid, intended to arreſt the empreſs, his former conduct is in ſome meaſure accounted for. He thought that her party was of no conſequence, and accordingly diſbelieved, or pretended to diſbelieve, all the reports of the conſpiracy, thinking to cruſh it at once by ſecuring her perſon. He put implicit confidence in the nobles whom he placed about the empreſs; and theſe very perſons were the firſt to betray him.

BOOK V.

" touched but through mine." Had this advice been followed, it would have been attended with a glorious, and perhaps a ſucceſsful event. The Holſtein troops, though ſcarcely amounting to a thouſand, were zealouſly attached to Peter, and Munich was worth a regiment: the courage of the emperor, however, deſerted him in this emergency; he continued uncertain what meaſures he ſhould adopt, fluctuated between hope and fear, formed new reſolutions one moment, and renounced them the next.

His own agitation was ſtill further increaſed by the behaviour of the principal perſons who had accompanied him from Oranienbaum, or whom he found at Peterhof. The women vented ſhrieks, and hung about the emperor in agonies of the deepeſt diſtreſs: every one clamorouſly offered advice; but the uproar was ſo great, that the advice could ſcarcely be heard, and if heard was not attended to, becauſe it was repeatedly changed. Several of the empreſs's party were preſent, and artfully fomented the general confuſion: under the ſpecious appearance of affection and zeal, they alarmed the fears of the emperor, and objected to every vigorous meaſure as inadmiſſible and dangerous. Under theſe circumſtances Peter, perplexed by ſuch diſcordant or treacherous advice, was ſoftened into cowardice by the tears of the women, and remained the whole day in a ſtate nearly bordering on diſtraction. Every moment brought him freſh cauſe of terror and diſmay. He was ſucceſſively informed that the empreſs had received the oath of allegiance from perſons of all ranks; that ſhe was miſtreſs of the capital, and was advancing towards him at the head of 10,000 troops. Diſheartened by this intelligence, he diſpatched repeated meſſengers to his conſort, with propoſals of accommodation; and, as not one of them came back, he at length determined to take refuge in Cronſtadt*; a meaſure,

* A town upon a ſmall iſland in the Gulf of Finland, where the Ruſſian navy is ſtationed. See its deſcription in the chapter on the Ruſſian navy.

which,

which, if he had earlier embraced, might probably have given a favourable turn to his affairs.

Soon after his firſt arrival at Peterhof, he had diſpatched general Lievers and prince Baratinſki to Cronſtadt, to reconnoitre the place: general Lievers was admitted without difficulty; and prince Baratinſki returned to Peterhof with the account that no news of the revolution had reached Cronſtadt; that general Lievers was preparing for his immediate reception; that his majeſty would find there an aſylum, where the empreſs's troops could not penetrate; and from whence he might, in caſe of extreme neceſſity, eſcape by ſea to his dominions in Holſtein. In conſequence of this repreſentation, the emperor ordered the Holſtein troops, who were upon their march to Peterhof, to return to Oranienbaum; but, by an unaccountable fatality, he protracted his departure till midnight. Upon his arrival at the harbour, to his inexpreſſible ſurprize and aſtoniſhment, the imperial yacht at firſt was refuſed admittance by the centinels, who objected to the lateneſs of the hour; and when it was repreſented to them that the emperor was on board, they ſtill perſiſted in their refuſal, and threatened to fire from the batteries if the veſſel did not inſtantly retire.

This reception, ſo different from what he had expected, was occaſioned by the following remarkable circumſtances. General Lievers, upon his arrival at Cronſtadt, took the command of the fortreſs; but, perceiving that the garriſon had no knowledge of the revolution, was unwilling to give any alarm, by ſpreading the report; and, as he ſhortly expected the emperor, thought it more adviſeable to wait for his appearance before he made any attempts to ſecure the fidelity of the garriſon, or iſſued any orders hoſtile to the party of the empreſs. During this interval, admiral Taliezin came to Cronſtadt: he had been diſpatched from Peterſburgh by the empreſs, who had forgotten, in the firſt hurry of the revolution, to ſecure that important

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portant fortreſs; and was now ſent, if it ſhould not prove too late*, for that purpoſe. He was admitted into the place without oppoſition: ſoon perceiving the ſituation of affairs, he inſtantly commanded the arreſt of general Lievers, which was as inſtantly obeyed; the marines and ſailors being more inclined to execute the orders of an admiral than thoſe of a general. Having ſecured the general's perſon, he announced to the garriſon the revolution at Peterſburgh: he acquainted them that the emperor was depoſed; that the army and ſenate had declared for Catharine; and that all oppoſition muſt be fruitleſs and dangerous. Theſe arguments, joined to a large quantity of ſpirituous liquors, produced the deſired effect; and Catharine was proclaimed ſole empreſs. Thus a place of ſo much importance as to have delayed, if not prevented, the final ſucceſs of the inſurrection, was ſeized by admiral Taliezin, without the leaſt oppoſition; and Peter was denied admittance.

Upon this diſappointment, his only remaining reſource was inſtantly to crowd ſail for the Gulf of Bothnia, and to ſeek an aſylum in Sweden, from whence he might eaſily penetrate to his army in Pomerania, or to his dominions in Holſtein. But it was the fate of that monarch to act no deciſive part in this important criſis: flattering himſelf with the hopes of ſtill bringing about a reconciliation with the empreſs, and prevailed upon by the cries and entreaties of the women who were on board, he returned to Oranienbaum, where he arrived about

* Conſidering the great importance of Cronſtadt, the neglect of ſecuring it ſeems hardly credible; but I was informed from very good authority, that ſo late as ten in the morning no ſtep had been taken at Peterſburgh towards getting poſſeſſion of that fortreſs. About that time a private perſon mentioned it by chance to one of the principal inſurgents, who, without delay, acquainted the empreſs. The latter, conſcious of its great importance, immediately diſpatched admiral Taliezin. It muſt have been paſt eleven before he could have ſet off from Peterſburgh: and, as he went by water, the diſtance being twenty miles, it muſt have been paſt three before he arrived at Cronſtadt. The diſtance from Peterhof to the ſame place being only ſix miles, the emperor might have arrived there long before Taliezin.

four

four in the morning. When Peter quitted that palace on the preceding morning he was dreſſed in his Pruſſian regimentals. Upon his return he was in his Ruſſian uniform: he now ſaw his error in deſpiſing the prejudices of his ſubjects, but it was too late. Little circumſtances of this kind are not unworthy of the hiſtorian's notice, as great events frequently turn upon them, and they often diſcover the true character of the principal perſonages concerned in the ſcene. CHAP. I.

Upon his return to Oranienbaum, he immediately retired alone, and in great agitation, to his houſe in the fortreſs, leaving marſhal Munich and the reſt of the court in the palace. About ten he again made his appearance in a more calm and compoſed ſtate of mind. The Holſtein guards no ſooner beheld their royal maſter, than they all * crowded round him; ſome were ſtruggling to kiſs his hand, others hung about his perſon, many knelt down, ſome even proſtrated themſelves before him; all ſhedding tears of affection, and in terms of the ſtrongeſt attachment conjured him to lead them againſt the empreſs, offering to ſtand by him to the laſt extremity, and to ſacrifice their lives in his defence. Peter was ſo much animated by theſe affecting aſſurances of zeal and fidelity, that he caught their ſpirit for a moment, and cried out, "To "arms!" but the tears of the women, his own irreſolution, and the reflection that reſiſtance would be ineffectual, ſoon damped this momentary fit of courage, and he again reconciled himſelf to ſubmiſſion.

Early in the morning he had diſpatched major-general Iſmailof, in whom he repoſed implicit confidence, to the empreſs, with a letter, offering to reſign his crown, upon condition that he ſhould be permitted to retire into Holſtein, with

* I had theſe circumſtances from a perſon who was preſent; he had tears in his eyes while he deſcribed the animated behaviour of the Holſtein troops. He ſaid he never ſaw ſo affecting a ſcene.

Elizabeth

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Elizabeth Vorontzof, and his favourite Godovitz. Iſmailof found the empreſs in the convent of Strelna, and was immediately admitted to her preſence. The great policy on the ſide of Catharine now conſiſted in getting poſſeſſion of the emperor's perſon without effuſion of blood; it was her object, therefore, to amuſe him, without driving him to deſperate meaſures; for ſhe well knew it was yet in his power to head his Holſtein troops, and to defend his life to the laſt extremity; or he might ſtill be able to make his eſcape, and involve the empire in all the horrors of a long civil war. The judicious manner in which ſhe conducted this delicate affair, ſhews her no leſs able in the arts of negociation, than in the ſpirit of enterprize.

She calmly repreſented to Iſmailof the madneſs of any attempt to oppoſe her, now in full poſſeſſion of ſovereign authority; ſhe pointed to her troops, who were poſted in large bodies upon the adjacent grounds; adding, that Peter's reſiſtance would only draw on himſelf and his party the vengeance of an enraged army; ſhe propoſed, therefore, that the emperor ſhould himſelf repair to Peterhof, where the terms of his abdication ſhould be adjuſted. Iſmailof, now finding the tide of ſucceſs turned on the ſide of the empreſs, and perceiving the clergy, the army, and the principal nobles, engaged in her cauſe, was convinced that nothing was left to Peter but ſubmiſſion. Seduced by the inſinuating eloquence and engaging addreſs of the empreſs, he undertook to perſuade his unhappy maſter, by immediate ſubmiſſion, to ſave an effuſion of blood, which could be productive of no effectual advantage to his cauſe. He came to Oranienbaum between ten and eleven, and found the emperor in the palace with Munich, Elizabeth Vorontzof, Godovitz, and others, anxiouſly expecting his arrival. Having retired into another apartment, the reſult of their conference was, that in leſs than an hour the emperor,

emperor, with Elizabeth Vorontzof, Godovitz, and Iſmailof, entered the carriage, in which the latter had returned to Oranienbaum; and, unaccompanied by guards or attendants, drove to Peterhof, where he arrived about half paſt twelve, and was immediately ſeparated from his companions. The empreſs declined a perſonal conference; but ſent count Panin, who was admitted alone. What paſſed during this awful interview between that nobleman and his depoſed ſovereign, is not, nor probably ever will be, diſcloſed to the public; but nothing can convey a ſtronger picture of the emperor's weakneſs and puſillanimity, than the following abdication in form, which was the reſult of their converſation *.

"During the ſhort period which I have reigned over the "Ruſſian empire, I have found, from experience, that my "abilities are inſufficient to ſupport ſo great a burden; and "that I am not capable of directing the Ruſſian empire in any "way, and much leſs with a deſpotic power. I alſo acknow-"ledge that I have been the cauſe of all the interior troubles, "which, had they continued much longer, would have over-"turned the empire, and have covered me with eternal diſ-"grace. Having ſeriouſly weighed theſe circumſtances, I de-"clare, without conſtraint, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, "to the Ruſſian empire, and to the whole world, that I for "ever renounce the government of the ſaid empire, never "deſiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an abſolute ſo-"vereign, or under any other form of government. I declare "alſo, that I will never endeavour to reaſſume the govern-"ment. As a pledge of this, I ſwear ſincerely before God, "and all the world, to this preſent renunciation, written and "ſigned with my own hand. PETER."

June 29, O. S. 1762.

* I have ſufficient reaſon to believe that this abdication was made at Peterhof: if, however, as ſome perſons with leſs probability have aſſerted, he ſigned it at Oranienbaum before he was in the hands of his enemies, his puſillanimity admits of no palliation.

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Having ſigned this abdication, he was conveyed in the evening a priſoner to Ropſcha, a ſmall imperial palace twenty miles from Peterhof, and the empreſs returned about the ſame time to Peterſburgh. About ſeven ſhe made her triumphant entry on horſeback, amidſt continued huzzas; the ſtreets were filled with a prodigious concourſe of people, who were drawn up in lines, and kiſſed her hands, which ſhe held out to them as ſhe paſſed along. A great number of prieſts were aſſembled upon this occaſion about the avenues to the palace: as ſhe rode through their ranks, ſhe ſtooped down to ſalute the cheeks of the principal clergy, while they were kiſſing her hand; a mode of ſalutation in Ruſſia, expreſſive of the higheſt deference.

The firſt hurry of the revolution was no ſooner paſt, and the ſpirit of revolt had ſcarce time to ſubſide, before many repented of having deſerted their ſovereign. The populace, always prone to change, began to pity their dethroned monarch, and loſt ſight of his defects in the contemplation of his calamity; they regarded him no longer in the light of a miſguided ruler, but only as an unfortunate prince, driven from the height of power to the moſt abject ſtate, and ſubject to the horrors of perpetual impriſonment. Peter, notwithſtanding his violence and incapacity, poſſeſſed ſeveral qualifications of a popular nature, and was greatly beloved by thoſe who had acceſs to his perſon. During the empreſs's march to Peterhof, ſeveral private ſoldiers manifeſted ſtrong ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction; ſome openly murmured at being led againſt their ſovereign; and it has ſince been known, that had Peter, upon the firſt news of the revolution, made his appearance in perſon, many of the troops would have deſerted to his ſtandard. This ſpirit of diſcontent was obſerved, and ſecretly fomented by the partizans of the emperor; the tide of popularity was even turning in his favour, and a new riſing was hourly expected:

pected: at this criſis Peter's deceaſe reſtored tranquillity to the diſtracted empire, and delivered Ruſſia from the impending horrors of a civil war. This event happened at Ropſcha on the 6th of July, O. S. on the ſeventh day of his confinement, and in the 34th year of his age. His body was brought to the convent of St. Alexander Nevſki at Peterſburgh, and there laid in ſtate, where perſons of all ranks were admitted, according to the cuſtom of Ruſſia, to kiſs the hand of the deceaſed. His remains were then buried in the church of the convent, and the place of the ſepulchre was diſtinguiſhed with neither tomb nor inſcription. CHAP. I.

The death of Peter was not followed by any of thoſe tragical ſcenes which had hitherto uniformly diſgraced the revolutions in Ruſſia: not one of the nobles was ſent into Siberia; there were no public or private executions; even the perſonal enemies of the empreſs were forgiven. Marſhal Munich had given the emperor the beſt advice, and had offered to ſupport him at the hazard of his own perſon. Catharine is ſaid to have mildly inquired the motives which had incited in him ſuch an active ſpirit of oppoſition to her intereſts. "I "was at that period," replied Munich with a ſpirit which twenty years impriſonment could not ſubdue, "engaged by "the ſtrongeſt ties of duty and gratitude to exert myſelf in "behalf of my late maſter: your majeſty is now my ſove-"reign, and will experience the ſame fidelity." The empreſs, ſtruck with the magnanimity of his anſwer, with equal greatneſs of mind repoſed in him the moſt unbounded confidence, which was juſtified by his ſubſequent conduct. As ſoon as the danger of a new inſurrection was diſpelled, count Vorontzof was releaſed from priſon, and afterwards employed. Elizabeth Vorontzof experienced from the empreſs no expreſſion of either jealouſy or reſentment; her perſon was untouched, and ſhe even retained, undiminiſhed, all the fruits of Peter's bounty.

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Catharine, with a magnanimity peculiar to her character, forgave the indignities which ſhe had received at her ſuggeſtion, and even her preſumption in aſpiring to a participation of the crown: ſhe was permitted to eſpouſe a private perſon, and ſtill remains at Peterſburgh a living monument of the empreſs's unparalleled lenity. Godovitz, the emperor's favourite, and who was particularly obnoxious to the empreſs, was allowed to retire to his native country; and the Holſtein guards, who had offered, nay, even importuned the emperor to conduct them againſt his conſort, were not treated with the leaſt degree of ſeverity; they who choſe to inliſt were incorporated in the different regiments; and the others withdrew themſelves unmoleſted from Ruſſia. Prince George of Holſtein, uncle to Peter, and who was not unacquainted with the deſign of arreſting the empreſs, was detained a priſoner in his own palace during the progreſs of the revolution; but that event had no ſooner taken place, than he was promoted to the rank of field-marſhal, and appointed adminiſtrator of Holſtein during the minority of the great-duke.

Catharine was in the 34th year of her age when ſhe aſcended the throne; and the ſucceſs of this revolution was no leſs owing to her own perſonal ſpirit and abilities, than to the zeal of her party and the popularity of her cauſe.

CHAP. II.

Family and birth of Ivan.—*Appointed great-duke of* Ruſſia.—*Declared emperor upon the death of* Anne.—*Depoſed by* Elizabeth.—*Impriſoned at* Riga, Dunamund, Oranienburgh, *and laſtly at* Schluſſelburgh.—*Deſcription of his apartment.—Method of life.—Intellects.—Ferocity*, &c.—*Viſited by* Peter III.—*Account of that interview.—Removed to* Kexholm.—*Brought back to* Schluſſelburgh.—*Attempt of* Mirovitch *in his favour.—Death of* Ivan.—*Trial and execution of* Mirovitch.—*Puniſhment of his accomplices.—Suſpicion of a colluſion between the court and* Mirovitch.—*Proofs of thoſe ſuſpicions.—Refuted.—Account of* Ivan's *parents and family.—Biographical anecdotes of count* Munich.

CHAP. II.

IVAN, the unfortunate ſubject of the preſent narrative, was lineally deſcended, on the female ſide, from the tzar Ivan Alexievitch, elder brother of Peter the Great*; and was ſon,

* Ivan Alexievitch.

Catharine. — Anne, Empreſs of Ruſſia.

Anne, married to Anthony Ulrick, Prince of Brunſwick.

Ivan.

See Geneal. Table of the Houſe of Romanof, in Vol. I. Book III. at the end of Chap. III.

of

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of Anne of Mecklenburgh, and of Anthony Ulrick prince of Brunſwick: he was born on the 4th of Auguſt, 1740, created great-duke by his aunt the empreſs Anne; and, at her demiſe, on the 28th of October, in the ſame year, ſucceeded to the throne, from which he was depoſed by Elizabeth on the 6th of December, 1741.

The ſoldiers, who were ſent to arreſt the young emperor, were ordered to ſteal ſoftly into his apartments; and, if he was aſleep, not to diſturb him. Finding him ſlumbering by the ſide of his nurſe, they ſtood round the cradle in reſpectful ſilence, at leaſt an hour before the prince opened his eyes: then all the ſoldiers, at once endeavouring to ſeize him, and diſputing who ſhould carry him, the child was terrified, and cried; they immediately deſiſted, and permitted the nurſe to approach, who covered him with a cloak, and was conveyed with him in a ſledge to the palace of Elizabeth. That princeſs took the child, kiſſed it, and, while it was yet in her arms, a body of ſoldiers paſſing by the palace, ſhouted, "Long live "Elizabeth!" The infant, pleaſed with the acclamations, ſtretched out his little hand, and, ſmiling, tried to imitate the ſhouts of the ſoldiers; upon which Elizabeth exclaimed, "Innocent creature, thou perceiveſt not that thou art endea- "vouring to ſpeak againſt thyſelf*."

It is difficult to trace Ivan diſtinctly from the time of his depoſition to his impriſonment at Schluſſelburgh; but the following account ſeems the moſt probable. He and his parents were certainly firſt carried to the fortreſs of Riga, where they were confined about a year and an half: from thence they were removed to Dunamund†, and afterwards to Oranienburgh, a ſmall town in the province of Voronetz. Here they remained at leaſt two years under the care of baron Korf, who behaved to his priſoners with great humanity and indul-

* Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. vol. I. p. 374. † Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 315.

gence.

gence. I could not learn exactly how long they continued at Oranienburgh, nor whether Ivan was transferred with his parents to Kolmogori; at which place his mother Anne certainly died in childbed in 1746. Buſching ſays, that when his parents were ſent to Kolmogori, Ivan, who was then in the eighth year of his age, was left at Oranienburgh; and that ſome time afterwards a certain monk contrived to releaſe him from priſon, and to convey him as far as Smolenſko, where they were ſurprized and taken *. Soon after this event, he was probably carried to the convent of Valdai, ſituated upon an iſland in the lake of the ſame name, which lies at a little diſtance from the high road between Peterſburgh and Moſcow. The time of his confinement in this convent, and his ſituation until his removal to Schluſſelburgh, are circumſtances which I was not able to aſcertain. But it cannot appear ſurprizing, if there ſhould be ſome obſcurity in the hiſtory of a ſtate-priſoner ſecretly confined from his earlieſt infancy.

During the laſt eight years of his life, Ivan was undoubtedly impriſoned in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh; whither he was firſt brought in 1756, in the ſixteenth year of his age. The ſame year he was ſecretly conveyed, by count Peter Shuvalof, grand-maſter of the artillery, to the houſe of his brother count Ivan Shuvalof at Peterſburgh; where Elizabeth ſaw and ſpoke to him without making herſelf known: it is ſaid that ſhe burſt into tears at this interview. On the enſuing day the prince was reconducted to Schluſſelburgh.

* Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. VI. p. 529. There is an inaccuracy in Buſching's account, probably only a falſe print, viz. that he was in the eighth year of his age when his parents were ſent to Kolmogori; for in March, 1746, the time of Anne's death, he was only ſix years and ſeven months old: and ſome time muſt be allowed for conveying his parents from Oranienburgh to Kolmogori. Buſching was informed, by baron Korf, that they were all confined together at Oranienburgh: and I was told by an Engliſh gentleman, who had been at Kolmogori, that Ivan had been there impriſoned for a ſhort time; but as I could not learn from what authority he had derived his information, I cannot venture to adopt it.

When

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When I viſited Schluſſelburgh, I was admitted into the fortreſs, but was not ſuffered to enter the room in which he had been confined; yet as I examined one that was ſimilar, and have converſed with ſeveral perſons who have ſeen it, I am able to give the following deſcription of it. It is ſituated towards the fartheſt extremity of the corridore, deſcribed on a former occaſion *. It is about 25 feet ſquare, and vaulted: the walls are of bare ſtone, and the floor is of brick. The window was not cloſed, like thoſe of the adjacent cells, but glazed: and the glaſs was covered with a kind of plaiſter, which, while it admitted the light, could not be ſeen through. There was no other furniture than a truckle-bed, a table, and ſome chairs. In this diſmal apartment he was immured during the ſpace of eight years, excepting when he was occaſionally conducted to the interior fortreſs, which communicated at top with the air; but in the enjoyment of which the apprehenſions of his eſcape rendered it impolitic to gratify him, as often as humanity could have wiſhed.

With reſpect to his intellects, as he had been impriſoned from the ſecond year of his age, his ideas of courſe were very few, and his knowledge exceedingly limited: and, though not abſolutely an ideot, he diſcovered occaſional ſymptoms of inſanity. He could neither read nor write; he ſpoke the Ruſſian language, and knew a few German words, which he muſt have learned when almoſt a child from his parents: he was rather inarticulate in his ſpeech, and, when agitated, occaſionally ſtammered. He was not ignorant from whom he was deſcended, and that he had once been emperor. He was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the hopes of regaining his liberty, and of reaſcending the throne; uſed frequently to allude to his future behaviour when that event ſhould take place; and

* Vol. I. Book IV. Chap. VI.

whenever

whenever he was rouſed by paſſion, would threaten to puniſh thoſe who provoked him. He was by nature exceedingly choleric and ferocious; and would rage almoſt to madneſs whenever he was intoxicated: for ſome time he was improperly indulged in every article for his table; he was ſerved in plate, had a great variety of diſhes, and all kinds of wine. But afterwards, in order to prevent his frequent exceſſes, theſe luxuries were judiciouſly diminiſhed, though his maintenance was ſtill amply provided for by the allowance of £ 20 per month.

He had a great number of clothes, which afforded him a conſtant ſource of amuſement; he would often change his dreſs twenty times in the day, and walk about his room admiring himſelf with puerile ſatisfaction. In regard to his religious opinions, he had ſome faint knowledge of the Greek perſuaſion; and uſed frequently to pray in the moſt fervent manner. Once a year he was accuſtomed to confeſs, and receive the ſacrament according to the ceremony of that church; and often boaſted of obtaining revelations from the angel Gabriel.

He certainly knew that the empreſs Elizabeth was ſeated upon that throne from which he had been depoſed: but it does not appear that he was ever made acquainted with her death, and the ſubſequent changes. Peter III. ſoon after his acceſſion, came himſelf to Schluſſelburgh, accompanied by counts Nariſhkin and Volkof, and baron Korf. Being immediately received within the fortreſs, they demanded to ſee Ivan; but the governor refuſed to admit them into the prince's apartment, on account of the ſtrictneſs of his orders, until Nariſhkin told him, that the emperor himſelf was preſent. Peter for a ſhort time remained concealed, while his nobles and attendants converſed with Ivan; but he ſoon joined the company, drank a diſh of coffee, and entered into diſcourſe with the prince.

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I endeavoured to collect ſome intelligence of what paſſed at this conference; but the information I received, even from perſons of good authority, was extremely various and contradictory. Inſtead, therefore, of retailing uncertain and diſcordant anecdotes, I ſhall ſubmit to the reader the following tranſlation from Buſching's account of this interview, which muſt be deemed authentic, becauſe he received it from general Korf, who was preſent during the whole time.

" In March 1762, Peter III. deſirous of ſeeing Ivan, ſet off " early in the morning for Schluſſelburgh, accompanied by " baron Korf, count Alexander Nariſhkin, and count Volkof. " He travelled with poſt-horſes, and kept his intention ſo ſe- " cret, that it was noon before his uncle prince George of " Holſtein was made acquainted with his departure. Peter aſ- " ſumed the character of an officer; and, having ſhewed the " governor of Schluſſelburgh an order for admiſſion, previ- " ouſly ſigned by himſelf, went, with his attendants, to the " apartment of prince Ivan, which he found a wretched place, " and provided with the meaneſt furniture. His clothes were " clean and in good condition, but extremely coarſe; and he " appeared remarkably neat in his perſon, as well as in his " linen. He had the appearance of an ideot, and ſpoke in a " confuſed manner. One moment he affirmed that he was " the emperor Ivan; and the next, that the ſoul of that " emperor, who was no longer alive, had migrated in- " to his body. Upon being aſked what induced him to ima- " gine that he was an emperor; he replied, ' that he had " learnt it from his parents and the ſoldiers who guarded " him.' Being queſtioned whether he recollected his parents, " he anſwered in the affirmative; and then bitterly la- " mented, that the empreſs Elizabeth had always kept them, " as well as himſelf, in a wretched ſtate; adding, he well re- " membered that he and they were formerly under the care

" of

" of an officer, who was the only perſon that had ever ſhewed " them any tenderneſs or humanity: general Korf inſtantly " demanding, whether he ſtill ſhould know this officer; 'I " could not recollect him at preſent,' anſwered Ivan, 'as it is " ſo long ago ſince I ſaw him, and I was then a child; but his " name I have not forgotten, it is Korf.' The general was " greatly affected. Ivan had heard of the great-duke * and " his wife: and, as he repeatedly ſaid that he hoped again to " be emperor, he was aſked in what manner he would then " behave to them; 'I would have them both executed,' re- " turned the prince. Peter was much ſhocked: he deter- " mined, however †, to order the conſtructing of a ſmall " houſe in the fortreſs for the unhappy priſoner, and propoſed " to treat him in a more humane manner. Prince George of " Holſtein even adviſed Peter to reſtore the prince to his li- " berty, to ſend him into Germany, together with his father, " Anthony Ulrick, and the reſt of his family, and to allow " them a handſome penſion: but the emperor did not ſeem to " approve the advice ‡."

To this curious account I am enabled to add the following authentic anecdote. Peter had not been long with Ivan before he became diſpirited and ſuddenly indiſpoſed; he accordingly quitted the room, and went out into the air. " I feel myſelf " now," ſaid he to one of his ſuite, " very much refreſhed; " I was, indeed, exceedingly ſhocked, and very near faint- " ing." He then returned into the apartment, and renewed his converſation with Ivan, with whom he ſtaid near an hour.

* Namely, Peter and Catharine.

† We may collect from theſe expreſſions, that Buſching ſuppoſed the houſe within the ſmall fortreſs to have been conſtructed for Ivan, and not for the empreſs; but he was probably unacquainted with the circumſtance, that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June; this removal was perhaps occaſioned by the deſign which the emperor had formed, of confining the empreſs in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh.

‡ See Geſchichte des Ruſſiſchen Kayſers Johann des Dritten. Buſ. H. M. VI. p. 530. & ſeq.

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Peter, it is ſaid, had even propoſed to releaſe Ivan from his impriſonment: and as he had conceived an idea that, perhaps, policy had induced the prince to counterfeit ideotiſm, for the purpoſe of diſcovering the truth, he ordered a confidential perſon to remain for ſome days in Ivan's apartment. This perſon ſoon perceived that his behaviour was not the effect of ſimulation, but that he at times talked wildly, as if he was really diſordered in his underſtanding: he would frequently with raptures aſſert, that the angel Gabriel appeared to him in viſions, and brought revelations from heaven. Being aſked by this perſon, why he imagined that he had once been emperor; he replied, "I was told ſo by one of my guards, "who looking ſtedfaſtly at me, burſt ſuddenly into tears; and "upon my demanding the reaſon, informed me, that he, as "well as the whole nation, had formerly taken the oath of "allegiance to me as emperor; and he then gave me the ac-"count of my dethronement, and of the acceſſion of Eliza-"beth."*

Peter, now fully convinced that Ivan's underſtanding was diſordered, ſoon relinquiſhed all thoughts of releaſing him; and ſoon afterwards ordered him to be ſent by water to Kexholm, a fortreſs ſituated in a ſmall iſland, where the Voxen flows into the lake of Ladoga. He was conveyed acroſs that lake in a ſmall open boat; and, as the wind was boiſterous, and the water extremely agitated, he at firſt trembled with fear; but, in a ſhort time, became compoſed, although there aroſe a violent ſtorm, which the watermen could ſcarcely weather. The waves, indeed, ran ſo high, that the boat was overſet near the ſhore; and the prince, with the greateſt difficulty, was brought to land. In the month of Auguſt, Ivan was again removed from the fortreſs of Kexholm to that of Schluſſelburgh, by order of the empreſs Catharine, who had in this interval ſucceeded to the throne. He was conducted in a carriage, which

which breaking down near the village of Schluſſelburgh, he was led through the place covered with a cloak, and thus ſettled again in his former habitation.

This unhappy ſtate-priſoner was detained in the ſame fortreſs until the time of his deceaſe, which happened in the morning of the 5th* of July, 1764. The plain account of this melancholy event is as follows. Two officers, a captain Vlaſief and lieutenant Tchekin, were appointed to guard Ivan, and for that purpoſe were ſtationed in his apartment. In the fortreſs was a company, conſiſting of near an hundred ſoldiers; of whom about eight or ten ſtood centinel in the corridore cloſe to the door of his room, and within the paſſage leading to it; the reſt were poſted in the guard-houſe, at the gate, and in different parts of the fortreſs, under the command of the governor. At that time the regiment of Smolenſko was quartered in the village of Schluſſelburgh; and every week an hundred men relieved the guard in the fortreſs. Vaſſili Mirovitch, an under-lieutenant in this regiment, was the perſon who, by attempting to releaſe Ivan, was the cauſe of his death. This perſon was grandſon of the rebel of the ſame name, who followed Mazeppa Hetman of the Coſſacs, when the latter revolted from Peter the Great, and joined Charles XII. in his ill-concerted expedition into the Ukraine. Mirovitch had applied to the empreſs to reſtore the eſtates of his grandfather, which had been confiſcated after the battle of Pultava; but having met with a poſitive refuſal, as well in this as in other applications, he formed the deſperate reſolution of delivering Ivan, in order to place that prince upon the throne which he had once filled, and to raiſe himſelf to a rank and ſtation equal to that of the firſt ſubject in the empire. But, as he was a perſon without fortune or connexions, the means he was enabled to adopt were far from being adequate to the boldneſs of the enterprize.

* O. S. 16th N. S.

Having

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Having formed this daring reſolution, he, a few months before the purpoſed time of execution, communicated it at Caſan to a lieutenant in the regiment of Veliki-Luki, whoſe name was Apollon Uſhakof. Theſe two aſſociates repaired to the church of the Virgin Mary, where they took an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity upon the altar, and, mixing fanaticiſm with treaſon, invoked the Almighty to aſſiſt and ſanctify their deſigns. They alſo joined in drawing up a manifeſto, which they propoſed to diſtribute as ſoon as Ivan ſhould be ſet at liberty. The execution of this enterprize was delayed until the ſummer, when it was expected that the empreſs would be abſent from the capital upon an expedition into Livonia. Soon afterwards Mirovitch joined his regiment, which was quartered at Schluſſelburgh; but his confederate Uſhakof was accidentally drowned, on the 29th of March, in his way to Smolenſko.

Mirovitch, deprived of his aſſociate, does not appear to have found any other perſon in whom he could repoſe equal confidence. He ſounded, however, a ſervant of the court, whoſe name was Tikon Caſatkin, and artfully endeavoured to infuſe, by degrees, into his mind rebellious principles, in order to make him, at a proper ſeaſon, the inſtrument of his purpoſes. But he was ſomewhat more explicit with Simeon Tchevaridſef, lieutenant in the corps of artillery; to whom he communicated, firſt, by dark and obſcure hints, and then in ſomewhat plainer terms, a deſign of releaſing Ivan; and of conducting him to that corps ſtationed at Peterſburgh: but he mentioned it merely as a project, without fixing any preciſe time for attempting it, or naming himſelf as the perſon who would dare to undertake it.

With ſo little management, and no precaution in caſe of failure, did Mirovitch reſolve to carry his deſign into execution; but he was upon duty during a whole week in the fortreſs without finding any favourable opportunity. He had obſerved,

obſerved, however, and ſet a private mark on the door of Ivan's apartment, and had ſhewn it to his friend Simeon Tchevaridſef, who came from Peterſburgh to viſit him. At the cloſe of the week his turn of courſe expired; but he ſolicited and obtained, under ſome ſpecious pretence, the permiſſion of being continued upon guard on the evening of the 4th of July *. Probably he conſidered the ſoldiers, who were then upon duty, as more eaſy to be corrupted than thoſe who had juſt been relieved. It does not, however, appear that he had previouſly gained more than one common ſoldier, whoſe name was Jacob Piſkof: and it was not till about ten at night that he firſt hinted his intention to three corporals and two ſoldiers, who, though they all at firſt poſitively refuſed to join him, yet, by the aſſiſtance of Piſkof, and by his own artful perſuaſions, were at length prevailed upon to favour his deſigns. But although they conſented to aſſiſt him, yet they could not be induced to act with that determined reſolution which the circumſtances required. On the contrary, they continued wavering, and were ſo ſtaggered with the danger, that they propoſed to defer the enterprize until a more convenient opportunity ſhould occur. Mirovitch at firſt artfully appeared to yield to their fears; but between one and two in the morning he ſuddenly renewed his ſolicitations, when, incapable of reſiſting his plauſible manner, the diſtribution he made among them of ſome money, the promiſe of more, the expectation of great promotion, and his authority, as commanding officer, they were precipitately hurried on to engage heartily in the project, and to ſecond his attempt.

Having thus ſecured the aſſiſtance of ſix perſons, he loſt not a moment in ſummoning about forty of the ſoldiers ſtationed in that part of the fortreſs, ſome of whom were aſleep and others upon guard, and, under pretence of an order from the

* 15th, O. S.

empreſs,

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empreſs, he commanded them to load their pieces with ball, and to follow him: then, before they could be at all aware of his intention, he led them towards the apartment of Ivan. In his way he was met by Berednikof the governor. This officer had already retired to reſt, but being alarmed by one of the guards, had haſtily dreſſed himſelf; and accoſting Mirovitch, commanded him to declare the cauſe of the diſturbance. Mirovitch returned no anſwer; but, ſtriking him upon the forehead with the but-end of his muſket, delivered him a priſoner to ſome of his party; and with the remainder advanced to a wooden gate which guarded the paſſage leading to the prince's apartment. He demanded admittance; but meeting with a poſitive refuſal from the centinels, he ordered his followers to diſcharge their muſkets, and to force their way: they obeyed, and the centinels returned the fire. The ſoldiers, deceived by Mirovitch, had expected no oppoſition: ſurprized, therefore, and alarmed at the reſiſtance of the centinels, they retired with precipitation, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their leader, and inſiſted upon ſeeing the order of the empreſs. Mirovitch immediately read to them a paper *, which he had forged; at the bottom of which he had counterfeited the imperial ſignature: and as it was no difficult matter to deceive ſuch ignorant men, few of whom could read, he prevailed upon them by entreaties, promiſes, and threats, inſtantly to make a ſecond attempt. During this ſhort interval, a cannon had been drawn from one of the baſtions, which Mirovitch

* It is difficult, at this diſtance of time, to find out the contents of this paper; but it appeared, from the examination of Mirovitch and his aſſociates, to have been obſcurely drawn up. As he aſſerted that what he read to them iſſued from the empreſs, he could not lay open his deſign of releaſing Ivan; and probably the paper contained only an order to take the prince from under the cuſtody of Vlaſief and Tchekin, who might be repreſented as betraying their truſt: this ſuppoſition is confirmed by the violent abuſe which the ſoldiers, upon their return to make the ſecond attack, threw out againſt theſe two officers. Nikita Lebedef, the next in command to Mirovitch, was the only perſon who perceived that the order was counterfeited; and, though he did not aſſiſt Mirovitch, he was afterwards puniſhed for not having diſcovered the impoſition to the miſguided ſoldiers.

himſelf

himſelf pointed againſt the paſſage leading to the prince's apartment, when the door was ſuddenly opened, and the whole party ſuffered to enter without oppoſition. CHAP. II.

Upon the firſt attempt of Mirovitch, Vlaſief and Tchekin had diſperſed the aſſailants by ordering the centinels to fire; but when they returned, and Mirovitch, with his cannon pointed, ſeemed reſolutely determined to force his way, the officers, finding no poſſibility of further reſiſtance, attacked with their drawn ſwords the unfortunate object of this conteſt, who had been awakened by the tumult, and had ſtarted out of bed. The prince, though without any weapon, and almoſt naked, yet, animated with deſpair, made a vigorous defence: he parried their repeated thruſts; and, though pierced through the hand, broke one of their ſwords, until overpowered and ſtabbed in ſeveral places, he was diſpatched by a wound in the back. The officers immediately threw open the door, and, pointing to the body of Ivan, exclaimed, "Here is your emperor!" Mirovitch, upon beholding the dead body, ſtarted back in an agony of ſurpriſe; ſoon, however, recollecting himſelf, he made no other attempt, but returned with perfect compoſure to the governor Berednikof, and delivering up his ſword, calmly ſaid, "I am now your "priſoner."

On the following day, the body of Ivan was expoſed in a ſhirt and a pair of drawers before the guard-houſe in the fortreſs; whither an immenſe concourſe of people flocked from all quarters. I was informed by a gentleman, who was preſent upon the occaſion, that he found it impoſſible to deſcribe the animated grief which appeared in the countenances, attitudes, and expreſſions of the people at the ſight of a prince, who had once been ſeated on the throne; whoſe misfortune only, and no crime, had occaſioned his impriſonment; and whoſe wretched exiſtence had been prematurely cloſed by the

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hand of violence. The concourſe at laſt was ſo great as to excite apprehenſions of a tumult: the body was accordingly wrapped up in a ſheep ſkin, put into a coffin, and buried in an antient chapel of the fortreſs, which is now demoliſhed.

According to the information I received from thoſe who had ſeen the body of Ivan, he was ſix feet in height, handſome, and athletic; he had ſmall fiery eyes, red hair and beard, and a complexion uncommonly fair, which had been rendered pallid by confinement.

The account of this wild enterprize of Mirovitch, and of Ivan's death, was forwarded to count Panin, together with ſeveral copies of the manifeſto which had been originally concerted with Uſhakof, and which were found upon Mirovitch when he ſurrendered. The manifeſto contained the moſt virulent abuſe and dreadful imprecations againſt the empreſs, who was repreſented as an uſurper of the throne of which Ivan was the lawful ſovereign; and the copies were to have been diſtributed as ſoon as the prince ſhould be reſcued and brought to the capital. Count Panin diſpatched immediate intelligence to the empreſs in Livonia, who commanded lieutenant-general Weymar to repair without delay to Schluſſelburgh, in order to examine Mirovitch and his aſſociates; and to collect all poſſible information that might contribute to a full diſcovery of their deſigns. This information, together with the confeſſion of Mirovitch and his accomplices, was laid before a committee compoſed of five principal eccleſiaſtics, the ſenate, and of other nobles high in rank and office. Mirovitch and his abettors, being removed to Peterſburgh, were examined at different times before this committee, both ſeparately and together; and the reſult of all theſe inquiries tended to ſhow, that Mirovitch had not been inſtigated to this attempt; but that he had originally contrived the plot, and had acted throughout the whole tranſaction ſolely from himſelf.

During

During the courſe of the ſeveral meetings that were held on this occaſion, Mirovitch aſtoniſhed the committee by his inſolent and undaunted behaviour: at laſt, however, he was brought in ſome meaſure to a ſenſe of his crime, by the repreſentations of the archbiſhop of Roſtof, and four nobles ſpecially deputed for that purpoſe; and being then again exhorted to confeſs if he had any other aſſociates of his guilt, he firmly replied, "As a man devoted to die, I ſolemnly de-"clare, that my confeſſion contains all I know: I call upon "the Almighty to witneſs the truth of this aſſertion, and to "denounce his ſevereſt vengeance upon me in the next world, "if I have miſrepreſented any circumſtance, or concealed any "accomplice." Being convicted of high treaſon, he was condemned to loſe his head; and the body, together with the ſcaffold upon which he was to ſuffer, were ordered to be burnt upon the ſpot. The ſentence was performed on the 26th of September, in the large open ſquare before the courts of juſtice in Peterſburgh. Mirovitch walked to the place of execution along the ſtreets, filled with an innumerable concourſe of people, with an unconcerned air, and a ſteady and aſſured countenance; and having mounted the ſcaffold, he caſt his eyes around him with a look of indifference; then croſſing himſelf, and without uttering a ſingle word*, he laid down his head upon the block, and it was ſevered from his body at one ſtroke.

Mirovitch alone ſuffered capitally; his abettors were ſubjected to different penalties, according to the degrees of their guilt. Piſkof, who was the moſt criminal, was ſentenced to run the gauntlet twelve times through a line of a thouſand men, and his five more immediate aſſociates ten times; they were then condemned for life to hard labour and impriſonment; a

* It may not be improper to remark, that Mirovitch was not gagged, as has been falſely aſſerted.

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ſentence ſcarcely lighter than death itſelf. It is needleſs to diſcriminate the penalties impoſed upon the others, which conſiſted chiefly in the gauntlet, in degradation, and in condemnation to ſerve in diſtant garriſons. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that fifty-five delinquents were involved in the treaſon of Mirovitch: to theſe muſt be added Caſatkin and Tchevaridſef, who were found guilty of holding treaſonable converſations with him; and Nikita Lebedef, who was puniſhed for not having undeceived the ſoldiers by expoſing the falſity of the imperial order which Mirovitch had forged.

Theſe are the principal facts which I was able to collect reſpecting the life and death of Ivan; and I have endeavoured to ſtate them with perfect impartiality. The ſame regard to truth prevents me from concealing the reports which were induſtriouſly circulated, that the court not only connived at, but even encouraged the attempt of Mirovitch. The accuſation is ſtated in the following manner. Orders were previouſly given to captain Vlaſief and lieutenant Tchekin to deſtroy Ivan, if any attempt to releaſe him ſhould be likely to ſucceed; and for the purpoſe of furniſhing them with a pretence for diſpatching him, Mirovitch was privately inſtigated to form a conſpiracy in his favour. The probability of this accuſation is founded on the following proofs.

I. That in the attack of Mirovitch and his party on the guards of Ivan, not one perſon on either ſide was either killed or wounded. II. That the conduct of Mirovitch upon the failure of his project, his daring and inſolent behaviour under his trial, and his calm compoſure at the place of execution, are not upon any other ſuppoſition to be accounted for. III. That orders were certainly given to Vlaſief and Tchekin for putting Ivan to death, and that they were as certainly promoted for executing thoſe orders.

I. With

CHAP. II.

I. With reſpect to the firſt proof, we may readily allow the fact to have been very extraordinary; but by no means to be thought impoſſible on account of its ſingularity. It is a well-known circumſtance, that in the out-ſkirts of an army large bodies of light troops frequently approach cloſe to each other, and diſcharge their fire without effect And if this frequently happens in the day-time, its probability is ſtill further increaſed, when we conſider that the rencounter in queſtion happened at two in the morning, and in the midſt of a thick fog. The truth of this circumſtance has been erroneouſly called in queſtion: for I was informed at Schluſſelburgh, that almoſt every morning in ſummer a fog precedes ſun-riſe, which is naturally accounted for from the very ſituation of the iſland on which the fortreſs ſtands, in a marſhy ſoil, and cloſe to the largeſt lake in Europe. Nor is it extraordinary that the centinels of Ivan, who were but few, and ſome of theſe few ſheltered in the paſſage, and others probably behind the pillars of the corridore, ſhould not be wounded by the random ſhots of the aſſailants, wavering in their reſolutions, and uncertain whether to comply with, or diſobey, the orders of their leader. With reſpect to the party of Mirovitch, the whole number did not attack in a collective body; many of them even continued at ſome diſtance; and they were all ſo alarmed at the unexpected return of their fire, that they inſtantly diſperſed, and probably before all the guards had diſcharged their muſkets. And even if they had, as they conſiſted only of eight or ten, as the night was dark and the area large, it cannot be deemed ſurpriſing that they miſſed the aſſailants. To a perſon who has been upon the ſpot, and examined the poſition of the place, theſe circumſtances and theſe ſuppoſitions are far from appearing improbable: whereas, on the other hand, if we conclude the whole to have been concerted,

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certed, we muſt allow that every individual, on both ſides, was previouſly informed that the attack, as well as defence, ſhould be feigned; a caſe in itſelf impoſſible, that a deſign of ſuch importance, and the mode of accompliſhing it, ſhould be entruſted to ſo many, and thoſe of no higher rank than common ſoldiers.

II. The ſecond proof is drawn from the conduct of Mirovitch upon the death of Ivan, during his trial, and at the place of execution. In regard to his behaviour upon the death of Ivan, it is objected, that, inſtead of attempting to make any reſiſtance, he calmly, and of his own accord, delivered himſelf a priſoner. To this it may be anſwered, that he had founded all his hopes of ſucceſs upon obtaining poſſeſſion of Ivan's perſon; the moment, therefore, that thoſe hopes were fruſtrated by the death of that prince, his fate was decided. He had great difficulty in perſuading the ſoldiers to make the ſecond attack, when the prince was alive; what aſſiſtance, therefore, could be expected from them when they knew that he was dead! They had no other object than to releaſe Ivan, and had even been unwillingly hurried on to favour that attempt. Could Mirovitch ſuppoſe that they would deſperately aſſiſt him in attacking the officers, and in forcing an eſcape? And indeed whither could he eſcape? He could neither conceal himſelf in the fortreſs, nor could he eaſily withdraw himſelf from the iſland. He had, therefore, no other alternative than ſelf-deſtruction, or an immediate ſurrender. His preference of the latter may be attributed to the impulſe of the moment, or rather perhaps to the cool intrepidity of his character. He had ventured his life and fortunes upon one riſk of extreme hazard, and when that failed him, he knew and was prepared for the worſt, and ſullenly reſigned himſelf to his fate: but after all, it is too much to expect that we ſhould juſtify the conduct of an enthuſiaſt,

enthuſiaſt, in the moment of diſappointment and deſpair, upon the principles of ſound judgment and deliberate reaſon*.

His daring inſolence before the committee, and his calm indifference at the place of execution, are, it is alledged, not to be accounted for, but upon the ſuppoſition that he affected the former behaviour, in order to prevent the idea of any colluſion; and the latter, becauſe he was ſecure of a pardon: it is ſurmiſed, therefore, that he was only to lay down his head upon the block, and that a reprieve was to be ready at the place of execution. To this I briefly anſwer, that it is not to be conceived by what promiſes a man could poſſibly be perſuaded to hazard himſelf in ſo critical a ſtate. What could induce him to riſk his life under a momentary ſtroke, to be given or ſuſpended by a power extremely intereſted in his deſtruction? for the dead betray nothing; and his death would preclude all diſcovery of ſo infamous a tranſaction; and theſe ſtrange ſuppoſitions are advanced, as if no rebel was ever undaunted during trial; nor any malefactor ever met death with firmneſs and even indifference.

* I cannot in this place avoid citing a paſſage from an anonymous author, who ſuppoſes a colluſion between Mirovitch and the court: "Après un ſi noble exploit Mrs. Wlaſief & "Tchekin jettent le corps du prince aſſaſſiné "devant la porte; et par un effet miraculeux "Mirovitz, *qui ne connoiſſoit alors le prince Ivan "que de nom, le reconnoit dans ce moment pour "ſon empereur non obſtant le brouillard épais.*" A ſtrange objection! as if, becauſe Mirovitch was not acquainted with the perſon of Ivan, he ſhould not know, or at leaſt believe, the dead body to be his, when the guards cried out, "Here is your emperor!" Could he conceive they had murthered an innocent perſon, merely with the view of deluding him? And were not the doors of the apartment thrown open, and he at full liberty to ſearch and ſatisfy himſelf? Another paſſage from the ſame author muſt be mentioned for its glaring falſity: "Le coup inattendu le frappa telle-"ment, qu'il temoigne ſon repentir et ſon af-"fliction à toute ſa troupe, ſe rend priſonnier; "et *de toute ſa garde qui étoit complice du même "crime, lui ſeul qui en eſt le chef eſt arreté, et "lui ſeul en eſt puni.*" The reader will be able to judge whether the ſoldiers who aſſiſted Mirovitch were equally guilty with him; and whether he was the *only* perſon arreſted, and the *only* perſon puniſhed. The author of the above malevolent paragraph did not know, perhaps, that, by the laws of Ruſſia, capital penalties are ſeldom inflicted; or that the accomplices of Mirovitch were ſeverely puniſhed. We may remind him, that even in the rebellion of Pugatchef, that impoſtor and four of his principal confederates were the only perſons who ſuffered death: the other rebels were knooted and condemned to hard labour and impriſonment. The cauſe muſt be very bad indeed, when its defenders have recourſe to ſuch frivolous objections, and ſuch glaring falſehoods. See Pieces concernant la mort du Prince Ivan.

III. With

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III. With reſpect to the third proof, which reſts upon the previous orders to the officers Vlaſief and Tchekin, their execution of thoſe orders, and their promotion in conſequence, I clearly and deciſively reply, that ſuch orders were not peculiar to the guards of Ivan; they are always given to thoſe who are appointed to ſecure ſtate-priſoners of any conſequence in Ruſſia; they are to be juſtified generally upon reaſons of ſtate; nor were they invented upon the preſent occaſion. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, this precaution had always been taken; and in the preſent inſtance, the orders were renewed whenever the perſons entruſted with the care of Ivan were changed.

But, in ſupport of this third proof, it is further alledged, that the officers were too precipitate in diſpatching the prince; they might have conveyed him to ſome place of greater ſecurity when the conſpirators had been repulſed in their firſt onſet. But whither could they convey him? they could not conceal him in the fortreſs, or remove him from the iſland. There could be no apartment more ſecure than that in which he was confined; and even if they had attempted to remove him, the ſhortneſs of the interval between the firſt and ſecond aſſault would have prevented them. The aſſailants inſtantly returned as ſoon as the forged order was read to them, and they returned with a loaded cannon. It follows, therefore, that the officers and centinels found themſelves incapable of oppoſition, and that Ivan muſt have fallen into the hands of Mirovitch: they had, therefore, no other alternative than to put him to death. Dreadful alternative indeed! but which they were obliged to embrace, for the preſervation of the public tranquillity: if they performed their duty in this emergency, the approbation of their ſovereign, and their ſubſequent promotion, were the natural, and, I even add, the juſt conſequences.

But

CHAP. II.

But ſurely the whole conduct of Mirovitch, his aſſociation with Uſhakof, their oath of fidelity, the violent manifeſto againſt the empreſs, together with his treaſonable intercourſe with Caſatkin and Tchevaridſef, are evident proofs that his deſign was not feigned; that it originated from himſelf; and had been planned ſome time before an opportunity offered of attempting it. To ſuppoſe that the empreſs had formed the project of deſtroying Ivan; that ſhe employed Mirovitch as the inſtrument of that project; that ſhe ſecretly promiſed him his pardon; that ſhe ſuffered him to go to the place of execution fully ſecure of a reprieve; that ſhe there deceived him; that ſhe puniſhed his aſſociates, of whoſe criminality ſhe was herſelf the immediate cauſe, imply ſuch a complication of the baſeſt fraud and horrid barbarity, that we ought not to liſten to the imputation, were it founded even upon ſome degree of probable conjecture: whereas the proofs alleged amount to nothing more than mere ſurmiſes and vague conjectures; and are totally refuted by the moſt valid arguments and indiſputable teſtimony.

I cannot cloſe this hiſtory without annexing the following ſhort account of Ivan's family. His father Anthony Ulrick was ſon of Ferdinand Albert, and of Antonietta Amelia, ſiſter of Charlotte Chriſtina, who eſpouſed the tzarovitch Alexèy. He was brother of Charles late duke of Brunſwick, and of that diſtinguiſhed general prince Ferdinand. Anthony Ulrick was born in 1714; in 1733 was betrothed, upon his arrival at Peterſburgh, to the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, the preſumptive heireſs of the Ruſſian throne; and on the 14th of July, 1739, the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. On the day of that ceremony *, "who would have imagined "that their union would one day produce their greateſt miſ-

* Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 248.

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" fortune?" and that the prince was called into Ruſſia, not to ſhare a throne, but a priſon, with his conſort?

The mother of Ivan, Elizabeth Catharine Chriſtina, was daughter of Charles Leopold duke of Mecklenburgh, and of Catharine Ivanofna: ſhe was born in 1718; and in 1731 invited to Peterſburgh by her aunt the empreſs Anne. Having embraced the Greek religion, ſhe was rebaptized by the name of Anne, and eſpouſed in 1739 Anthony Ulrick. Soon after the birth of Ivan, ſhe was not only excluded from the throne, but even from any ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs during her ſon's minority. This event was brought about by the intrigues of Biren, who, upon the acceſſion of Ivan, was declared regent. Having, by the aſſiſtance of count Munich, arreſted Biren, the princeſs Anne aſſumed the regency and title of great-ducheſs, and was upon the point of declaring herſelf empreſs, when Elizabeth ſeized the reins of government.

Upon that revolution this illuſtrious couple were, as I have before obſerved, ſucceſſively confined at Riga, Dunemund, and Oranienbaum: from thence they were removed to Solomonſkoi Oſtrof, an iſland in the White Sea; and, finally, to Kolmogori, a ſmall town, ſituated in an iſland of the Dvina, about 40 miles from Archangel. Anne had four children by her huſband during their joint impriſonment; and ſhe died in child-bed at Kolmogori, in March, 1746. Her body was brought to Peterſburgh, and buried in the church of the convent of St. Alexander Nevſki.

Manſtein * has well drawn the weak, capricious, and indeciſive character of the regent Anne; who, with a moderate degree

* " She was extremely capricious, paſſionate, and indolent; hating affairs, and irreſolute in trifles as well as in affairs of the greateſt importance. During the year of her regency ſhe governed with a great deal of mildneſs. She loved to do good, but did not know how to do it properly. Her favourite, Juliana de Mængden, poſſeſſed her whole confidence, and governed her manner of life juſt as ſhe pleaſed. Her miniſters and the men of parts were hardly liſtened to. In ſhort, ſhe had none of the qualities fit for governing

gree of firmneſs and prudence, might eaſily have defeated the designs of Elizabeth: but the following anecdote, recorded by Buſching, will perhaps diſplay, in the ſtrongeſt light, her mild and indolent character. During her confinement in the fortreſs of Riga, the prince of Brunſwick frequently blamed her for having diſregarded the information ſhe daily received concerning the attempts of the oppoſite party: one day in particular he vehemently reproached her for rejecting his advice to arreſt Elizabeth; adding, that, had that advice been followed, ſhe and her family would not have been involved in their preſent misfortunes. "It may be ſo," returned the princeſs with great indifference; "but I ſhall never repent of my conduct: and it is better as it is, than to have preſerved our ſovereignty by ſhedding a deluge of blood *."

CHAP. II.

Beſide Ivan, ſhe left four children, two ſons and as many daughters, who were confined with their father in the mona-

"governing ſo great an empire in a time of "trouble and difficulty. She had always a "melancholic, and rather a fretful air; "which might proceed habitually from the "vexations ſhe had ſuffered from the duke of "Courland during the reign of the empreſs "Anne. She was handſome, had a very "pretty figure, with a good ſhape; and ſpoke "with fluency ſeveral languages." Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 316.

Count Munich ſays of her, "Elle étoit na-"turellement fainéante, et ne parut jamais au "cabinet; et lorſque je me preſentai le matin "chez elle avec ce qui étoit expedié au cabi-"net, ou ce qui demandoit quelque réſolution, "elle ſentoit ſon inſuffiſance, et me diſoit ſou-"vent: Je voudrois que mon fils fut déja en "âge de regner lui-même.—Elle étoit naturel-"lement ſalope, ſe coëffoit d'un mouchoir "blanc, alloit ainſi à la meſſe et ſans jupe de "baleine, et paroiſſoit de même en public et à "ſa table, et après-midi pour jouer aux cartes "avec un parti choiſi.

"Elle vivoit mal avec le prince ſon époux, "et fit lit à part, et lorſqu'il vouloit entrer le "matin chez elle, il trouvoit ordinairement "les portes fermées.—Dans la belle ſaiſon elle "fit mettre ſon lit à coucher au balcon du pa-"lais d'hiver du coté de la riviere, il y avoit "cependant un écran pour cacher ce lit, mais "du ſecond étage des maiſons voiſines du pa-"lais, on pouvoit tout découvrir." Ebauche, &c. p. 139, &c.

"As to the prince her huſband," ſays Manſtein, "he had the beſt heart and the beſt "temper imaginable, with all the intrepidity "of courage that could have been wiſhed in "military affairs; but too timid, too embar-"raſſed, in affairs of ſtate. He had come too "young into Ruſſia, where he had undergone "a thouſand croſſes from the duke of Cour-"land, who did not love him, and who often "treated him very harſhly." Memoirs, p. 317.

* Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. vol. I. p. 32. Buſching had this anecdote from a favourite maid of honour who attended the regent in her confinement.

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ſtery of Kolmogori, a place ſtrong in itſelf, and, for greater ſecurity, ſurrounded with paliſadoes. The archbiſhop and monks were removed to ſome houſes in the village. The monaſtery is near the church to which the inhabitants reſort. No centinels appeared on the outſide; but within guard was mounted by ſoldiers, not in uniforms, but dreſſed like common peaſants; ſo that no perſon, who had not been previouſly informed of the fact, would have ſuſpected that ſtate-priſoners of any conſequence had been there confined. An Engliſh gentleman, who paſſed a few years ago through Kolmogori, in his way to Archangel, went frequently to the church, in order, if it were poſſible, to obtain a ſight of theſe illuſtrious perſons; but they were ſo cloſely confined, that he never ſucceeded in his attempts to ſee them: he one day heard the prince of Brunſwick playing upon the flute. An adequate ſum was allowed by the empreſs Elizabeth for their maintenance; but, ſome time after their arrival at Kolmogori, great part of it was withheld from them by thoſe who ſupplied their table; and they had ſcarcely common neceſſaries. Some perſons, however, moved with compaſſion for their unhappy deſtiny, found means to acquaint the preſent empreſs with this circumſtance; who iſſued immediate orders that they ſhould be provided with every poſſible comfort which they could receive under their unhappy ſituation: and theſe orders were punctually obeyed.

Anthony Ulrick died in 1780 at Kolmogori, in the 39th year of his impriſonment, and in the 67th of his age. Catharine II. whoſe good ſenſe raiſes her above the uſual ſuſpicions of ſtate jealouſy, has, by an unparalleled act of humanity, releaſed from their long confinement the remaining branches of this illuſtrious family. In the ſame year in which their father expired, two princes and as many princeſſes *, of whom the eldeſt is above 40 years old, were removed from Kolmogori to Arch-

* Catharine, born July 26, 1741. Elizabeth, born Nov. 16, 1743; died 1782. Peter, born March 31, 1745. Alexèy, born March 9, 1746.

angel,

angel, and conveyed in a Ruſſian veſſel to Bergen in Norway. There they embarked on board of the Mars, a Daniſh man of war, and were landed, in the month of October, at Flatſtrand in Jutland; from which place they were conducted to Horſens, where they now reſide, under the care and protection of their aunt the queen-dowager of Denmark. The empreſs of Ruſſia allots a conſiderable penſion for their ſubſiſtence.

Having had frequent occaſion to mention count Munich, I ſhall here throw together a few biographical anecdotes of that extraordinary man, who enjoyed the favour of five ſovereigns of Ruſſia; who attained, at one period of his life, the higheſt honours; and at another was doomed to a rigorous confinement of twenty years, which he ſuſtained with an unbroken ſpirit *.

Count Burchard Chriſtopher Munich, ſon of a Daniſh officer, was born at New-Huntorf, in the county of Oldenburgh, on the 9th of May, O. S. 1683. He received an excellent education; and, in the 17th year of his age, entered into the ſervice of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, who, on account of his knowledge in tactics, conferred upon him the rank of captain. He ſerved his firſt campaign in 1701, when the emperor Joſeph commanded againſt the French; and was preſent at the ſiege of Landaw. In 1705 he was employed as a major by the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; and learned the art of war under the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his cool intrepidity in ſeveral engagements and ſieges, and particularly at the battle of Malplaquet, when, in recompence for his bravery, he was made lieutenant-colonel. Being, in 1712, dangerouſly wounded at the battle of Denain, he was taken priſoner by the French; and

* I have chiefly extracted this account from the Life of Count Munich, by Buſching, who was intimately acquainted with him; I have been enabled to add a few anecdotes, which I obtained from unqueſtionable authority. See Lebens Geſchichte Burchard Chriſtophs von Muenich. In Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. III. p. 389 to 536.

ſoon

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ſoon after his releaſe, in the enſuing year, raiſed to the command of a regiment.

In 1716 he quitted the Heſſian, and entered the Poliſh ſervice, under Auguſtus II. and was ſoon promoted to the rank of major-general; but, in 1721, being inſulted by count Fleming, the king's favourite, he went into Ruſſia, and was received in the moſt honourable manner by Peter I. Being charged by that great monarch with the execution of ſeveral important truſts, both civil and military, he ſucceſſively filled the higheſt poſts in the army and ſtate. He was created marſhal by the empreſs Anne, and placed at the head of the war department; he obtained the command of the army againſt the Turks, and proved his military talents by his ſucceſſes in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738.

Soon after the death of the empreſs, he adviſed, planned, and executed the arreſt of Biren; and was rewarded by the regent Anne with the office of prime miniſter. But as he was diſcontented at not being appointed generaliſſimo, and as his power and ambition gave umbrage to the court, he requeſted permiſſion to reſign his employments, and was aſtoniſhed at the readineſs with which his requeſt was granted. Inſtead of repairing to the Pruſſian court, to which he was ſtrongly invited, he imprudently remained in Ruſſia, flattering himſelf with the hopes of being reinſtated in his former dignity; and was arreſted on the 6th of December, 1741, by order of Elizabeth. The oſtenſible reaſon of his diſgrace was, that he had perſuaded the empreſs Anne to nominate Ivan her ſucceſſor; but the real cauſe, as I was informed by a perſon of veracity who received it from count Munich himſelf, was that, by order of that empreſs, he had taken into cuſtody one of Elizabeth's favourites.

Munich was brought before a committee appointed to examine the ſtate-priſoners; being fatigued with repeated queſtions, and perceiving that his judges were determined to find him

him guilty, he ſaid to them, "Dictate the anſwers which you "wiſh me to make, and I will ſign them." The judges immediately wrote down a confeſſion of ſeveral charges, which being ſubſcribed by Munich, his mock-trial was concluded. Being thus, without further ceremony, convicted of high treaſon, he was condemned to be quartered; but his ſentence was changed by Elizabeth to perpetual impriſonment. During that empreſs's reign, namely, for the ſpace of twenty years, he was confined at Pelim in Siberia, in an oſtrog, or priſon ſurrounded with paliſadoes, of which, according to Manſtein, he had himſelf drawn the plan, and ordered to be conſtructed for the reception of Biren. The place of his impriſonment was an area encloſed with high paliſadoes, about 170 feet ſquare; within which was a wooden houſe, inhabited by himſelf, his wife, and a few ſervants; and a ſmall garden, which he cultivated with his own hands. He received a daily allowance of 12*s.* for the maintenance of himſelf, his wife, and domeſtics; which little pittance he increaſed by keeping cows, and ſelling part of their milk, and by occaſionally inſtructing youth in geometry and engineering. He behaved, during his long confinement, with the utmoſt reſignation, tranquillity, and even cheerfulneſs. He was accuſtomed every day at dinner to drink to his wife "a happy return to Peterſ-"burgh." He had prayers twice a day, from eleven to twelve in the morning, and from ſix to ſeven in the evening: they were read in the German tongue by his chaplain Martens; and, after his death, which happened in 1749, the count himſelf performed the ſervice. Beſide the culture of his garden, and the hours he paſſed in giving inſtruction, he found ſufficient leiſure for compoſing hymns, for tranſlating ſeveral pſalms and prayers into German verſe, and for writing a treatiſe upon the art of war: the latter he propoſed, if ever he ſhould be releaſed from his confinement, to preſent to the king,

CHAP. II.

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king of Pruſſia. In the laſt year of his impriſonment, a centinel informing againſt Munich's ſervants for ſupplying him with pens and paper, the count, in order to prevent any diſcovery, was obliged to deſtroy all his writings, the amuſement and labours of ſo many years.

He had always ſupported himſelf with the expectation of recovering his liberty at the acceſſion of Peter III.; but he was no ſooner informed of that event, than, with the agitation natural to a perſon in his ſtate, he began to dread that his expectation was ill-founded. He ſuffered, during ſeveral weeks, the moſt alarming anxiety, perpetually fluctuated between hope and fear; and was often heard to declare, that theſe few weeks appeared to him much longer than all the former years of his confinement. At length, on the morning of the 11th of February, 1762, the long-expected meſſenger arrived from Peterſburgh with the order for his releaſe. Munich, who happened to be engaged in his prayers, did not perceive him; and his wife made ſigns to the meſſenger not to diſturb him. Upon being informed of his recall, he was ſo affected as to faint away; but ſoon recovering, he fell down upon his knees, and in the moſt fervent manner offered up his thanks for this change in his ſituation. On the 19th he departed from Pelim, and arrived at Peterſburgh on the 24th of March, in the ſame ſheep-ſkin dreſs which he had worn in his priſon. On the 31ſt he was admitted to an audience by the emperor: Peter, after hanging round his neck the order of St. Andrew, and reſtoring him to his antient rank, ſaid to him, "I hope "that your advanced age will ſtill permit you to ſerve me."— "Since your majeſty," replied the count at the concluſion of a long ſpeech, "has raiſed me from darkneſs into light, and "recalled me from Siberia to proſtrate myſelf before your "throne, I ſhall always be moſt willing to expoſe my life in "your ſervice. Neither a long baniſhment from the throne

"of

" of majeſty, nor the climate of Siberia, have been able to CHAP. II.
" damp, in the ſmalleſt degree, that fire which formerly
" ſhone with ſuch luſtre for the intereſts of the Ruſſian em-
" pire, and the glory of its ſovereign."

Munich enjoyed the favour and protection of Peter III. and Catharine II.; and died on the 16th of October, 1767, in the 85th year of his age.

CHAP. III.

Impoſtors who aſſumed the name of Peter III. *particularly* Pugatchef.—*His origin and hiſtory.—He ſerves as a common Coſſac.—Deſerts to* Poland.—*Lives by charity.—Proceeds to* Yaitſk.—*State of the* Ruſſian *ſectaries in thoſe parts, and the mutiny of the Coſſacs of* Yaitſk *favour his rebellion.—Declares himſelf to be* Peter III.—*Acknowledged by theſe Coſſacs.—Joined by other troops.—Collects an irregular army.—His progreſs and ſucceſſes.—Horrid barbarity.—Weakneſs and ill-conduct.—Repeated defeats, eſcapes, and ſubſequent appearance.—He is finally routed.—Betrayed by his adherents.—Executed at* Moſcow.

ALTHOUGH the body of Peter III. was expoſed to public CHAP. III.
view in the convent of Alexander Nevſki, where it lay in ſtate, yet ſeveral impoſtors ſtarted up in the diſtant regions of the Ruſſian empire, and paſſed for that unfortunate monarch.

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The first of these was a shoe-maker of Voronetz, who appeared in that town under the name of Peter III. a few years before the rebellion of Pugatchef; but he was soon taken and executed.

The second was a deserter from the regiment of Orlof: his name was Tchernichef, and he rose in the year 1770, in the small village of Kopenka upon the frontiers of Crim Tartary, at the time that a corps of troops was marching through that place. Some dissenting priests, in his interest, having suborned a number of followers, raised him upon the altar of the church, and were preparing to acknowledge him; but luckily the colonel of the regiment, being informed of the tumult, repaired to the church at the head of a strong guard, took him from the altar, and led him to immediate execution.

A third was a peasant belonging to the Vorontzof family, who had deserted from his village, and engaged as a common Cossac among those who are settled upon the Volga at Dubofka: a body of these Cossacs marching in the spring of 1772 from Tzaritzin to join the Russian army, he assembled them in a small post-house, situated in the lonely desert between the Don and the Volga, and declared himself to be Peter III. Having prevailed upon them to salute him emperor, and to take the oath of allegiance, he even appointed several officers of state. A few hours after this transaction, the commander of the troop unexpectedly arriving, confounded the soldiers by his presence, seized the impostor by the hair, and by the assistance of the astonished Cossacs themselves, who had just declared in his favour, bound and conducted him a prisoner to Tzaritzin. During his trial the inhabitants of the fortress, excited by the false reports of his followers, actually rose in his favour, and were not without great difficulty dispersed by colonel Zipletof, the commander of the place. The impostor was then carried to one of the islands of the Volga, and knooted to death.

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PUGATCHEF.

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CHAP. III.

About the ſame time a malefactor, who had been tranſported to Irkutſk, formed a ſimilar attempt, and had even gained over an officer who had a penſion from the crown; but his ſecret being ſoon diſcovered, he underwent the ſame fate as thoſe before-mentioned.

Yemelka Pugatchef, the rebel whoſe adventures are now under conſideration, narrowly eſcaped the ſame ill fortune at his firſt appearance. This extraordinary man, ſon of the Coſſac Ivan Pugatchef, was born at Simoveiſk, a ſmall village upon the Don. He was a common Coſſac in the war which the Ruſſians, during the reign of Elizabeth, carried on againſt the king of Pruſſia, and ſerved in the ſame capacity during the campaign of 1769 againſt the Turks. He was at the ſiege of Bender; and upon the ſurrender of that town the following year demanded his diſmiſſion, which being refuſed, he deſerted and fled into Poland: he was there received and hid by ſome hermits of the Greek religion, and afterwards ſupported himſelf by begging alms in the town of Dubranka. From thence he made to the colonies in Little Ruſſia, and continued among the ſectaries, who are there eſtabliſhed in great numbers; but being apprehenſive of a diſcovery, he repaired to the principal ſettlement of the Coſſacs of the river Yaik *, and perſuaded ſeveral of them to accompany him to Kuban, but without having as yet aſſumed the name of Peter III. Being arreſted at Malekofka for his treaſonable converſation, he was ſent for trial to Caſan; where the indolence of the governor, and the delays in bringing him to juſtice, gave him time and opportunity of eſcaping with a prieſt, who had privately furniſhed him with money for intoxicating the centinels. He then went down the Volga, and up the river Irghis into the deſart, and not long afterwards appeared under the character of Peter III.

* In order to extinguiſh all remembrance of this rebellion, the river Yaik is now called Ural, Yaitſk, Uralſk, and the Coſſacs of the Yaik, the Uralian Coſſacs.

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at the head of a large body of troops. The peculiar circumſtances which ſerved to favour his enterprize were derived from two principal cauſes, namely, the religious prejudices of the Ruſſian diſſenters, and the mutiny of the Coſſacs of the Yaik.

The Ruſſian diſſenters, called by the eſtabliſhed church *Roſkolniki* or ſeparatiſts, diſtinguiſh themſelves by the name of *Staroverſki*, or old believers *. Theſe ſectaries have been frequently perſecuted, and particularly under Peter I. who compelled them to pay double taxes, and to wear a particular badge of diſtinction. Perſecution, however, has only tended to increaſe their numbers; and they are ſtill very numerous in Siberia, and among the Coſſacs in the government of Orenburgh, where the rebellion of Pugatchef firſt broke out. They conſider the ſervice of the eſtabliſhed church as profane and ſacrilegious; they have their own prieſts and ceremonies; and Pugatchef was artful enough to take advantage of their religious prejudices, which he openly profeſſed to eſpouſe and protect.

The mutiny of a large body of Coſſacs was the ſecond cauſe which operated in favour of Pugatchef. The Coſſacs of the Yaik, who are deſcended from thoſe of the Don, are a very brave and valiant race, all enthuſiaſts for the antient ritual, and prizing their beards almoſt equal to their lives: they are rich from their conſiderable fiſheries of ſturgeons; they have alſo acquired a ſpirit of revolt and independence by being ſituated in a deſert between the Calmucs and the Kirgheſe, who are continually at variance with each other, and often with the Coſſacs themſelves. During the war with the Turks, a certain number of recruits were required of theſe Coſſacs for a corps of huſſars; conſequently their beards were ordered to be ſhaven; and as they oppoſed this infringement of their

* For the origin of this ſect ſee Vol. I. Book III. Chap. IV.

liberties

liberties and cuſtoms, major-general Traubenberg, a Livonian officer, who was ſent at the head of a few ſoldiers to Yaitſk to quell the tumult, imprudently commanded that the recruits ſhould be ſhaven publicly in the midſt of the town. This wanton inſult irritated the inhabitants to ſo great a degree, that they roſe in arms, wounded many of the officers, maſſacred the general and the chief of the Coſſacs, and broke into open rebellion. This event happened at the latter end of 1771. In the following ſpring, general Freyman forced Yaitſk, captured ſeveral ringleaders of the mutiny, and garriſoned part of his troops in the town. Many of the rebels made their eſcape, and, retiring into the deſert, chiefly reſorted to the marſhy grounds which lie about the lake Kamyſh-Samara, where they derived a ſubſiſtence from fiſhing, and ſhooting wild boars, and were ſupplied occaſionally by their relations with bread and proviſions. By theſe means this deſperate troop ſupported themſelves during the ſpace of two years, until Pugatchef made his appearance amongſt them. CHAP. III.

That impoſtor, upon his eſcape from priſon, went ſecretly to Yaitſk about the middle of Auguſt, 1773, where he gained over a number of followers among the people who were enraged againſt the garriſon, and who in the ſpring had ſhown a ſtrong diſpoſition to revolt, when a report was circulated that a new emperor was coming amongſt them; a report probably occaſioned by the firſt appearance of Pugatchef in theſe parts. Having at Yaitſk obtained intelligence of the late mutiny, and of the deſertion of the Coſſacs, he went in purſuit of them; and having, in the month of October, found a large body of them employed in fiſhing, he informed them that he was the emperor Peter III.; that he had made his eſcape from priſon, where perſons were ſuborned to aſſaſſinate him; that the rumour of his death was only a fiction invented by the court; and that he now threw himſelf under their protection. It is

not

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not true that he bore the ſmalleſt reſemblance to Peter III.; but he founded his hopes of gaining belief on the diſtance from the capital, on the ignorance of the people, on their actual inſurrection, and, above all, on their attachment to their religious prejudices, which he eſpouſed and protected. Few arguments indeed were neceſſary to win over theſe Coſſacs, already in a ſtate of open rebellion; accordingly they all unanimouſly ſaluted him emperor, and offered to ſacrifice their lives in his defence. With theſe, and other bodies of Coſſacs, whom he found equally inclined to follow his ſtandard, he made his firſt expedition to the new Poliſh colonies lately eſtabliſhed upon the river Irghis, where he gave no proof of his ſubſequent barbarity, deſpoiling the inhabitants of nothing but arms and horſes. He then preſented himſelf before Yaitſk, and having ineffectually ſummoned the governor, in the name of Peter III. to ſurrender, he gave orders for an immediate aſſault: being repulſed, however, by the courage and intrepidity of the garriſon, and finding little hopes of taking it by ſtorm, he blockaded the place with a view of reducing it by famine; but his attempt was fruſtrated by the incredible perſeverance of the garriſon, who refuſed to capitulate, although they were ſo far ſtreightened for want of proviſions, as not only to eat their horſes, but even to feed upon leather. This obſtinate reſiſtance protracted the ſiege until Yaitſk could be relieved by a body of Ruſſian troops.

Pugatchef, though baffled in this enterprize, was more ſucceſsful in his future operations: he led his followers againſt the Coſſac colonies of Ilets; aſſaulted and carried, without oppoſition, the two fortreſſes of Baſyrnaya and Oſernaya; attacked Tatiſcheva, where he met with ſomewhat greater reſiſtance; but as the fortifications were only of wood, he ſet fire to them, and forced the place. A body of troops ſent againſt him from Orenburg, under colonel Bulof, partly through weakneſs,

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weakneſs, and partly through miſconduct, was overpowered. Another corps, who, in order to join the former, marched from Simbirſk up the Samara, under the command of general Tchernichef, (ſo ill were the operations concerted) arrived too late. Deceived by parties of Pugatchef's followers, they were drawn into the defiles near Tchernorethinſk, and ſo ſuddenly beſet, that they were incapable of making any reſiſtance. In all theſe actions, the officers who fell into Pugatchef's hands were indiſcriminately maſſacred; and the common ſoldiers were either made priſoners, or joined the rebels. His army being conſiderably augmented by theſe ſucceſſes, he ventured to beſiege Orenburg, where the governor had ſcarce forces ſufficient to defend the fortifications; and the town would have been inevitably taken, if the garriſon of Kraſnogorſk had not thrown themſelves into the place by forcing their way through the beſiegers.

As ſoon as the report of Pugatchef's progreſs was diſſeminated, the Baſchkirs, a people unſettled under the Ruſſian government, declared immediately for the impoſtor, and joined him in large bodies: their example was followed by many Ruſſian coloniſts, and particularly by the peaſants employed in the mines and founderies of the Uralian mountains *. Theſe forces he either employed in the ſiege of Orenburg, before which town he ſpent part of the winter in all poſſible acts of wantonneſs, drunkenneſs, and cruelty, or ſent them to collect money from the founderies, and to caſt copper guns, and balls, which he uſed in battering Orenburg. At this time his army was ſo ſtrong, that all the forces which could be drawn from Caſan could ſcarcely oppoſe him at the ridge of the mountains lying between that town and Orenburg. In this ſame winter he received a powerful reinforcement by the junction of 11,000 Calmuc horſe from the neighbourhood of

* The Uralian mountains abound in copper mines.

Stauropol,

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Stauropol, who revolted and killed their commander, brigadier Vegetak. Strengthened by theſe acceſſions, his troops roved over the whole mountainous diſtrict of Orenburg, where only the ſmall town of Upha made the leaſt reſiſtance. He was even advancing to Catharinenburg, where he would have found copper coin to the value of £200,000; but a delay, occaſioned by a falſe report that a ſuperior force was marching againſt him, fortunately afforded time to collect the ſoldiers ſtationed on the Siberian frontiers, and to cover that place.

At firſt, Pugatchef affected the appearance of uncommon ſanctity: he frequently put on the epiſcopal dreſs; gave his benediction to the people; renounced all ambitious views for himſelf; and expreſſed a reſolution that, as ſoon as he had raiſed his ſon the great-duke to the throne, he would again retire into the monaſtery, which had given him an aſylum upon his eſcape from priſon. He was alſo active and enterpriſing, eager to ſignalize his arms, and ready to ſeize every advantage which the ſituation of the enemy preſented: but incapable of ſupporting with equanimity his ſucceſſes, which followed each other with ſuch rapidity, he began to conſider all further diſſimulation as unneceſſary; he became for ſome time dilatory in his meaſures, and his natural temper broke out into the moſt unwarrantable exceſſes.

He had omitted the moſt favourable opportunity of marching towards Moſcow, where the ſpirit of rebellion had penetrated, and which would probably have fallen into his hands, as it was defended by only 600 regular troops, and as the Turkiſh war prevented marſhal Romantzof from ſending any great detachment from the troops on the Danube. Inſtead of vigorouſly continuing the progreſs of his army, he paſſed the greateſt part of the winter before Yaitſk and Orenburg: at the ſiege of which latter place he maſſacred, with the moſt ſavage barbarity, all the officers and nobles who were brought before

fore him; and as he openly avowed an intention of exterminating the whole Ruſſian nobility, he ſpared neither ſex nor age; but cut off, without compunction, women and children, as well as thoſe who were capable of bearing arms againſt him. His conduct was as imprudent as it was barbarous. Though he was already married to Sophia, the daughter of a Coſſac, by whom he had three children, he yet eſpouſed a common woman of Yaitſk. He delayed his march againſt the enemy for the celebration of his nuptials, and exhibited continued ſcenes of the moſt public intoxication and riot.

He was ſupported by no perſons of rank or conſequence; but, in order to impoſe upon his army, ſome of his moſt confidential adherents had aſſumed the names of the principal Ruſſian nobility, and wore the ſeveral orders of knighthood. By a ſignal to his attendants, he maſſacred all German officers who were brought before him, in order to prevent his ignorance of a language, which, as Peter III. he muſt have underſtood, from being obſerved by his followers.

During theſe tranſactions, general Belikof, advancing into theſe parts at the head of a very conſiderable army, detached his major-general, prince Peter Galitzin, againſt the rebels, who ſurpriſed Pugatchef with his whole force near Tatiſcheva, and worſted him for the firſt time. Being compelled to retire, he was cloſely purſued and overtaken by prince Galitzin near Kargula, upon the river Sakmara, about the diſtance of twelve miles from Orenburg; he was completely routed, his deſultory troops were diſperſed, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped, with a few of his moſt faithful followers, into the Uralian mountains; but, notwithſtanding this diſcomfiture, he collected his ſcattered men, and ſoon made his appearance with a reſpectable force on the Eaſt ſide of thoſe mountains. He carried ſeveral ſmall fortreſſes, and burnt Troitzk; but being attacked near that place by lieutenant-

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general de Colm, he was obliged to retreat a ſecond time into the mountains. Rendered deſperate by theſe repeated defeats, and deſirous of again ſignalizing his arms by ſome brilliant exploit, he ſuddenly directed his march towards Caſan, committing in his progreſs the moſt dreadful devaſtations. Having burnt the ſuburbs of that town, he laid ſiege to the citadel, which is built upon an eminence, and whither major-general Paul Potemkin the governor, and all his attendants, had retired. Being compelled to raiſe the ſiege, by the approach of colonel Michaelſon with a large detachment, and being cloſely purſued by that officer, he was again routed a little beyond Caſan, after ſeveral obſtinate engagements, which continued with little interruption during three days. This route was ſo general, that Pugatchef, accompanied only by three hundred well-armed Coſſacs of Yaitſk, who were the moſt deſperate rebels, and in whom he chiefly confided, fled acroſs the Volga. Afterwards he was joined by large bodies of Coſſacs and Baſhkirs; while ill-armed peaſants, who looked upon him as their deliverer, flocked to his ſtandard from very conſiderable diſtances. In this manner the impoſtor ſeemed to gain ſtrength from his loſſes; and he derived ſuch deluſive hopes from the number of his troops, that he had even formed the reſolution of proceeding to Moſcow, where one of his emiſſaries had raiſed a ſpirit of ſedition among the common people of that city. But apprehenſive, leſt, as peace was concluded with the Turks, part of the army on the Danube might now be employed againſt him, he ſoon changed his plan of operations.

He marched down the Volga, routed at Dubofka a party under the command of Baron Dies, ſtormed Penſa and Saratof, where the governor eſcaped only with fifty ſoldiers, and got poſſeſſion of Demitrefſk by treachery, and executed the commander. Near that fortreſs, the aſtronomer Lowitz, member of

of the Academy of Sciences, who was employed in levelling the projected canal between the Don and Volga, was murdered in a moſt inhuman manner. In this inſtance, inſult was added to cruelty: being informed that he was an aſtronomer, Pugatchef wantonly ordered him to be transfixed upon pikes, and raiſed in the air, in order to be nearer the ſtars; and in that ſituation he was maſſacred by the command, and in the preſence, of the barbarian. CHAP. III.

But the enormities of this monſter were ſoon cloſed by a fate which he had long deſerved. The court, no longer embarraſſed with a Turkiſh war, was able to turn its whole attention towards cruſhing this diſtant rebellion; and count Peter Panin, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the taking of Bender, was ſent againſt the impoſtor. That able general, moving towards the Volga, detached ſeveral regiments to the aſſiſtance of colonel Michaelſon, who, ſtrengthened by this reinforcement, compelled Pugatchef to raiſe the ſiege of Tzaritzin, drove him towards Tchernoyarſk, cut off his proviſions, and finally attacked him unawares as he was marching with his half-ſtarved multitude, embarraſſed with a large train of loaded carriages and women who followed his camp. The rebel army being ſurprized in a defile between two ridges of mountains which run towards the Volga, was entirely routed; many were cut to pieces; more, as they were endeavouring to eſcape, were precipitated down the ſteep precipices with their horſes and carriages; and the greateſt part of the remainder ſurrendered at diſcretion. Pugatchef, after many deſperate efforts of valour, eſcaped, with a few of his principal followers, by ſwimming acroſs the Volga, and retired through the deſert towards the river Ufem, where he had begun his firſt expedition. Here he was gradually deſerted by his followers, who were worn out with miſery and hunger, and was at laſt betrayed by thoſe in whom he placed the greateſt confidence. Tvogorof, a Coſſac of

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Iletz, and Tchumakef and Fidulef, Coſſacs of Yaitſk, were induced by the promiſe of a pardon to betray him. One of theſe perſons repreſented to the impoſtor, that, ſurrounded as he was by the enemy, he could entertain no hopes of ſafety, and adviſed him to reſign himſelf into the hands of the Ruſſians, upon condition of receiving a pardon. Pugatchef, however, was ſo enraged at this propoſal, that he drew his dagger, and attempted to ſtab the author of ſuch daſtardly advice; upon which his companions inſtantly diſarmed, bound, and conducted him a priſoner to a corps of troops poſted upon the river Yaik under general Savorof's orders. He was conveyed to the town of Yaitſk; and from thence delivered to count Panin at Simbirſk, who ſent him, with his principal confederates, to Moſcow; where he arrived in the month of November 1774. Being examined, he acknowledged all the circumſtances of his impoſture, and was publicly beheaded in the city of Moſcow, on the 21ſt of January. His body was then quartered, and expoſed in different places of the city.

Nothing can place the humanity of the empreſs in a ſtronger light, than that, at the concluſion of a rebellion which almoſt ſhook her throne, the impoſtor Pugatchef was not put to the torture *; and that only he and four of his principal confederates ſuffered death.

* When I viſited the priſon of Moſcow, I ſaw ſeveral horrid inſtruments which had been made on purpoſe to torture Pugatchef, but which, by the empreſs's poſitive orders, were not uſed. L'Eveſque is wrong, therefore, in aſſerting that he was racked to death. "*Il périt du ſupplice de la roue.*" Vol. V. p. 143.

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CHAP. IV.

Deſcription of the knoot.—Penal laws of Ruſſia.—*Aboli-tion of capital puniſhments by the edict of* Elizabeth.—*Remarks upon that edict.—Capital puniſhments not really, though apparently, ſuppreſſed.—Abolition of tor-ture by the preſent empreſs.—Her majeſty's anſwer to the author's queries upon priſons.—Outlines of the new code of laws.—Its excellence and beneficial tendency.*

ONE morning as I was caſually ſtrolling through the ſtreets of St. Peterſburgh, near the market-place, I ob-ſerved a vaſt crowd of people flocking to one particular ſpot. Upon inquiring of my Ruſſian ſervant the cauſe of this con-courſe, he informed me, that the multitude was aſſembled in order to ſee a felon, who had been convicted of murder, receive the knoot. Although I naturally ſhuddered at the very idea of being a ſpectator of the agonies of a fellow-creature, yet my curioſity overcame my feelings. With the aſſiſtance of my ſervant I penetrated through the crowd, and aſcended the roof of a wooden houſe of one ſtory, from whence I had a diſtinct view of the dreadful operation, which was already begun. The executioner held in his hand the knoot *: this inſtrument is a thong, about the thickneſs of a crown-piece,

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* The following are the exact dimenſions and weight of a knoot, which I procured in Ruſſia, and which is now in my poſſeſſion.

Length of the thong 2 feet; breadth of the top ¾ of an inch; at the bottom ¼.—Thick-neſs ½.—Length of the plaited whip 2 feet.—Circumference of ditto 2¾ inches.—Diame-ter of the ring 1 inch and ⅛.—Length of the leather ſpring 1 inch and ½.—Length of the handle 1 foot 2½ inches.—Length of the whole 5 feet 5 inches and ½.—Weight 11 ounces.

The reader will judge of the great force which the ſkilful executioner can give to this inſtrument, when informed, that if he re-ceives a private order, he can diſpatch the cri-minal by ſtriking him two or three blows upon the ribs.

and

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and about three quarters of an inch broad, and rendered extremely hard by a peculiar kind of preparation: it is tied to a thick plaited whip, which is connected, by means of an iron ring, with a ſmall piece of leather that acts like a ſpring, and is faſtened to a ſhort wooden handle.

The executioner, before every ſtroke, receded a few paces, and at the ſame time drew back the hand which held the knoot; then, bounding forwards, he applied the flat end of the thong with conſiderable force to the naked back of the criminal in a perpendicular line, reaching ſix or ſeven inches from the collar towards the waiſt. He began by hitting the right ſhoulder, and continued his ſtrokes parallel to each other quite to the left ſhoulder; nor ceaſed till he had inflicted 333 laſhes, the number preſcribed by the ſentence. At the concluſion of this terrible operation, the noſtrils of the criminal were torn with pincers, his face marked with a hot iron, and he was reconducted to priſon, in order to be tranſported to the mines of Nerſhinſk in Siberia.

As ſeveral authors have erroneouſly deſcribed or exaggerated the puniſhment of the knoot, I have been thus particular in relating what fell under my obſervation; and I ſhall take this opportunity of throwing together a few remarks upon the penal laws of Ruſſia.

By the antient ſtatutes, felons, as well as traitors, were publicly executed; but by an edict of the empreſs Elizabeth, certain corporal penalties were, in caſes of felony, ſubſtituted in the room of capital ſentences, a circumſtance peculiar to the Ruſſian code.

According to the preſent penal laws, offenders are puniſhed in the following manner. Perſons convicted of high treaſon are either beheaded or impriſoned for life. Felons, after receiving the knoot, having their noſtrils torn and their faces marked, as I have juſt deſcribed, are condemned for life to work

work in the mines of Nerſhinſk. Petty offenders are either whipped *, tranſported into Siberia as coloniſts, or ſentenced to hard labour for a ſtated period. Among the coloniſts are included peaſants, who may be arbitrarily conſigned by their maſters to baniſhment †. CHAP. IV.

All theſe perſons, felons and others, are tranſported in ſpring and autumn from different parts of the Ruſſian dominions. They travel part of the way by water, and part by land; are chained in pairs, and faſtened to a long rope: at night they are carried to different cottages, and guarded by the ſoldiers who conduct them. When the whole troop arrive at Tobolſk, the governor aſſigns the coloniſts who have been bred to handicraft trades to different maſters in the town; others he diſpoſes as vaſſals in the neighbouring country. The remainder of the coloniſts go on to Irkutſk, where they are diſpoſed of by the governor of that town in the ſame manner. The felons then proceed alone to the diſtrict of Nerſhinſk; where they are condemned to work in the ſilver mines, or at the different forges.

Travellers, who have viſited Ruſſia previous to the reign of Elizabeth, uniformly concur in relating the various modes of public executions, and in reprobating the ſeverity of the criminal laws. But though we may join with every friend to humanity in rejoicing that many of theſe dreadful puniſhments no longer exiſt, yet we cannot aſſent to the high encomiums paſſed upon the ſuperior excellence of the penal code ſince the edict of Elizabeth, which is ſuppoſed to have totally annulled capital condemnations.

From this ſuppreſſion of capital puniſhment in all inſtances excepting treaſon, Elizabeth has been repreſented, not only by

* There are three inſtruments for whipping in Ruſſia: the knoot, the katze, and the plett, both of which latter are a kind of cat-o'-nine-tails.

† Their maſters are empowered to inflict this puniſhment, only aſſigning the cauſe of the offence.

the

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the lively Voltaire, but even by the ſagacious Blackſtone *, as a ſtandard of legiſlative clemency. Yet, however incontrovertible

* Voltaire thus expreſſes himſelf upon this edict. "L'Impératrice Elizabeth a achevé, par "la clémence, l'ouvrage que ſon père com- "mença par les loix. Cette indulgence a été "même pouſſée à un point, dont il n'y a point "d'exemple dans l'hiſtoire d'aucun peuple. "*Elle a promis, que pendant ſon regne perſonne ne "ſerait puni de mort, & a tenu ſa promeſſe. Elle "eſt la première ſouveraine qui ait ainſi reſpecté la "vie des hommes.* Les malfaiteurs ont été con- "damnés aux mines, aux travaux publics: "leurs châtimens ſont devenus utiles à l'état; "inſtitution non moins ſage que humane. Par- "tout ailleurs on ne ſait que tuer un criminel, "avec appareil, ſans avoir jamais empêché les "crimes. La terreur de la mort fait moins "d'impreſſion peut-être ſur des méchants pour "la plûpart fainéants, que la crainte d'un "châtiment & d'un travail pénible qui renaiſ- "ſent tous les jours." Hiſt. de Ruſſie, p. 120.

Sir William Blackſtone makes the following remark upon the ſame prohibition.

"Was the vaſt territory of all the Ruſſias "worſe regulated under the late empreſs Eli- "zabeth, than under her more ſanguinary pre- "deceſſors? Is it now, under Catharine II. "leſs civilized, leſs ſocial, leſs ſecure? And "yet *we are aſſured, that neither of theſe illuſtri- "ous princeſſes have, throughout their whole ad- "miniſtration, inflicted the penalty of death*; and "the latter has, upon full perſuaſion of its be- "ing uſeleſs, nay, even pernicious, given or- "ders for aboliſhing it entirely throughout "her extenſive dominions." Commentaries, vol. IV. p. 10.

And lately L'Eveſque, "Les grands crimes "ont commencé à devenir plus rares ſous ce "regne, *où perſonne n'a été puni de mort.*" Hiſt. de Ruſſie, Tom. V. p. 92.

Voltaire aſſigns, as the grounds of his encomiums on Elizabeth's ſuppreſſion of capital puniſhment, the two following reaſons: 1. That the permanent chaſtiſement which entails upon the offender a long continuance of hardſhips and miſery, has a greater effect upon the multitude, than the ſummary pangs of death. 2. That the preſervation of malefactors is ſubſervient to public emolument. 1. Upon the firſt reaſon I ſhall briefly remark, that the horror of diſſolution has been repeatedly obſerved in the generality of mankind to preponderate beyond any other terrors; and that if we could deviſe a puniſhment more terrible than death, this new puniſhment, in order to work its effect upon vulgar minds, ought to be inflicted within the reach of vulgar obſervation, and not in the remoteſt region of Siberia. For can we ſuppoſe that the lower claſs of mankind, who are governed by their ſenſes, receive any ſtrong impreſſion from the caſual report of ſufferings endured at a great diſtance? 2. Voltaire's ſecond reaſon for his applauſe of Elizabeth's edict, namely, the profit which the community derives from the labour of a malefactor whoſe life is ſpared, will hardly be allowed to hold good in regard to murderers; for if capital puniſhments be really the moſt efficacious prevention of crimes, they will neceſſarily form a ſtronger bulwark round the lives of orderly citizens than any other penalties. The legiſlator, therefore, who ſubverts this ſecurity with a view to the emolument of the ſtate, actually revives the old barbarous cuſtom of weighing the life of man in a ſcale againſt pecuniary advantage, with this material difference, however, in favour of that barbarous cuſtom, that the latter aſſigned the price of blood to the relations of the perſon whoſe blood had been ſhed, and who had a more immediate claim, than the community at large, on any compenſation made by the offender.

Judge Blackſtone intimates his doubts concerning the ſuperior efficacy of capital puniſhments over other penalties in the ſhape of a query. Was the vaſt territory, &c. But no reader can perhaps anſwer this queſtion in the negative; nor could the ſagacious author himſelf

ible it may be that the infliction of death for offences, which ought not to be eſteemed capital, is much too frequent in many countries, we may venture to affirm, that Elizabeth's modification of the criminal laws is perhaps no leſs exceptionable, in point of policy and expedience, than illuſive, in regard to its ſuppoſed lenity.

With reſpect to the firſt poſition, its contradiction to ſound policy; ſhould we even erroneouſly ſuppoſe, with ſome authors *, that the edict has been literally obeyed, and that, during the ſpace of forty years, not one criminal has ſuffered death throughout the vaſt empire of Ruſſia, ſurely this lenity to the moſt atrocious crimes cannot but be conſidered as extremely injurious to the ſociety. For, as a denunciation of death is probably, to the generality of mankind, the moſt formidable prevention of crimes, the removal conſequently of this ſalutary terror withdraws a material ſafe-guard from the lives and property of worthy citizens, and diminiſhes that ſecurity which theſe valuable members of ſociety have a right to claim from the protection of the laws. I advance, however, this firſt objection to this celebrated and much-extolled edict with that heſitation which the intereſts of humanity and the intricate nature of the ſubject require.

But, with regard to the ſecond objection, that its lenity is illuſive, that poſition will not reſt merely upon theoretical reaſoning, but be incontrovertibly eſtabliſhed by poſitive fact. A

ſelf have anſwered it in the affirmative. For can it be deciſively determined, except by a collection and compariſon, during a long ſeries of years, of felonies reſpectively committed under the two different modes of juriſprudence? and judge Blackſtone does not pretend to have formed his theory on this ground: But after all, this reaſoning ſuppoſes a fact which in reality does not exiſt, that no criminal has ſuffered capitally ſince the acceſſion of Elizabeth; the falſity of which aſſertion is, as I flatter myſelf, abundantly proved in the text.

I entered Ruſſia fully prejudiced in favour of the notion, that there no perſons were ever puniſhed with death. I was firſt undeceived by a foreign gentleman, to whom I addreſſed the queſtion, Whether there were any capital executions in Ruſſia? "Malefactors, indeed," he returned, "are not beheaded or hanged; but they are "not unfrequently knooted to death."

* See the former note.

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diſpaſſionate perſon will probably feel no extraordinary veneration for this boaſted abolition of capital puniſhment, when he reflects, that though the criminal laws of Ruſſia do not *literally* ſentence malefactors to death, they ſtill conſign many to that doom through the medium of puniſhments, in ſome circumſtances, almoſt aſſuredly, if not profeſſedly fatal, which mock with the hopes of life, but in reality protract the horrors of death, and embitter with delay an event which reaſon wiſhes to be inſtantaneous. For when we conſider that many felons expire under the infliction, or from the conſequences of the knoot; that ſeveral are exhauſted by the fatigue of the long journey to Nerſhinſk *, the remoteſt region of Siberia; and that the forlorn remnant periſh in general prematurely from the unwholeſomeneſs of the mines, it will be difficult to view the doom of theſe unhappy outcaſts in any other light than that of a lingering execution. In effect, ſince the promulgation of the edict in queſtion, a year has never paſſed in which many atrocious criminals, though legally condemned to other penalties, have not been capitally puniſhed. And indeed, upon a general calculation, it will perhaps be found, that notwithſtanding the apparent mildneſs of the penal code, not fewer malefactors ſuffer death in Ruſſia, than in thoſe countries wherein that mode of puniſhment is appointed by the laws. It will therefore be evident to the reader, that capital penalties are virtually and neceſſarily retained, although the chief utility reſulting from the terror of certain deſtruction is conſiderably diminiſhed.

The panegyriſts of Elizabeth would certainly have entertained ſome doubts concerning her boaſted clemency, if they had recollected that ſhe did not aboliſh, but retained the following horrid proceſs for the purpoſe of extorting confeſſion from perſons charged with treaſonable deſigns. The arms of

* 4776 miles from Peterſburgh.

the

the ſuſpected perſon being tied behind by a rope, he was drawn up in that poſture to a conſiderable height in the air; from whence, being ſuddenly precipitated to within a ſmall diſtance of the ground, and being there as ſuddenly checked, the violence of the concuſſion diſlocated his ſhoulders, and in that deplorable ſituation he underwent the knoot. To this dreadful engine of barbarity and deſpotiſm, Elizabeth, amidſt all her imputed lenity, gave unlimited ſcope; and, during her whole reign, it was ordinarily applied even at the diſcretion of inferior and ignorant magiſtrates; nor was it aboliſhed until the acceſſion of the preſent empreſs, who has prohibited the uſe of torture in all criminal caſes.

Although the ſovereign of this empire is abſolute in the moſt unlimited ſenſe of the word; yet the prejudice of the Ruſſians in regard to the neceſſity of torture (and a wiſe legiſlator will always reſpect popular prejudices, be they ever ſo abſurd and unreaſonable) was ſo deeply rooted by immemorial uſage, that it required great circumſpection in the empreſs not to raiſe diſcontents by an immediate abolition of that inhuman practice. Accordingly, the cautious manner in which it was gradually ſuppreſſed, diſcovered as much judgement as benevolence. In 1762, Catharine, ſoon after her acceſſion, took away the power of inflicting torture from the vayvodes, or inferior juſtices, by whom it had been ſhamefully abuſed. In 1767, a ſecret order was iſſued to the judges in the ſeveral provinces, that whenever they ſhould think torture requiſite to force a criminal to confeſſion, they ſhould draw up the general articles of the charge, and lay the caſe before the governor of the province for his conſideration: and all the governors had received previous directions to determine the caſe according to the principles laid down in the third * queſtion

* Queſtion III. "La queſtion ne bleſſe-t-elle pas la juſtice, et conduit-elle au but, &c. See Inſtructions de Catharine II. &c. p. 51. to 55.

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of the tenth chapter of her majeſty's inſtructions for a code of laws; wherein torture is proved to be no leſs uſeleſs than cruel. This, therefore, was a tacit abolition of torture, which has been ſince formally and publicly annulled. The prohibition of this horrid ſpecies of judicature throughout the vaſt dominions of the Ruſſian empire, forms a memorable æra in the annals of humanity.

According to the plan I laid down, I viſited the Ruſſian priſons at Moſcow and Peterſburgh, of which I have already given an ample account in a former publication *. In this place I ſhall only remark in general, that the empreſs, being informed of my reſearches in relation to priſons, with a condeſcenſion peculiar to her character, permitted me to deliver to count Ivan Tchernichef, vice-preſident of the admiralty, a liſt of queries, with reſpect to ſome of which I received information, by her orders, from her beſt-informed governors †; and others ſhe even condeſcended to anſwer herſelf. The latter I ſhall here ſubjoin, with a full conviction, that obſervations even of leſs moment would be rendered acceptable by the authority of ſo diſtinguiſhed a character.

Queries upon the Ruſſian priſons, delivered to the empreſs.

1. *Is there any general plan for the conſtruction of priſons, and their interior diſtribution? and are they uſually ſituated in the ſuburbs, and near the running water?*

Anſwers dictated by the empreſs to her ſecretary, and ſent to the author.

1. "There has been hitherto no general plan for the conſtruction of priſons, nor rules for their diſtribution and ſituation.

* Account of the Priſons and Hoſpitals in Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, &c.

† I have made uſe of theſe papers in the treatiſe mentioned in the laſt note.

"2. There

2. What precautions are taken, in order to keep the prisons clean, and to prevent epidemical distempers?

" 2. There is no more regu- " lation for the cleanliness of " the prisons, than for their " construction and situation. " By an abuse favourable to " the prisoners, they are in " many places permitted to go " to the baths. It is probable " that the cold alone prevents " epidemical disorders.

3. Is there a separate infirmary for the sick?

" 3. Not every where.

4. Are petty offenders kept apart from the felons, and are the felons also separated from each other?

" 4. Although it is prescribed " by the antient laws that a fe- " lon, when he is sentenced to " death, shall be kept in a sepa- " rate room, called the cham- " ber of repentance, never- " theless, there are nowhere " chambers of that description.

5. Are the prisoners permitted to purchase spirituous liquors, and do the jailers sell them?

" 5. Every species of food is " sold in the prisons, but the " jailer cannot sell spirituous " liquors, and that for two rea- " sons: First, because spirituous " liquors can only be sold by " those who farm the right " of vending them from the " crown. Secondly, what is " very extraordinary, there are " no jailers * to any of the " prisons, although the laws " make mention of them.

* The prisoners are guarded by soldiers.

" 6. The

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6. *Are female criminals put in irons?*

" 6. The laws are ſilent upon " this head. So that whenever " this cuſtom is practiſed, it " muſt be reckoned among " thoſe innumerable abuſes, " which ought to be aboliſh- " ed *.

7. *Is the fate of criminals condemned to hard labour ever mitigated in caſe of reformation? Do they wear any badge of infamy, and is it taken away upon good behaviour?*

" 7. Criminals condemned " to public labour are tranſ- " ported: for murder they are " branded in the face with an " hot iron, &c. ſome are chain- " ed, others have their noſtrils " torn; and unleſs, upon a ge- " neral or particular amneſty, " they receive no mitigation.

8. *Are there fixed times and places in the ſeveral provinces for the trial of criminals?*

" 8. The laws ſettled indeed " certain times for this pur- " poſe; but, as a great quan- " tity of different affairs and " trials were decided in the " ſame tribunal, the courts of " criminal juſtice were very di- " latory in their proceedings.

" See the manifeſto of 1775, " at the head of the Regula- " tions †, &c.

* The original paſſage, which is in the French language, does not admit of a literal tranſlation:

" Les loix paſſent ſous ſilence ce point: ainſi ce que pourroit ſe faire à cet égard peut " être compté parmi l'inombrable quantité des abus. Ces abus ſont pour la plupart autant " de cloux qu'il faut tirer du corps politique de l'etat où on les trouve."

† Reglements de ſa Maj. Imp. pour l'adminiſtration des Gouvernements, &c.

" New

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"New Plan for the Ruſſian Priſons, to be introduced into each government.

"1. To divide the priſons into civil and criminal. 2. The criminal priſon ſhall be diſtributed into three parts. The firſt, for criminals before and during trial; the ſecond, for perſons ſentenced to confinement for a ſtated time; and the third, for felons capitally convicted, condemned to perpetual impriſonment, or to the public works. 3. Each part ſhall be ſeparated, one for the men, the other for the women. 4. There ſhall be an infirmary for ſick priſoners. 5. The priſon ſhall be conſtructed without the town in an airy ſituation, and near the water."

It cannot be otherwiſe than a ſubject of pleaſing reflection to the reader, that this great princeſs thus condeſcends to contemplate and alleviate the ſufferings of even the wretched victims to public juſtice; but how much more will the veneration for her be increaſed, when he conſiders her as erecting the glorious ſuperſtructure of national happineſs on the firm baſis of equal legiſlation?

The empreſs, at her acceſſion, found the Ruſſian code of laws a rude and indigeſted chaos; and ſaw the immediate neceſſity of amending and reforming it. The courts of juſtice were regulated by the ſtatutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch *, extremely defective both as to order and preciſion, and by the *ukaſes* or imperial mandates iſſued by Peter and his ſucceſſors, uncommonly numerous, and in many important points contradictory to each other.

* The earlieſt regular code of written laws was formed, in 1542, by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. from precedents and antient cuſtoms.

The ſtatutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch, alluded to in the text, were chiefly compoſed from the above-mentioned code, from the mandates of the ſovereigns ſubſequent to Ivan Vaſſielievitch II. from the deciſions of the boiars, who in thoſe times preſided in the high courts of juſtice, and from the Byzantine laws or edicts iſſued by the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople. The new ſtatutes, compiled from theſe ſources, with a few additions, being in 1650 read in the tzar's preſence, were printed, and a copy ſent into each province.

See Statuta Moſchovitica in Herberſteini Itin. in Moſchoviam; alſo Von Juſtiz-Weſen in Haygold's Beylagen, p. 379.

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The vaſt empire of Ruſſia was diſtributed into a few extenſive governments: each government was ſubdivided into provinces, and each province into diſtricts, or circles. Over each government was appointed a governor; over the provinces a vayvode and his officers, who formed a chancery; and over the diſtricts an inferior vayvode, or a kind of juſtice of peace. The abuſes which reſulted from this diſtribution are ſufficiently detailed in the following paſſage, from the manifeſto of the empreſs prefixed to the firſt part of the new code *:

" We find that many governments are not ſufficiently pro-
" vided with tribunals or officers of juſtice in proportion to
" their extent; that not only the affairs of the treaſury and
" of the police, but alſo the civil and criminal cauſes, are tried
" in the ſame court in which the adminiſtration of govern-
" ment is carried on. Nor are the provinces and diſtricts in
" theſe ſame governments leſs ſubject to ſimilar inconveniencies,
" as the ſole chancery of the vayvode is the only court which
" has cognizance of ſo many and ſuch different affairs. The
" diſorders reſulting from theſe circumſtances are but too evi-
" dent: on one ſide delays, omiſſions, and vexations, are the
" natural conſequences of ſo incongruous and defective a con-
" ſtitution; where one buſineſs impedes another, and where
" the impoſſibility of terminating matters ſo various in the
" ſole chancery of the vayvode occaſions procraſtination,
" neglect of duty, and admits only a partial diſpatch of bu-
" neſs; on the other ſide, theſe delays generate chicanery,
" and encourage the commiſſion of crimes, becauſe the puniſh-
" ment does not follow the tranſgreſſion of the laws with that
" celerity which is neceſſary to repreſs and ſtrike terror into
" offenders, while the endleſs appeals † from one court to
" another are perpetual obſtructions to juſtice."

But

* Reglements de Catharine II. &c. p. VII.

† The manifeſto of the empreſs enumerates the following inſtances of appeal in the affairs relative to commerce, as well as all cauſes of merchants or burghers. " A perſon, not " content with the deciſion by oral judge-
" ment,

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But the greateſt evil to the lower claſs of people was derived from the enormous authority of the inferior vayvode, who, though uſually a perſon of low birth, and totally ignorant of the laws, yet could not only impoſe puniſhment for petty offences, but had even the power of ordering the knoot, of inflicting torture, and of tranſporting to Siberia. Hence perſons ſuſpected of crimes were detained in priſon ſeveral years without being brought to a final trial; were applied to the torture without ſufficient proof, and frequently more than once.

Many ſovereigns ſubſequent to Alexèy Michaelovitch, and particularly Peter I., had framed the project for amending and reforming the Ruſſian juriſprudence, but had never carried it into execution: the completion of this arduous undertaking was reſerved for Catharine II.; who, in 1767, ſummoned deputies to Moſcow from every part of her extenſive dominions, and having appointed commiſſioners for compoſing a new code of laws, delivered to them her Grand Inſtructions*, which had been previouſly compoſed by her imperial majeſty in the true ſpirit of genuine legiſlation. In conformity to theſe inſtructions, the firſt part of a new code made its appearance in 1775; and a ſecond part in 1780; and has been received in many of the new governments into which the Ruſſian empire has been lately divided. Many of the abuſes, as well thoſe above enumerated as others of no leſs moment, have been removed by theſe new inſtitutions; and many of them ſtill exiſting will be aboliſhed, if the empreſs has time to complete the ſyſtem.

"ment, could carry his cauſe before the ma-
"giſtrate of the town, from whoſe ſentence he
"might appeal to the magiſtrate of the pro-
"vince, from him ſucceſſively to the magiſ-
"trate of the government, to the ſuperior
"magiſtrate, and laſtly to the ſenate." Ibid. p. VIII.

* "Inſtructions de Catharine II. Pour la "Commiſſion chargée de dreſſer le Projet d'un "Nouveau Code de Loix." St. Pet. 1769.

Theſe inſtructions have been tranſlated into moſt modern languages, and into Engliſh by Tatiſchef, a Ruſſian gentleman; to which is prefixed, a deſcription of the manner of opening the commiſſion, with the order and rules for electing the commiſſioners appointed to frame a new code of laws. See The Grand Inſtructions, &c. printed by Jefferys.

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As an ample detail of theſe regulations falls not within the compaſs of the preſent work, nor within the capacity of the author, it is to be hoped that the curioſity of the public will be in ſome meaſure gratified by the enumeration of the moſt ſtriking peculiarities in this extenſive plan; which has changed and modified the whole ſyſtem of government.

The empire, which had been divided by Peter the Great into nine extenſive governments, is now diſtributed into a larger number *, each upon an average containing only from 3 to 400,000 ſouls. One or more of theſe governments is ſuperintended by a nameſtnick, or lord-lieutenant, and each of them has a vice-governor, a council, civil and criminal courts of judicature, ſome of whoſe members are appointed by the ſovereign, and the others are choſen by the nobles. By this inſtitution Catharine has, in ſome inſtances, ſet bounds to her abſolute prerogative, by diminiſhing the power of thoſe tribunals which were only dependent upon the crown, by tranſferring it to the nobles, and inveſting them with many additional privileges with reſpect to the adminiſtration of juſtice. As ſhe has introduced likewiſe into each government ſuperior tribunals, whoſe deciſion is final, ſhe has prevented, by theſe means, frequent appeals to the imperial colleges at Peterſburgh and Moſcow, which were attended with conſiderable expence

* The firſt provinces erected into governments, according to the new inſtitution, were Tver and Smolenſko, in January 1776. Thoſe which have been ſince eſtabliſhed, either before or during my reſidence in Ruſſia, were in the following order: Novogorod and Kaluga, in December 1776; Pleſcof, Yaroſlaf, and Tula, in December 1777; Polotſk and Mohilef, in May 1778; Reſan, Volodimir, Koſtroma, and Orel, in December 1778.

By the lateſt accounts from Peterſburgh, the governments were ranged in the following manner:

1. Moſcow. 2. Peterſburgh. 3. Wiburgh. 4. Tver. 5. Novogorod. 6. Pleſkof. 7. Smolenſko. 8. Mohilef. 9. Polotſk. 10. Orel. 11. Kurſk. 12. Karkof. 13. Voronetz. 14. Tambof. 15. Reſan. 16. Tula. 17. Kaluga. 18. Yaroſlaf. 19. Vologda. 20. Vladimir. 21. Koſtroma. 22. Niſhnéi Novogorod. 23. Viatka. 24. Permia. 25. Tobolſk. 26. Kolyvan. 27. Irkutſk. 28. Ufa. 29. Simbirſk. 30. Caſan. 31. Penza. 32. Saratof. 33. Aſtracan. 34. Azof. 35. New-Ruſſia. 36. Little-Ruſſia. 37. Kiof. 38. Tchernigof. 39. Livonia, or Riga. 40. Eſthonia, or Reval. 41. Novogorod-Severſkoi. 42. Orenburgh.

and

and delay. By eſtabliſhing or ſeparating the different boards of finance, police, &c. from the courts of law, which before impeded each other by meeting in the ſame place, ſhe has facilitated the diſpatch of buſineſs, and rendered the adminiſtration of juſtice more ſpeedy. She has increaſed the ſalaries of the judges, who before, from the narrowneſs of their income, were neceſſarily expoſed to almoſt irreſiſtible temptations from bribery: or, to uſe her own expreſſions to the judges, in her celebrated edict, "Formerly your neceſſities might have in-"duced you to be too attentive to your own intereſts: your "country now pays your labours; and what before might admit "of ſome excuſe, from this moment becomes a crime." She has conſiderably increaſed the expences of the crown in each government * without increaſing the taxes; which ſhe has been enabled to perform by introducing a more regular order into the finances.

To theſe regulations muſt be added the abolition of torture; the ſettling of the proper boundaries between the ſeveral governments, which has prevented many diſſentions and lawſuits; the appointment of regular phyſicians and ſurgeons, ſtationed in various diſtricts, at the crown's expence; the foundation of ſchools for the education of the nobility, others for children of perſons of inferior rank; the eſtabliſhment or augmentation of new ſeminaries for thoſe intended for holy orders; the erection of new bodies corporate with additional immunities; the grant of freedom to numberleſs vaſſals of the crown; and facilitating the means of giving liberty to the peaſants.

Such are the outlines of theſe excellent inſtitutions. How far, or in what degree, they may operate upon a people ſo widely diſperſed, and of ſuch different manners and cuſtoms,

* The expences of the government of Tver amount to £ 24,000 per annum; and the revenues to £ 175,000.

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can only be proved by time and experience. But though they may fail in producing *all* thoſe advantages which from their intrinſic excellence the ſpeculative reaſoner might expect, yet they muſt be attended with the moſt beneficial effects; as indeed ſufficiently appears from the flouriſhing ſtate of thoſe provinces in which they have been already admitted. If it be allowed that many evils are reformed, and many improvements have been introduced, it cannot at the ſame time be ſuppoſed that the national manners ſhould be ſuddenly changed; or that the moſt abſolute ſovereign can venture to ſhake thoſe fundamental cuſtoms which have been ſanctioned by ages, and which oppoſe any violation even of thoſe rights that infringe the common principles of humanity. It is ſurely ſufficient if the abuſes are remedied, as much as can be expected in a country, where the vaſt diſproportion of rank and fortune, and the abſolute vaſſalage of the peaſants render it extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to eſtabliſh at once an impartial and incorrupt adminiſtration of juſtice.

Ruſſia, with reſpect to the vaſt maſs of its people, is nearly in the ſame ſtate in which the greateſt part of Europe was plunged in the 11th and 12th centuries; when the feudal ſyſtem was gradually declining; when the unbounded authority of the land-holders over their ſlaves was beginning to be counterbalanced by the introduction of an intermediate order of merchants; when new towns were continually erecting, and endowed with increaſing immunities; and when the crown began to give freedom to many of its vaſſals.

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Inquiry into the preſent ſtate of civilization in the Ruſſian *empire.—Diviſion of the inhabitants into I. nobles, II. clergy, III. merchants and burghers, IV. peaſants. —General remarks on theſe orders.—Privileges granted by the empreſs to the merchants, burghers, and peaſants.—State of vaſſalage.—Concluſion.*

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MUCH has been written concerning the great civilization which Peter I. introduced into this country; that he obliged the people to relinquiſh their beards, and their national dreſs; that he naturalized the arts and ſciences; that he diſciplined his army, and created a navy; and that he made a total change throughout each part of his extenſive empire. We may readily allow the truth of this eulogium with reſpect to his improvements in the diſcipline of his army and the creation of a navy, for theſe were objects within the reach of the perſevering genius of a deſpotic ſovereign; but the pompous accounts of the total change which he effected in the national manners, ſeem to have been the mere echoes of foreigners, who have never viſited the country, and who have collected the hiſtory of Peter from the moſt partial information. For though a nation, when compared with itſelf at a former period, may have made a rapid progreſs towards improvement, even when the degree of that improvement, if put in competition with the refinements of other nations, ſeems ſcarcely to exiſt; yet, as the exaggerated accounts which I had heard and read of the great civilization diffuſed throughout the whole empire, made me expect a more poliſhed ſtate of manners than I found, I muſt own I was

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was aſtoniſhed at the barbariſm in which the bulk of the people ſtill continue. I am ready to allow that the principal nobles are perfectly civilized, and as refined in their entertainments, mode of living, and ſocial intercourſe, as thoſe of other European countries. But there is a wide difference between poliſhing a nation, and poliſhing a few individuals. The merchants and peaſants ſtill univerſally retain their beards, their national dreſs, their original manners; and, what is moſt remarkable, the greateſt part of the merchants and burghers of the large towns, even the citizens of Peterſburgh and Moſcow, reſemble, in their external appearance and general mode of living, the inhabitants of the ſmalleſt village: and, notwithſtanding the rigorous edicts iſſued by *Peter I. I can venture to aſſert, that of the 11,500,000 males, who form the population of the Ruſſian empire, at leaſt nine millions wear their beards; being ſcarcely leſs attached at preſent to that cuſtom than their anceſtors in former times, when the fine for cutting off a finger was rated at 1 *s.* 3 *d.*; that for cutting off the beard, or whiſkers, at 4 *s.* 10 *d.* †

The greateſt part of the peaſants, who form the bulk of the nation, are ſtill almoſt as deficient in the arts as they were before Peter's time, although the ſciences have flouriſhed in the capital. But the civilization of a numerous and widely diſperſed people cannot be the work of a moment, and can only be effected by a gradual and almoſt inſenſible progreſs.

* "Il ordonna aux Ruſſes de quitter l'habit long et la barbe. Une amende fut impoſée aux amateurs obſtinés de l'ancien uſage. Bien des Ruſſes, et ſurtout les Rozkolniks, regardaient le changement d'habit comme un renoncement à la religion, et diſaient qu'il valaient mieux perdre la tête que la barbe: ils furent obligés de payer un droit pour n'être pas raſés, et ils recevaient un jetton qui leur ſervait de quittance. Souvent à la cour on énivrait les vieux boiars, et on leur taillait la barbe d'une maniere ſi ridicule, qu'ils etaient obligés de garder la chambre pendant pluſieurs mois, on de ſe faire raſer. On attachait aux portes des villes un modelle du nouvel habit, et on rognait la robe de ceux qui ne voulaient pas payer: on les raſait malgré eux dans les rues." L'Eveſque, IV. p. 157.

† Haygold, I. p. 337.

If

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If we deſcend from theſe vague and general reflections to a more diſtinct conſideration of the different claſſes of ſubjects in the Ruſſian empire, we ſhall be more eaſily enabled to form ſome probable judgement concerning the preſent ſtate of its civilization.

The inhabitants in general may be divided into four orders: I. that of the nobles and gentry; II. that of the clergy; III. that of merchants, burghers, and other freemen; IV. that of the peaſants. The three firſt include almoſt all the free ſubjects of the empire, and the latter all the vaſſals or ſlaves.

I. The firſt order comprehends the nobles and gentry, the ſole * perſons who, in the true ſpirit of feudal deſpotiſm, have a right to poſſeſs land; but inſtead of appearing, themſelves, according to the tenure of that ſyſtem, at the head of their retainers, are now only expected to ſerve in the army, and are obliged to furniſh recruits in proportion to the extent of their poſſeſſions.

In Ruſſia, as in the Oriental governments, there is ſcarcely any diſtinction of ranks among the nobility, excepting what is derived from the ſervice of the ſovereign. Even the eldeſt ſons of thoſe perſons, who have been raiſed to the moſt conſiderable honours and the higheſt employments, excepting the advantages which they undoubtedly retain of facilitating their promotion by a ready acceſs to court, do not derive any ſolid benefits from their birth, like thoſe which the peers of England, the grandees of Spain, or the dukes, who are peers of France, enjoy from their hereditary deſcent. The importance of a noble family of immenſe property and official honours, is almoſt annihilated upon the death of the chief, becauſe his property is equally divided among his ſons; and

* Catharine, in confirming the immunities of the nobles, decreed, "Que le droit d'ache-"ter ou de vendre des terres ſeroit propre ou "particulier aux ſeuls nobles." Le Clerc, p. 472. That is in Ruſſia, ſtrictly ſpeaking, for in the Ukraine, and in the provinces conquered from Sweden, Ingria excepted, and in a few other places, the lower orders are proprietors of lands.

becauſe

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becauſe titles, though allowed to be hereditary, do not, independent of the ſovereign's favour *, contribute much to aggrandize the poſſeſſors; that of a prince, a count, or a baron, conveying in themſelves little perſonal diſtinction, unleſs accompanied with a civil or military employment.

Before the æra of Peter the Great, the only title in Ruſſia, excepting that of boyar, which ſignified privy-counſellor, and was not hereditary, and other ſimilar appellations annexed to civil employments, was that of knaes, which was eſteemed ſynonymous to prince. Perſons who aſſumed this title were deſcended, or pretended to be ſo, either from the different collateral branches of the reigning family; or from ſome Lithuanian princes who eſtabliſhed themſelves in Ruſſia in the 14th and 15th centuries; or from the numerous Tartar nobles who became ſubjects of the Ruſſian empire under Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and his immediate ſucceſſors; or from ſeveral Poliſh, and other foreign families, who ſettled in this empire. In proceſs of time the number of theſe princes increaſed to ſo conſiderable a degree, that, according to Lord Whitworth, no leſs than 300 were common ſoldiers in prince Menzikof's regiment of dragoons. Though Peter the Great, in imitation of the other

* "A preſent en Ruſſie, indépendemment "des avantages que procurent par tout la for- "tune, ou la facilité de s'approcher de la cour, "un noble n'eſt diſtingué d'un autre que par "l'emploi qu'il occupe, et qui lui marque ſon "rang. Les titres, l'ancienneté de la nobleſſe, "l'illuſtration de ſes pères, n'empêchent "pas celui à qui ſon emploi ne donne que le "rang de lieutenant, d'être même hors du "ſervice militaire, inferieur à un capitaine tiré "de la plus nouvelle nobleſſe, ou même de la "claſſe des affranchis." L'Eveſque, vol. IV. p. 479.

With reſpect to the advantages poſſeſſed by the children of the nobility, Monſieur Le Clerc informs us, "Catharine II. en confirmant les "droits et priviléges que Pierre III. a ac- "cordées à la nobleſſe Ruſſe, y en a ajouté "quatre autres. 1. Elle a ordonné aux colo- "nels des régimens, dans une inſtruction par- "ticuliere, de préférer, dans tous les cas, les "nobles à ceux qui ne le ſont pas, dans la pro- "motion des grades militaires. 2. Elle a "ſtatué que les enfans des nobles, ainſi que "ceux des officiers de l'état major, ſeroient "reçus préférablement à tous autres de ſes "ſujets, dans les établiſſemens d'éducation na- "tionale. 3. Que le droit d'acheter ou de "vendre des terres ſeroient propre et particu- "lier aux ſeuls nobles. 4. Que les nobles de "ſon empire jouiroient du privilége excluſif "d'etablir des fabriques pour la diſtillation de "l'eau-de-vie des grains, et de la vendre à la "Couronne." P. 472.

European

European courts, introduced the titles of count and baron, and his example has been followed by his ſucceſſors; yet neither theſe titles, nor that of prince above-mentioned, have been eſteemed a ſufficient aggrandizement; becauſe the greateſt favourites of the ſovereign have been occaſionally created by the emperor of Germany princes of the German empire; as prince Menzikof at the requeſt of Peter, and the princes Orlof and Potemkin during the preſent reign.

According to the ſyſtem introduced by Peter I. but which has gradually been corrupted as it has receded from its ſource, every perſon takes precedence from his military ſtation; he muſt riſe in regular gradation, and, before he can be an officer, muſt have ſerved as a corporal or ſerjeant: but this ordinance is eaſily eluded; as frequently infants are made ſerjeants and corporals; and it is not neceſſary to have ſerved even one campaign in order to obtain precedence, as it may be conferred by civil offices. And although the law of Peter I. which compelled each nobleman or gentleman, under pain of degradation, to ſerve in the army, was aboliſhed by Peter III.*, yet its effects ſtill ſubſiſt. No one under the rank of a major, let his fortune be ever ſo conſiderable, is permitted to drive more than two horſes; under that of brigadier, more than four: a nobleman of the higheſt fortune and diſtinction, who has never been in the army, is not allowed, excepting by the ſpecial permiſſion of the crown, to uſe in the capital a carriage drawn by more than one horſe; while a merchant may have two. There are various methods, however, of procuring military dignity, and the privileges annexed to it. Amongſt others, a chamberlain, for inſtance, to the ſovereign, *ranks* as major-general; the office of a ſecretary in the different departments of

* The Abbé de Chappe, in a remark upon the abolition of this law by Peter III. is guilty of a ridiculous miſtake, when he ſuppoſes, that before this decree the nobles were *ſlaves*. About a week after his acceſſion to the throne, Peter went to the ſenate, and declared, "that "he had granted the privilege of *freedom* to "the nobility." This miſtake aroſe from an omiſſion in his decree, in which the nobles were only *declared free*, without the addition of *to ſerve, or not to ſerve, as they thought proper*. See Antidote, p. 148 to 150.

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government confers the *rank* of an officer; and the contributor of a certain ſum to the foundling hoſpital at Moſcow obtains the *rank* of a lieutenant. Theſe regulations, and the eaſe with which military *rank* is acquired, has induced a German, ſettled in Ruſſia, to expreſs himſelf with ſome humour in the following manner: "A nobleman is here nothing; his ſituation in "the army alone marks the value of his exiſtence. A phyſi- "cian has the *rank* of major, and dares, as a ſtaff-officer, put "four horſes to his carriage, while others can only drive two; "an apothecary in the imperial ſervice has the *rank* of a cap- "tain; his apprentices that of enſigns; and the two ſurgeons "of the diſtrict bear the *rank* of lieutenants *." But however ridiculous theſe promotions may appear, yet they are founded on principles of the ſoundeſt policy: for, as by a decree of Peter the Great, every officer is noble during his life, and the children of a ſtaff-officer are claſſed among the nobility; any inſtitution tending to increaſe the number of this order of men, who alone are entitled to poſſeſs land, cannot fail of being highly beneficial to the ſociety. Upon their own eſtates the nobles and gentry are almoſt uncontrouled, having abſolute authority over their vaſſals, as will be ſhewn when I treat of the peaſants.

II. The next order of ſubjects is the Clergy.

I have already had occaſion to mention the origin and ſuppreſſion of the office of patriarch, who was formerly the head of the Ruſſian clergy. Peter I. finally aboliſhed that dignity in 1719; but, inſtead of formally declaring himſelf the head of the church, he prudently conſigned the chief eccleſiaſtical authority to a tribunal which he called the Sacred Synod; but which was in effect rendered abſolutely ſubſervient to him, by an oath taken by all its members, acknowledging him as their ſupreme judge. The ſynod is compoſed of the ſovereign, who is preſident, a vice-preſident, who is generally the metropolitan archbiſhop, and a number of counſellors and aſſeſſors.

* Schloetzer's Briefwechſel for 1781, p. 365.

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The clergy are divided into, 1. Regular; and 2. Secular: the firſt are monks; and the latter, pariſh prieſts.

1. The principal wealth of the church is centered in the monaſteries, which formerly had eſtates to the amount of £400,000 per annum; and, like the other land-holders, enjoyed uncontrouled authority over their peaſants, who were equally bondſmen as on the poſſeſſions of the laity. The preſent empreſs has annexed theſe church-lands to the crown; and in return grants annual penſions to the hierarchy, the dignified clergy, and the monks. The archbiſhops and biſhops receive about £1000 or £1200 per annum; and the ſubordinate eccleſiaſtics in proportion. Soon after this regulation took place, many of the monaſteries were ſuppreſſed; and the members in thoſe which were ſpared, were conſiderably reduced, as well by the prohibition to admit more than a certain number, as by limiting the age of noviciates. The abolition of monaſteries muſt be acknowledged a very beneficial circumſtance in moſt countries; yet there is one evil to be apprehended from it in Ruſſia: they were the only ſeminaries of education for thoſe perſons deſigned for the ſacred function; and the monks are, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, almoſt the ſole proprietors of the learning which ſubſiſts among the clergy. But, moſt probably, the ill effects which may be expected from the ſuppreſſion of ſome convents, will be compenſated by the better improvement introduced into the adminiſtration of thoſe which are continued, and by the ſchools lately eſtabliſhed in various parts of the empire for the education of eccleſiaſtics.

All the dignitaries of the church are choſen from the order of monks: theſe are archbiſhops and biſhops, archimandrites or abbots, and igoomens or priors. "The epiſcopal order in "Ruſſia is diſtinguiſhed by the different titles of metropolitan, "archbiſhop, and biſhop. The titles of metropolitan and arch-"biſhop are not attached to the ſee; but are, at preſent, merely "perſonal diſtinctions conferred by the ſovereign, which give

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"the poſſeſſors no additional power, and ſcarcely any pre-"cedence *." The archbiſhoprics or biſhoprics are thirty-three in number. 1. Novogorod. 2. Moſcow. 3. Peterſburgh. 4. Caſan. 5. Aſtracan. 6. Tobolſk. 7. Roſtof. 8. Pleſkof. 9. Kratitz. 10. Reſan. 11. Tver. 12. Slavenſk and Kherſon. 13. Mohilef. 14. Smolenſko. 15. Niſhnei-Novogorod. 16. Bielgorod. 17. Suſdal. 18. Vologda. 19. Columna. 20. Viatſk. 21. Archangel. 22. Uſtyug. 23. Voronetz. 24. Irkutſk. 25. Pereſlaf. 26. Coſtroma. 27. Volodimir. 28. Tambof. 29. Olonetz. 30. Sievſk. 31. Kiof. 32. Tchernigof. 33. Pereaſlavl.

Ruſſia contains at preſent 159 monaſteries, governed by 58 archimandrites and 99 igoomens; and 67 nunneries, ſuperintended by abbeſſes. There are 2677 monks, and 1299 nuns. The other prieſts and eccleſiaſtics belonging to the nunneries and cathedrals are 1537 †.

2. The Ruſſian pariſh-prieſts are called papas, or popes; a word ſignifying father, and indiſcriminately applied in the early ages of Chriſtianity to all eccleſiaſtics without diſtinction, until it was confined to the biſhop of Rome by an edict of Gregory VII. But though this order was obeyed by the members of the Latin or Roman Catholic church, yet it was not acceded to by thoſe of the Greek communion; and the prieſts of that perſuaſion are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of pope.

The parochial clergy, who may and ought to be the moſt uſeful members of ſociety, are generally in Ruſſia the very refuſe of the people. It is literally true, that many of them cannot even read ‡, in their own language, the Goſpel which they are commiſſioned to preach; theſe deliver from memory

* Dr. King on the Greek Church, p. 272.

† According to a liſt of the religious eſtabliſhments, printed in the Journal of St. Peterſburgh in 1776, there were 460 monaſteries, and 20,535 churches. According to Buſching, Ruſſia contained 479 convents, and 79 nunneries, without reckoning ſeveral ſmall monaſteries dependent upon the larger ones; in all which were 7300 monks, and 5300 nuns. Perhaps this was the ſtate before the ſuppreſſion of many of them. I have adopted the account by Le Clerc, becauſe he informs us, "Cet "état exact vient de l'imperatrice même." See Hiſt. An. de la Ruſſ. p. 261.

‡ This ſhameful ignorance is certainly leſs common than formerly; as the biſhops are more cautious in ordaining ſuch improper perſons.

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the ſervice, a chapter of the New Teſtament, or part of a homily, which they repeat every Friday and Sunday. Nor is it in the leaſt ſurprizing that ſome are ſo illiterate, when we conſider the ſcanty maintenance which they derive from their profeſſion. Beſide the ſurplice fees, which in the pooreſt benefices amount to £ 4 per annum, and in the moſt profitable to but £ 20, they have only a wooden houſe, ſcarcely ſuperior to that of the meaneſt among their pariſhioners, and a ſmall portion of land, which they uſually cultivate with their own hands. While the higheſt dignity to which they can ever attain, as long as they continue married, is that of protopope of a cathedral, whoſe income ſcarcely exceeds £ 20 a year. As the pariſh-prieſts are undoubtedly the principal ſources from which learning and improvement muſt be generally diffuſed among the lower claſs of people; if they, who ought to inſtruct and enlighten others, are ſo ignorant, how groſs muſt be the ignorance of their pariſhioners! In no inſtance, perhaps, has the empreſs contributed more towards civilizing her people, than in inſtituting various ſeminaries for the children of prieſts; in endeavouring to promote among the clergy a zeal for liberal ſcience, and to rouſe them from that profound ignorance in which they are plunged*.

The monks are not permitted to marry, while the pariſh-prieſts are compelled to take a wife as a preliminary to ordination, as I have remarked on a former occaſion †: if their wives happen to die, they may enter into a convent, and become dignitaries of the church. They cannot engage in a ſecond marriage unleſs they become laymen; neither can they continue pariſh-prieſts without the expreſs permiſſion of a biſhop. The children of the ſecular clergy are all free; their ſons are

* An inſtance of her majeſty's zeal in this particular fell under my obſervation. When I viſited the preſs of the Holy Synod at Moſcow, three volumes of Sermons were printing in the Ruſſian tongue: they were tranſlations, by the empreſs's command, from the beſt Engliſh, French, and German authors, of thoſe principally which contained a clear diſcuſſion of the moral duties. They were to be diſtributed among the parochial clergy, who had orders to read them occaſionally in the time of divine ſervice.

† See Vol. I. Book III. Chap. II.

uſually

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uſually brought up for orders, or employed in the ſervice of the church.

All the clergy wear long beards, and are diſtinguiſhed from the laity by ſuffering their hair to ſtream for a conſiderable length over their ſhoulders, without being tied or curled. Their dreſs is a ſquare bonnet, and a long robe of a black or dark colour, reaching to their ankles: the ſecular and regular prieſts uſe, in ſome inſtances, a different habit; and the dignitaries of the church are diſtinguiſhed by a more coſtly ſpecies of raiment *.

I cannot omit mentioning, that, during the five months we paſſed at Peterſburgh, and the almoſt conſtant intercourſe in which we were daily engaged with the nobility and gentry, I never once ſaw in company a ſingle perſon of the ſacred profeſſion. It muſt be allowed, indeed, that the pariſh-prieſts are, for the moſt part, too low and ignorant to be qualified for admiſſion into genteel ſocieties; while the dignitaries, being a ſeparate order, and reſtrained by ſeveral ſtrict regulations, reſide chiefly in their palaces within the monaſteries; and contract an averſion, perhaps an unfitneſs, for ſocial intercourſe. This general character of the Ruſſian hierarchy does by no means comprehend all the individuals; as ſome of them with whom I occaſionally converſed, were men of liberal manners and enlightened underſtandings †.

III. The third diviſion of Ruſſian ſubjects comprehends that intermediate claſs of men between the nobles and peaſants, which is thus defined by the empreſs, in the 16th chapter of her inſtructions for the new code of laws.

" Cette claſſe d'hommes dignes que nous en faſſions men-
" tion, et dont l'etat peut ſe promettre de grands avantages,
" quand elle aura reçu une forme ſtable, et qui ait pour but

* See prints of the ſeveral eccleſiaſtical dreſſes in King's State of the Greek Church in Ruſſia.

† The dignitaries occaſionally dine at the tables of the nobility upon days of great ceremony, as on that of St. Alexander Nevſki, when I met the archbiſhop of Roſtof at prince Volkonſki's. See vol. I. Book III. Chap. II.

" l'encourage-

" l'encouragement des bonnes mœurs et l'amour de travail, CHAP. V.
" c'eſt l'etat Mitoyen.

" Cet etat compoſé d'hommes libres n'appartient ni à la claſſe
" des nobles, ni à celle des payſans.

" On doit ranger dans cette claſſe tous ceux qui, ſans être ni
" gentilhommes ni payſans, s'occupent des arts, des ſciences,
" de la navigation, du commerce, ou exercent des metiers.

" On doit y placer encore tous ceux, qui nés de parens
" roturiers, ſortiront des ecoles et maiſons d'education, réli-
" gieuſes ou autres, fondées par nous ou par nos predeceſſeurs.

" De même, les enfans des officiers et ecrivains de chancel-
" lerie. Mais comme ce tiers-etât eſt ſuſceptible de different
" degrés de prerogatives, dont nous ne voulons pas traiter en
" detail, nous ne ferons que d'ouvrir ici le champ à un plus
" ample examen *."

Although, previous to the reign of Peter the Great, there had been certain bodies of merchants, enjoying peculiar privileges which raiſed them above the condition of peaſants; yet theſe were few, and their advantages, conſidering the immenſe monopolies which were in the hands of the crown, and the oppreſſion which they neceſſarily laboured under from the power of the great, extremely precarious. Peter, who during his travels into foreign countries had perceived the utility and neceſſity of a third eſtate for the purpoſes of commerce, made many

* Inſtruction, &c. pour le Nouveau Code des Loix, p. 107.

" This claſs of men worthy to be mentioned
" by us, and from whom the ſtate may pro-
" miſe itſelf great advantages, when it ſhall
" have received a ſtable form, and which has
" for its end the encouragement of good mo-
" rals and the love of induſtry, is the middle
" ſtate.

" This ſtate, compoſed of freemen, belongs
" neither to the claſs of nobles nor to that of
" peaſants.

" All thoſe who, being neither gentlemen
" nor peaſants, follow the arts and ſciences,
" navigation, commerce, or exerciſe trades,
" are to be ranked in this claſs.

" In this claſs ſhould be placed all thoſe
" who, born of plebeian parents, ſhall have
" been brought up in ſchools or places of edu-
" cation, religious or others, founded by us,
" or by our predeceſſors.

" Alſo the children of officers, and of the
" ſecretaries to the chancery. But as this third
" eſtate is ſuſceptible of different degrees of
" privileges, which we do not mean to detail
" in this place, we ſhall only here open the
" way for a more ample examination."

regula-

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regulations with this view, which, though excellent in themſelves, yet not being adapted to the ſtate of property in Ruſſia, did not in general anſwer the end propoſed. Among the moſt beneficial of theſe regulations muſt be mentioned, that he endowed ſome free towns with certain privileges, which were afterwards augmented by Elizabeth. But theſe privileges were confined to Peterſburgh, Moſcow, Aſtracan, Tver, and a few other great provincial towns; and all the inhabitants, even merchants not excepted, were, in ſome caſes, upon the ſame footing with the peaſants, particularly in two inſtances, which are conſidered in this country as indelible marks of ſervitude: they were ſubject to the poll-tax, and to be draughted for the army and navy. Her preſent majeſty has exempted the body of merchants from theſe two odious inſtances of ſervitude; has greatly increaſed the number and immunities of the free towns; and has permitted many of the crown-peaſants, and every free man, to enrol himſelf, under ſtipulated conditions, into the claſs of merchants or burghers, who form the third order of inhabitants now under conſideration,

The merchants are diſtributed into three claſſes. The firſt comprehends thoſe who have a capital of £ 2000; the ſecond thoſe who poſſeſs £ 1000; and the third thoſe who are worth £ 100. By the 47th article of the celebrated manifeſto of Graces, as it is called, which the empreſs conferred upon her ſubjects at the concluſion of the Turkiſh war in 1775, all perſons who chuſe to enter themſelves in any of theſe claſſes are exempted from the poll-tax, upon condition of paying annually one per cent. of their capital employed in trade to the crown *. The extent of their capitals, however, is not rigorouſly

* A literal tranſlation of this remarkable article is here ſubjoined. "The inhabitants of towns who do not poſſeſs a capital of 500 roubles, £ 100, and merchants declared inſolvent, ſhall be excluded from the body of merchants, and ſhall be claſſed among the burghers. On the contrary, all burghers, who by their induſtry have acquired the ſum of 500 roubles, ſhall be admitted into the body of merchants. "This

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ouſly inquired into, for it entirely depends upon the merchants to name the oſtenſible ſum which they are ſuppoſed to be worth; as a perſon poſſeſſing above £ 2000 may enrol himſelf in any of the inferior claſſes, or even in that of the burghers, if he chuſes to pay the poll-tax rather than one per cent. of his capital, and be entitled to no more privileges than they enjoy.

This alteration in the mode of aſſeſſing merchants is productive of great advantages both to the crown and to the ſubjects; the former receives, and the latter cheerfully pay one per cent. of their capital, as well becauſe they are by that means exempted from the poll-tax, as becauſe they are alſo entitled to additional immunities. It is alſo a juſt impoſt, as each merchant pays according to his fortune; if his profits increaſe, his aſſeſſment increaſes; if they diminiſh, his contribution proportionably diminiſhes. With reſpect to the general intereſts of the nation, it muſt be conſidered as a maſter-piece of judgement and ſound policy. It excites induſtry, by holding up to the people a principle of honour, as well as intereſt, to be derived from the augmentation of their capital; and it affords an additional ſecurity from arbitrary impoſitions, by pledging the good faith of government in the protection of their property. It is likewiſe productive of another very eſſential public benefit, by creating, as it were, a third eſtate*, which,

" This body ſhall remain divided as before in- " to three claſſes, in proportion to their capi- " tal; they ſhall pay an annual aſſeſſment of " one per cent. of their capital, which they " declare is employed in trade, in conſidera- " tion whereof they are exempted from the " poll-tax. The burghers continue upon the " ſame footing as before."

Alſo, in the 46th article, " We permit all " perſons, franchiſed by their lords, to chuſe " the free towns in which they wiſh to reſide, " and to enrol themſelves either among the " merchants or burghers of that town," &c.

* Monteſquieu obſerves, that there is no *third eſtate* in Ruſſia, and that the natives are either nobles or ſlaves; an aſſertion which is contradicted by Monſ. Le Clerc, who ſhows that there is undoubtedly, and always has been, in Ruſſia, a certain deſcription of perſons neither nobles nor ſlaves. Hiſt. Mod. p. 223.

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which, as it increaſes in wealth, in credit, and in importance, muſt by degrees acquire additional privileges, and gradually riſe into conſequence and independence.

The burghers form the ſecond diviſion of this order; the term burghers is applied to all inhabitants of free towns, without any reference to their peculiar trade, who declare that they poſſeſs a capital leſs than £ 100; or who, having that ſum, do not chuſe to aſſume the more honourable name of merchants. They poſſeſs many privileges ſuperior to the peaſants; but are diſtinguiſhed from the merchants by being ſtill ſubject to the poll-tax, and to enrolment in the army or navy.

Under this third order muſt be included all the other free ſubjects of the empire; namely, thoſe ſlaves who have received their liberty from their maſters, thoſe who have obtained their diſmiſſion from the army and navy, the members of the Academy of Arts, and of other ſimilar inſtitutions, orphans from the Foundling-hoſpital, and, laſtly, the children of all theſe freemen. All theſe perſons have permiſſion to ſettle and carry on trade or commerce in any part of the empire, may enrol themſelves among the burghers of any free town; and, if they have a ſufficient capital, are admitted into the order of merchants. By all theſe wiſe regulations, the number of perſons above ſlaves will gradually increaſe; and muſt in time form a very conſiderable order of men, as ſoon as they ſhall acquire the right of poſſeſſing land.

It is a circumſtance not unworthy of remark, that the Ruſſian merchants and tradeſmen ſeldom keep any book of ac-

But Monteſquieu has certainly expreſſed himſelf correctly upon an extenſive view of the ſubject, as Le Clerc is right in the detail. For though there were ſome ſubjects neither nobles nor ſlaves, yet as their number was extremely limited, and as, when Monteſquieu wrote, they did not enjoy thoſe privileges which they now poſſeſs, they could not be ſaid to conſtitute a *third eſtate* according to the ſenſe of that term in other European countries.

The definition of this intermediate order of men by the empreſs, ſo late as 1767, ſufficiently proves that it had not *une forme ſtable*.

counts,

counts, as few of them can either read or write, and are unacquainted with the knowledge of figures. Their manner of reckoning is by a kind of machine with ſeveral rows of wires, upon which beads are ſtrung. The beads upon the firſt row ſtand for units, thoſe upon the ſecond for tens, upon the third for hundreds, on the fourth for thouſands, and in a ſimilar progreſſion. By means of this machine they ſubtract, multiply, and divide with great exactneſs. An exception, among a few others, to this general obſervation, ſhould be mentioned: the moſt honeſt and intelligent perſons of this order are the inhabitants of Archangel and its environs: they are moſtly able to write, read, and caſt accounts; and many of them are much employed at Peterſburgh by the members of the Britiſh factory to ſuperintend their warehouſes; and they have the general character of faithful and induſtrious ſervants. It may, perhaps, be difficult to account for the peculiar circumſtances which may have concurred to render the inhabitants of the town and environs of Archangel more intelligent than the other Ruſſians, unleſs the following cauſe ſhould be thought ſufficient. Archangel, from the time of its firſt diſcovery by the Engliſh in 1554, was, during a conſiderable period, the great emporium of Ruſſia; many of the inhabitants, therefore, being connected with foreign merchants who required great exactneſs in all their dealings, were gradually trained to buſineſs. By a kind of local enthuſiaſm and traditional inſtruction, they have continued to diſtinguiſh themſelves among their ignorant and leſs honeſt countrymen, by applying themſelves to underſtand the common rudiments of arithmetic, and by a diligent and regular diſcharge of their truſt.

IV. The fourth order of ſubjects comprehends the peaſants.

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The peaſants of Ruſſia, excepting thoſe of Finland and Carelia, the Ukraine, and a few others *, are all ſerfs, or ſlaves. They may be divided into, 1. Peaſants of the crown. 2. Peaſants belonging to individuals.

1. The former inhabit the imperial demeſnes, and probably comprehend, including thoſe belonging to the church lands which are now annexed to the crown, about the ſixth part of the Ruſſian peaſants. They are immediately under the juriſdiction of the imperial officers or bailiffs. Although liable to great exactions, by the tenure of their ſubjection, from theſe petty tyrants, yet they are much more ſecure of their property; and being under the protection of the ſovereign, any flagrant inſtances of oppreſſion are more eaſily made known and redreſſed. Many of theſe vaſſals, in particular diſtricts, have been franchiſed, and permitted to enrol themſelves among

* I am not able to aſcertain the number and privileges of thoſe peaſants who are free. Monſ. Le Clerc thus enumerates them:

1. "Il y a une claſſe de ſujets naturel, qui "ne ſont ni nobles ni ſerfs; on les appelle "*odnovortſi*. Ce ſont des payſans libres, qui "poſſedent des terres en propre, qui les culti- "vent eux-mêmes, ou les font cultiver par les "autres."

Buſching ſays of theſe people: "The *odno-* "*vortſi*," (which appellation ſignifies a perſon who poſſeſſes only one houſe), "are a kind of "intermediate ſubjects," (for they can hardly be called peaſants) "between the nobles and "ſlaves. They are independent of the nobi- "lity, and have themſelves no dependents; "but ſeveral have, by little and little, pur- "chaſed peaſants, not in their own name, but "under thoſe of ſome nobles. In the reign "of Anne, a great number of theſe perſons "were tranſplanted towards the boundaries "of the Ukraine and Sakamſki, and ſupplied "a national militia for the defence of the li- "mits. Some dwell upon the banks of the "Occa, in the government of Moſcow; but "the greateſt part are ſettled in the govern- "ments of Bielgorod and Voronetz." Buſ. Erd. Beſ. Vol. I. P. I. p. 635.

2. Le Clerc adds, "Il eſt encore d'autres "payſans qui ne fourniſſent point à l'entretien "de la Lande Milice, ou des troupes qui "gardent les frontières, et qui payent à la "Coûronne, pour redevances annuelles et par "tête, deux roubles ſoixante dix copecs. Ils "ſont au nombre de 24,991. Outre ceux-ci, "il y en a 532,948, également libres, qui "payent une redevance d'un rouble ſoixante "dix copecs, et qui fourniſſent à l'entretien des "troupes." Hiſt. Mod. de Ruſſie, p. 223.

In another place he ſays, "Les payſans qui "habitent aux environs L'Arkangel, ont des "terres en propre, qu'ils peuvent hypothéquer, "vendre et léguer." p. 222.

The yamſhicks, or perſons who furniſh poſt-horſes, may be reckoned among the freer kind of peaſants, as they are exempted from the poll-tax, and from being enliſted. See Vol. I. of this work, Book III. Chap. I.

To theſe may be added the peaſants of the provinces conquered from Sweden, Ingria excepted, and the Coſſac peaſants of the Ukraine and Siberia.

the

the merchants and burghers; the whole body will gradually receive more and more privileges, as the ſpirit of humanity and policy penetrates further into theſe regions; and as the empreſs can venture to realize the generous ſyſtem of diffuſing a more equal freedom among the ſubjects of her vaſt empire. CHAP. V.

2. Peaſants belonging to individuals are the private property of the landholders, as much as implements of agriculture, or herds of cattle; and the value of an eſtate is eſtimated, as in Poland, by the number of boors, and not by the number of acres. No regulations have, perhaps, tended more to rivet the ſhackles of ſlavery in this empire, than the two laws of Peter the Great; one which renders the landholder accountable to the crown for the poll-tax of his vaſſals; and the other which obliges him to furniſh a certain number of recruits; for by theſe means he becomes extremely intereſted that none of his peaſants migrate without permiſſion from the place of their nativity. Theſe circumſtances occaſion a ſtriking difference in the fate of the Ruſſian and Poliſh peaſants even in favour of the latter, who in other reſpects are more wretched. If the Poliſh boor is oppreſſed, and he eſcapes to another maſter, the latter is liable to no pecuniary penalty for harbouring him; but in Ruſſia the perſon who receives another's vaſſal is ſubject to an heavy fine. With reſpect to his own demands upon his peaſants, the lord is reſtrained by no law, either in the exaction of any ſum, or in the mode of employing them. He is abſolute maſter of their time and labour: ſome he employs in agriculture; a few he makes his menial ſervants, and perhaps without wages; and from others he exacts an annual payment *. Each vaſſal, therefore, is rated according to the arbitrary

* The empreſs thus expreſſes herſelf on this head:

" Il n'y a guere de village, qui ne paye ſes " redevances en argent. Les poſſeſſeurs, qui " ne voyent jamais ou que très rarement leurs " villages, impoſent chaque tête à un à deux et

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arbitrary will of his maſter. Some contribute four or five ſhillings a year; others, who are engaged in traffic or trade, are aſſeſſed in proportion to their ſuppoſed profits. Several inſtances of theſe exactions fell under my obſervation; a maſon who was rated £ 6. per annum; a ſmith £ 12.; and others as high as £ 20. With regard to any capital which they may have acquired by their induſtry, it may be ſeized, and there can be no redreſs; as, according to the old feudal law, which ſtill exiſts, a ſlave cannot inſtitute a proceſs againſt his maſter. Hence it occaſionally happens, that ſeveral peaſants who have gained a large capital, cannot purchaſe their liberty for any ſum, becauſe they are ſubject, as long as they continue ſlaves, to be pillaged by their maſters.

The mode adopted by many landholders with their peaſants reminds me of that formerly practiſed by the Romans in regard to their ſlaves. Atticus, we are told, cauſed a numerous body of ſlaves to be inſtructed in the art of copying manuſcripts, which he ſold at a very high price, and raiſed by that means a conſiderable fortune. Upon ſimilar principles ſome of the Ruſſian nobility ſend their vaſſals to Moſcow or Peterſburgh for the purpoſe of learning various handicraft trades: they either employ them on their own eſtates, let them out for hire, ſell them at an advanced price, or receive from them an annual compenſation for the permiſſion of exerciſing their trade for their own advantage.

" et juſqu'à cinq roubles, ſans s'embaraſſer " comment la payſan s'y prendra pour gagner " cet argent.

" Il ſeroit très neceſſaire de preſcrire aux " poſſeſſeurs des Loix qui les obligent à agir " avec plus de circonſpection dans la maniere " dont ils ſe font payer leurs droits, et à exi- " ger du payſan des redevances qui ſoient de " nature à l'eloigner le moins qu'il ſera poſſi- " ble de ſa maiſon et de ſa famille. Par ce " moyen l'on mettra l'agriculture en vigueur, " et la population augmentera dans l'empire." Inſtruction, &c. p. 79.

This cuſtom of obliging the peaſants to pay an annual ſum in money, without their having always ſufficient reſources to procure that ſum, frequently drives the neceſſitous to the moſt deſperate modes of acquiring it.

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In regard to the lord's authority over their perſons, according to the antient laws, he might try them in his own courts of juſtice, or puniſh them without any proceſs; he could inflict every ſpecies of penalty excepting the knoot, order them to be whipped, or confined in dungeons; he might ſend them to houſes of correction, or baniſh them into Siberia; or, in ſhort, take cognizance of every miſdemeanor which was not a public offence. He had, indeed, no power over their lives; for, if a ſlave was beat by order of his maſter, and died within the ſpace of three days, the latter was guilty of murder, unleſs other reaſons could be aſſigned for his demiſe. But was not this almoſt a mockery of juſtice? for ſurely a man might be terribly chaſtiſed without ſuffering death within *three days*; and if a vaſſal died within that ſpace, and his maſter was a man of conſequence, who was to bring him to juſtice*? By the new code, this enormous power of the lords is reduced by reſtrictions more conſonant to the humane principles which diſtinguiſh all the regulations of the preſent empreſs; and the right of inflicting puniſhment is lodged, where it ever ought to be, in the hands of the public magiſtrate. Abuſes, however, ſtill ſubſiſt; but muſt, in time, yield to the influence of ſuch ſalutary inſtitutions.

I am far from aſſerting, that inhumanity is the general characteriſtic of the Ruſſian nobility; or that there are not many perſons who treat their vaſſals with the utmoſt benevolence and juſtice. I am alſo well aware, that ſeveral peaſants

* How often muſt ſuch tyrannies eſcape the cognizance of the court, and remain unpuniſhed? Sometimes, indeed, a noble is brought to juſtice. One inſtance, though related in a former publication, I beg leave to introduce in this place.

"In the priſon of Moſcow there is a gentleman confined, and he alone is denied the privilege of ever coming from his cell; a puniſhment which is by no means adequate to his crime; namely, that of ordering ſeveral of his peaſants to be whipped in ſo cruel a manner, that they died. This circumſtance will ſhow the power which the lords have over their peaſants; and will at the ſame time prove, that ſuch crimes, when diſcovered, do not always remain unpuniſhed." Account of Priſons, &c. p. 12.

are

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are in ſuch a flouriſhing condition as to have formed very conſiderable capitals without dread of exaction; and that ſome even poſſeſs landed eſtates under their maſters' name. But if we conſider the unhappy pleaſure which too many feel in tyrannizing over their inferiors, we have every reaſon to conclude, that the generality of boors muſt ſtill be cruelly oppreſſed. It has been ably obſerved, by a very judicious writer, that "as much as ſubjection to a petty prince, whoſe dominions extend not beyond a ſingle city, is more grievous than obedience to a great monarch, ſo much is domeſtic ſlavery more cruel and oppreſſive than any civil ſubjection whatſoever." The ſame author alſo adds the following remark, which will equally apply in the preſent caſe: "Nor can a more probable reaſon be imagined for the ſevere, I might ſay barbarous, manners of antient times, than the practice of domeſtic ſlavery; by which every man of rank was rendered a petty tyrant, and educated amongſt the flattery, ſubmiſſion, and low debaſement of his ſlaves *." How then can a country be ſaid to be civilized, in which domeſtic ſlavery ſtill exiſts?

The vaſſals who work for their maſters, generally receiving their maintenance, or being accommodated with a ſmall portion of land for their own uſe, always enjoy in ſufficient abundance the common neceſſaries of life, which are ſo few as to be eaſily obtained; and uſually ſpend any little money they are able to acquire, in clothes or ſpirituous liquors. Thoſe who, in contradiction to this general rule, ſave the profits which they may have earned by their labour, or by their trade, conceal as much as poſſible any acquiſition of fortune; they ſeldom change their mode of living, and frequently bury their money in the ground. This cuſtom is one reaſon, among ſeveral others, of the ſcarcity of ſilver currency; that being

* Hume's Eſſays, Vol. I. p. 402.

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the ſpecie which is chiefly amaſſed. The practice of hiding money is common in all countries of the Eaſt, where property is not well ſecured; and where the people are in ſuch a ſtate of ſlavery, that, through dread of repeated exactions, they cannot even venture to uſe the riches which they have acquired: nevertheleſs, they are remarkably greedy of gain; and perhaps there are no tradeſmen who demand ſo much for their goods, and will take ſo little, as the Ruſſians;—a ſure proof of continual oppreſſions. CHAP. V.

The peaſants are not to be pitied for the want of any little indulgences, which are eſteemed in other nations the common neceſſaries of life; uſe reconciles them to ſuch deficiencies; but they deſerve compaſſion for their ſubjection to their maſters. The former only makes them hardy, patient, and eaſily contented; but the latter renders them humble, cringing, obſtinate, careleſs, and in a manner inſenſible.

A peaſant may obtain his liberty, 1. by manumiſſion, which, upon the death of the maſter, is frequently granted to thoſe who have ſerved in the capacity of his immediate domeſtics; 2. by purchaſe; 3. by ſerving in the army or navy; for a peaſant is free from the moment of his enrolment, and continues ſo whenever he obtains his diſcharge: and in all theſe caſes the empreſs has facilitated the means of obtaining freedom, by waving ſeveral rights of the crown, which, in ſome meaſure, obſtructed this acquiſition of liberty. Although her majeſty cannot alter the fundamental ſtate of property, by conferring upon the peaſants, as individuals, any material privileges which might infringe thoſe of the nobles; yet ſhe has not neglected their intereſts, but has iſſued ſeveral laws in their favour, which have given them ſome alleviation. By allowing them to ſettle in any part of her dominions, and to enrol themſelves among the burghers or merchants, according to their reſpective capitals, ſhe has given a ſtability to their

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freedom, and afforded the ſtrongeſt incitements for the exertions of induſtry. She has repealed thoſe oppreſſive laws, which forbad, in certain diſtricts, all peaſants to marry without the conſent of the governor of the province, or the vayvode of the town, who uſually exacted a preſent from the parties. The empreſs, by aboliſhing this tax upon the rights of humanity, has wiſely removed, as far as lay in her power, every obſtacle to marriage *.

I was much ſurprized to find, upon inquiry, that no noble in Ruſſia had franchiſed his vaſſals in the ſame manner as I before mentioned to have been practiſed in Poland; but I may venture to predict, that the time is not far diſtant, although an almoſt general prejudice ſeems at preſent to prevail with reſpect to the incapacity of the peaſants for receiving their liberty. And this perhaps may be true in the literal ſenſe; as many of them, unleſs properly inſtructed, would ſcarcely be enabled to derive a ſolid advantage from their freedom, which might be conſidered by ſome as an exemption from labour, and a permiſſion for licentiouſneſs.

A century ago, perhaps no one in Ruſſia would have ventured to debate the queſtion, Whether the peaſants ought to be free? but the ſcience and learning, which are now dawning upon theſe regions, have already introduced ſuch a ſpirit of inquiry, that ſimilar ſubjects are not unfrequently diſcuſſed in public. A remarkable inſtance, which juſtifies the truth of this obſervation, lately occurred: in conſequence of a preſent of a thouſand ducats, ſent, in 1766, by an anonymous perſon to the Oeconomical Society at St. Peterſburgh, and at the deſire

* See 17th article of the Manifeſto at the concluſion of the peace with the Grand Signor:

"In certain diſtricts of our empire it has "been hitherto neceſſary to obtain a permiſ- "ſion to marry from the governors of pro- "vinces, or of the vayvodes of towns; and "this permiſſion was uſually purchaſed by "money or cattle. We aboliſh this cuſtom; "and from this time every perſon ſhall be free "to marry without obtaining ſimilar permiſ- "ſions."

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of the ſaid perſon, the Society offered a premium of fifty ducats, and a gold medal, value 25 ducats, to the author of the beſt diſſertation on the following queſtion, "Is it moſt advantageous to the ſtate, that the peaſant ſhould poſſeſs land, or only perſonal effects; and to what point ſhould that property be extended for the good of the public?" One hundred and ſixty-four diſſertations were accordingly delivered by the time appointed: and the prize was given to a Mr. Bearde, doctor in canon and civil law at Aix-la-Chapelle, for a French eſſay upon this intereſting ſubject in favour of the peaſants.

This treatiſe afforded me great ſatisfaction in the peruſal; becauſe the author, while he demonſtrates the advantages of landed property to the peaſant, does not conceal the difficulties which muſt neceſſarily occur in realizing an object of ſuch conſequence. He is not one of thoſe ſpeculative theoriſts, who are for haſtily changing the fundamental laws of a kingdom; but recommends the legiſlature to confer upon the peaſants a gradual ſucceſſion of privileges, and to follow the ſlow, but ſure method of inſtruction and improvement. This and ſeveral other eſſays upon the ſame ſubject have been printed at Peterſburgh; and will certainly tend to excite a candid ſpirit of inquiry, and to diffuſe ſuch principles of benevolence, as cannot fail of being in time productive of ſome good effects. The following judicious reflection of Catharine II. perhaps comprehends in a few words the ſum of the beſt arguments which may be advanced on this ſubject. "L'Agriculture ne "pourra jamais proſperer là où l'agriculteur ne poſſede rien "en propre *."

From this general review of the various inhabitants of Ruſſia, it may be perceived, that though they are proceeding

* Agriculture can never flouriſh in that nation where the huſbandman poſſeſſes no property. Inſtructions, &c. pour le Nouveau Code de Loix, p. 83.

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towards civilization, they are ſtill far removed from that ſtate; that a general improvement cannot take place while the greateſt part continue in abſolute vaſſalage; nor can any effectual change be introduced in the national manners, until the people enjoy a full ſecurity in their perſons and property; for what ſhould encourage them to ſucceed in any art, when they do not themſelves reap the benefits of their labour, but are taxed in proportion to their profits and induſtry?

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Academy of Sciences.—Its origin and inſtitution.—Tranſactions.—Members.—Library.—Muſeum.—Foſſil bones of elephants and other animals found in Siberia.—*Native copper and iron.—Golden ornaments from ſeveral antient ſepulchres.—*Ruſſian *coins.—Waxen figure of* Peter the Great.—*Celeſtial globe of* Gottorp.—*Academy of Arts.—Society for the Promotion of Agriculture.—Corps de cadets.—Couvent des demoiſelles nobles.*

THE Imperial Academy of Sciences owes its inſtitution to Peter the Great. That great monarch having, during his travels, obſerved the advantage of public ſocieties for the encouragement and promotion of literature, formed the deſign of founding an Academy of Sciences at St. Peterſburgh. By the advice of Wolf and Leibnitz, whom he conſulted on this occaſion, the Society was regulated, and ſeveral learned foreigners were invited to become members. Peter himſelf drew the plan, and ſigned it on the 10th of February 1724, but

but was prevented, by the ſuddenneſs of his death, from carrying it into execution. His deceaſe, however, did not prevent its completion; for on the 21ſt of December 1725, Catharine I. eſtabliſhed it according to Peter's plan; and on the 27th of the ſame month the Society was firſt aſſembled. On the 1ſt of Auguſt 1726, Catharine honoured the meeting with her preſence, when profeſſor Bulfinger, a German naturaliſt of great eminence, pronounced an oration upon the advances made by the loadſtone and needle for the diſcovery of the longitude *. CHAP. VI.

The empreſs ſettled a fund of £ 4982 † per annum for the ſupport of the Academy; and fifteen members, all eminent for their learning and talents, were admitted and penſioned, under the title of Profeſſors in the various branches of literature and ſcience. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe Profeſſors were Nicholas and Daniel Bernoulli, the two De Liſles, Bulfinger, and Wolf.

During the ſhort reign of Peter II. the ſalaries of the members were diſcontinued, and the Academy was utterly neglected by the court; but it was again patronized by the empreſs Anne, who even added a ſeminary for the education of youth, under the ſuperintendence of the profeſſors. Both inſtitutions flouriſhed for ſome time under the direction of baron Korf; but upon his death, towards the latter end of Anne's reign, an ignorant perſon being appointed preſident, many of the moſt able members quitted Ruſſia. At the acceſſion of Elizabeth, new life and vigour were again reſtored to the Academy: the original plan was enlarged and improved; ſome of the moſt learned foreigners were again drawn to Peterſburgh; and, what was conſidered as a good omen for the literature of

* See Nachricht von der Kays: Acad. &c. in Schmidt Beytrage, p. 35; alſo Jour. Pet. for June 1779, p. 383.

† "Summam a Petro Magno conſtitutam viginti quatuor millium nongentorum et duodecim rubellonum." Nov. Com. I. p. 5.

Ruſſia,

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Ruſſia, two natives, Lomonoſof and Rumovſky, men of genius and abilities, who had proſecuted their ſtudies in foreign univerſities, were enrolled among its members. The annual income was increaſed to £10,659 *, and ſoon afterwards the new inſtitution took place.

The preſent empreſs, with her uſual zeal for promoting the diffuſion of knowledge, has taken this uſeful Society under her more immediate protection. She has altered the court of directors greatly to the advantage of the whole body; ſhe has corrected many abuſes, and has infuſed a new ſpirit into their reſearches. By her majeſty's particular recommendation, the moſt ingenious profeſſors have viſited the various provinces of her vaſt dominions; and as the fund of the academy was not ſufficient to ſupply the whole expence of theſe ſeveral expeditions, the empreſs beſtowed a largeſs † of £2000, which ſhe has renewed as occaſion has required.

The purpoſe and intent of theſe travels will appear from the inſtructions given by the Academy to the ſeveral perſons who were engaged in them. They were ordered to purſue their inquiries upon the different ſorts of earths and waters; upon the beſt methods of cultivating the barren and deſert ſpots; upon the local diſorders incident to men and animals, and the moſt efficacious means of relieving them; upon the breeding of cattle, and particularly of ſheep; on the rearing of bees and ſilk worms; on the different places and objects for fiſhing and hunting; on minerals; on the arts and trades; and on forming a Flora Ruſſica, or collection of indigenous plants: they were particularly inſtructed to rectify the longitude and latitude of the principal towns; to make aſtronomical, geographical, and meteorological obſervations; to trace the courſe of the rivers; to take the moſt exact

* "Clementiſſime jubemus adjici octo et viginti millia rubellones trecentos et octaginta ſex." Nov. Com. I. p. 6.

† Bach. Ruſſ. Bibl. vol. I. p. 50.

charts;

charts; and to be very distinct and accurate in remarking and describing the manners and customs of the different people, their dresses, languages, antiquities, traditions, history, religion; and, in a word, to gain every information which might tend to illustrate the real state of the whole Russian empire. CHAP. VI.

In consequence of these expeditions, perhaps no country can boast, within the space of so few years, such a number of excellent publications on its internal state, on its natural productions, on its topography, geography, and history; on the manners, customs, and languages of the different people, as have issued from the press of the Academy of Sciences; so that we may fairly assent to the truth of the remark made by an anonymous author upon this subject: "Tous ces différens "objets ont été superieurement remplis par nos illustres sa- "vans, & l'on n'a pas eû tort d'avancer que jamais l'histoire "naturelle n'a obtenu tout d'un coup un pareil accroissement "de richesses, fruits inestimables du labeur de ces hommes "vraiment utiles; & leurs rélations sont devenues un monu- "ment à jamais durable de leur zéle, de leurs rares talens, et "de leur infatigable activité *."

The most remarkable of these distinguished travellers are Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenstaedt †, Georgi, and Lepekin.

The first transactions of this Society were published in 1728, and entitled, *Commentarii Academiæ Scientiarum Imperialis Petropoli-*

* "All these different objects have been "accomplished in the best manner by our il- "lustrious philosophers; and it may be ad- "vanced with truth, that natural history "never, in so short a time, acquired an "equal increase of riches, inestimable fruits "of the labour of those truly useful men; "and their accounts have become an ever- "lasting monument of their zeal, of their "rare talents, and indefatigable activity." Hist. des Decouv. par divers savans Voyageurs, &c. Introduction.

† The reader will find an account of Pallas, Gmelin, and Guldenstaedt in the next chapter.

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tanæ ad An. 1726, with a Dedication to Peter II. The publication was continued under this form until the year 1747, when its tranſactions were called *Novi* * *Commentarii Academiæ*, &c. In 1777 the Academy again changed the title into *Acta Academiæ Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanæ*, and likewiſe made ſome alteration in the arrangement and plan of the work. The papers, which had been hitherto publiſhed in the Latin tongue, are now written either in that language or French; and a preface is added, ſtyled *Partie Hiſtorique*, which contains an account of its proceedings, meetings, admiſſion of new members, and other remarkable occurrences †. Of the Commentaries, fourteen volumes were publiſhed; the firſt of the New Commentaries made its appearance in 1750; and the twentieth in 1776. Under the new title of *Acta Academiæ*, ſeven volumes have been given to the public; and two are to be printed every year. Theſe tranſactions abound with ingenious and elaborate diſquiſitions upon various parts of ſcience and natural hiſtory, and which reflect the greateſt honour upon their authors; and it may not be an exaggeration to aſſert, that no ſociety in Europe has more diſtinguiſhed itſelf for the excellence of its publications, and particularly in the more abſtruſe parts of the pure and mixed mathematics.

The academy is ſtill compoſed, as at firſt, of fifteen profeſſors, beſide the preſident and director. Each of theſe profeſſors has a houſe and an annual ſtipend from £ 200 to £ 600. Beſide the profeſſors, there are four adjuncts, who are penſioned, and who are preſent at the fittings of the Society, and ſucceed to the firſt vacancies.

* "Hunc autem et ſequentes tomos Novorum Commentariorum nomine ideo venire quia academia nunc novis legibus inſtructa eſt, et claſſes hic aliter, ac in præcedentibus tomis fieri ſolebat, diſpoſitæ inveniuntur." Nov. Com. Vol. I. p. 4.——In this ſame volume the ſtatutes for the regulation of the Society, under its new inſtitutions, are inſerted, p. 9—33.

† Acta Pet. for 1771, P. I.

When

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When I was at Peterſburgh this academy was compoſed of the following members: Preſident *, Count Cyril Gregorievitch Roſomoffki. Director, Sergius Domaſhnef. 1. Leonhard Euler †, profeſſor of mathematics, admitted 1727. 2. Gerhard Frederick Muller ‡, hiſtoriographer, and keeper of the archives at Moſcow, 1731. 3. Jacob Staehlin, 1736. 4. Francis Æpinus, 1757. 5. Simeon Kotelnikof, in mathematics, 1757. 6. John Albert Euler, ſon of the celebrated Euler, in natural philoſophy, 1766. 7. Stephen Rumovſki, in aſtronomy, 1763. 8. Gaſpar Frederick Wolf, in anatomy, 1767. 9. Peter Simon Pallas, in natural hiſtory, 1767. 10. Eric Laxman ||, in agriculture, 1770. 11. Alexèy Protaſſof, in anatomy, 1764. 12. Ivan Lepekin, in natural hiſtory, 1771. 13. Wolfgang Ludwig Kraft, in experimental philoſophy, 1771. 14. Andrew John Lexel, in aſtronomy, 1771. 15. Anthony John Guldenſtaedt, in natural hiſtory, 1771, ſince deceaſed.——Adjuncts, 1. Peter Inokodtzof, in aſtronomy, 1768; appointed in 1779 extraordinary profeſſor. 2. John Gottlieb Georgi, in chemiſtry, 1775. 3. Nicholas Fuſs, in mathematics, 1775. 4. Michael Golovin, in experimental philoſophy, 1775.

This general account of the eſtabliſhment, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the academy, will be naturally ſucceeded by a deſcription of the library, the cabinet of natural hiſtory, and the other curioſities, which I viſited ſeveral times during my ſtay at Peterſburgh.

Mr. Bachmeiſter, the librarian, has juſtly remarked, in a recent publication §, that war, which in moſt other countries is unfavourable to the ſciences, has tended to promote them

* The direction of the academy is now conſigned to the princeſs Daſhkof. That learned princeſs has propoſed the foundation of a ſociety ſimilar to the *Académie Françoiſe*: it is to conſiſt of ſixty members. The plan has been approved by the empreſs, who has already given a fund for its ſupport and eſtabliſhment.

† This great philoſopher died of an apoplexy on the 18th of September 1783.

‡ Muller died in the latter end of 1783.

|| Laxman, being promoted, is ſucceeded by Ferber, the famous Swediſh mineralogiſt.

§ Eſſai ſur la Bibliotheque, &c. de l'Acad. des Sciences.

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in this empire. The library owed its origin to 2500 volumes which Peter the Great ſeized at Mittau in his Swediſh campaign: it was afterwards increaſed by the bounty of that emperor, and of his ſucceſſors; and lately enriched by the curious collection of prince Radzivil at Newitz, taken by the Ruſſians, in 1772, during the troubles of Poland. Mr. Bachmeiſter informed me, that, ſince this laſt acquiſition, the number of books amounted to about 36,000. The moſt ancient MSS. are the Lives of the Saints, written in 1298, and a Chronicle of Neſtor, the earlieſt hiſtorian of this empire. This Chronicle, together with thoſe of Novogorod, Pleſcof, the Ukraine, Caſan, and Aſtracan, the genealogical tables of the early great-dukes, from Vladimir the Great to the tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch, compiled in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and following centuries, convinced me, that Ruſſia is extremely rich, as well in documents relating to its more remote annals, as to thoſe of later times*. They are all written in the Sclavonian tongue. Among the MSS. relating to the hiſtory of Ruſſia, muſt not be omitted 16 volumes in folio, containing an account of the negotiations of Peter's miniſters, from 1711 to 1716; as alſo 30 volumes of the official correſpondence of prince Menzikof, from 1703 to 1717: theſe collections would ſerve as good materials towards compiling an authentic hiſtory of Peter the Great, a work much wanted.

One MS. although of very modern date, is yet highly valued, on account of the auguſt perſon by whom it was written, and is preſerved in an elegant box of bronze gilt. It contains the empreſs's inſtructions to the committee delegated to form a new code of laws; inſtructions drawn up by herſelf, and written with her own hand. This MS. is always placed upon the table, whenever the members of the academy hold a ſolemn meeting.

* See Chap. VIII.

Among

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Among ſeveral books, the librarian ſhowed me a volume, containing the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Epiſtles, which is curious, as being the firſt book printed in Ruſſia *; it bears the date of 1564, and iſſued from the preſs eſtabliſhed at Moſcow. Its paper is certainly of our manufacture, as I plainly diſcovered the Engliſh ſtamp: and we find in Hackluyt, that paper is mentioned among the firſt imports which Ruſſia received from England.

This library contains, perhaps, a larger quantity of Chineſe books than is to be found in any other collection of Europe. They are claſſed in port-folios, and conſiſt of 2800 ſeparate pieces. An exact catalogue of them has been lately made by Mr. Leontief, who was ſeveral years at Pekin, where a Ruſſian church is eſtabliſhed, and ſtudents are permitted to reſide for the purpoſe of learning the language †. Hitherto we have been indebted almoſt to the French alone for any probable accounts of the interior ſtate of the Chineſe empire. The amicable intercourſe, however, which has for ſome time ſubſiſted between the courts of Peterſburgh and Pekin, has facilitated the acquiſition of Chineſe books; and the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary at Pekin has naturally led the Ruſſians to obtain a more general and accurate knowledge of that country. Hence many intereſting publications have been lately put forth at Peterſburgh, relative to the laws, hiſtory, and geography of China, extracted and tranſlated from the originals publiſhed at Pekin.

The various branches of natural hiſtory are diſtributed in different apartments. This muſeum, which is extremely rich in native productions, has been conſiderably augmented with a variety of ſpecimens, collected by Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenſtaedt, and other learned profeſſors, during their late expedi-

* Mr. Nichols informs us, that this book was ten years in the preſs, and that the names of the firſt printers were Ivan Hoderſon and Peter Timoſioffsom. See "The Origin of "Printing, 1776," p. 288.

† See Ruſſian Diſcoveries, &c. p. 208.

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tion through the Ruſſian empire. As it neither falls within my plan, nor is it in my power, to enter into a minute account of all the various ſpecimens; I ſhall only curſorily mention a few objects which principally engaged my attention. The ſtuffed animals and birds occupy one apartment. Among the former I particularly obſerved the *Equus Hemionus*, a ſpecies of wild horſe, which bears the appearance of a mule: it reſembles an aſs in its mane, ears, feet, and tail, and principally in the black ſtreak down its back; in other parts it is like an horſe. It is the ſame which was called by Ariſtotle the *Hemionos*, found in his days in Syria, and which he celebrates for its amazing ſwiftneſs and fecundity; it is denominated by the Mongols *aſhiggetèi*, which ſignifies eared; is alſo known among naturaliſts by the name of *mulus Dauricus*, becauſe it is found in Dauria, about the rivers Amoor, Onon, and Orgoon. Theſe animals, however, are obſerved there only in ſmall numbers, detached from the numerous herds which inhabit the vaſt deſerts of Tartary, to the ſouth of the Ruſſian dominions. Their ſwiftneſs is proverbial, and is ſaid to exceed even that of the antelope: they are deſcribed by the Tartars as very fierce, and ſo untractable as not to be tamed. Mr. Pallas has favoured the world with an accurate deſcription and engraving of this ſingular animal, in the New Commentaries of the Academy; to which I refer the reader, as well as to Mr. Pennant's account, in his Hiſtory of Quadrupeds. The other animals peculiar to Ruſſia and the adjacent countries, which attracted my notice, are the wild ram, called *Argoli* by the Mongols, by Linnæus *Capra Ammon*, which inhabits the mountainous deſerts ſouth of the Lake Baikal; and the *Bos Grunniens* of Linnæus, or grunting ox of Pennant. The latter inhabits Tartary and Thibet, and is mentioned here for the uncommon beauty of its tail, which is full and flowing, of a gloſſy and ſilky texture. Theſe tails form a conſiderable article of exportation from Thibet.

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Thibet. The Indians faſten ſmall bundles of the hair to a handle, which they uſe for fly-flaps; the Chineſe dye tufts of it with a beautiful ſcarlet, with which they decorate their caps; and the Turks employ it as ornaments * to their ſtandards. I obſerved alſo the bouquetin, the white bear, the ermine, the muſk-rat, the flying ſquirrel; among the amphibious animals, the ſea-horſe, whoſe tuſk is uſed inſtead of ivory; and the ſea-otter, greatly prized for its rich and valuable fur. The latter is caught on the coaſt of Kamtchatka, and in the Aleütian and Fox Iſlands; and its ſkin is diſpoſed of to the Chineſe at a high price †.

The collection of birds, inſects, fiſh, ſhells, dried plants, all ranged in the exacteſt order, and after the ſyſtem of Linnæus, next attracts the obſervation of the naturaliſt.

In the cabinet of natural hiſtory, I could not avoid being ſurprized with the number and variety of foſſil bones, teeth, and horns, of the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo, which have been found in different parts of this empire, but more particularly in the ſouthern regions of Siberia. From the inſpection of their aſtoniſhing variety, I was led to inquire by what means they could have been found in a country where the animals of which they formerly made a part were never known to exiſt. It was the opinion of Peter, who, though he deſerves to be eſteemed a great monarch, was certainly no great naturaliſt, that the teeth found near Voronetz were the remains of elephants belonging to the army of Alexander the Great, who, according to ſome hiſtorians, croſſed the Don, and advanced as far as Koſtinka ‡. The celebrated Bayer, whoſe authority carries greater weight in the literary world, conjectures ||, that the bones and teeth found in Siberia belonged to elephants

* The Europeans erroneouſly ſuppoſe theſe ornaments to be made from horſe-tails.

† See Ruſſian Diſcoveries, p. 12.

‡ See Ruſſian Diſcoveries, p. 114. 169. 172. and other parts.

|| Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 63.

common

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common in that country, during the wars which the Mongol monarchs carried on with the Perſians and Indians; and this plauſible ſuppoſition ſeems in ſome meaſure to be corroborated by the diſcovery of the entire ſkeleton of an elephant in one of the Siberian tombs. But this opinion, as Mr. Pallas very juſtly obſerves, is ſufficiently refuted by the conſideration, that the elephants employed in the armies of all India could never have afforded the vaſt quantities of teeth which have been already diſcovered, not to mention thoſe which it is juſtly to be preſumed may ſtill be buried *.

The ſame ingenious naturaliſt has given an ample deſcription of theſe foſſil bones, and has endeavoured to account for their origin †. Upon examining thoſe in the muſeum, he was led to conclude, that as theſe bones are equally diſperſed in all the northern regions of Europe, the climate probably was in the earlier ages leſs ſevere than at preſent, and then poſſibly ſufficiently warm to be the native countries of the elephant, rhinoceros, and other quadrupeds, now found only in the ſouthern climates. But when he viſited, during his travels, the ſpots where the foſſil bodies were dug up, and could form a judgement from his own obſervations, and not from the accounts of others; he, with a candour which réflects the higheſt honour upon his good ſenſe, renounced his former hypotheſis; and, in conformity with the opinions of many modern philoſophers, aſſerted, that they muſt have been brought by the waters; and that nothing but a ſudden and

* Nov. Com. XIII. p. 440.

† Nov. Com. De Oſſibus Sibiriæ foſſilibus. He ſays, that in no country more foſſil bones have been diſcovered than in Siberia; and that elephants teeth have been dug up in ſuch plenty, as to make a conſiderable article of trade. "Nulla tamen unquam regio tot "tantaque in hoc genere graviſſimarum et antiquiſſimarum telluris mutationum monumenta prodidit, ac Sibiria noſtra, cujus ſubterraneum Ebur, quamquam hodiernum "nonniſi caſu riparumque ad majora flumina "ruinis detegi ſoleat, ea tamen ſic quoque copia legitur, ut inter merces indigenas non "ultimum obtineat locum, illud præſertim, "quod in terris hyperboreis æterno gelu rigentibus repertum, plane incorruptum et "tornatili operi adhuc aptum eſt."

general

general inundation, ſuch as the deluge, could have tranſported them from their native countries in the ſouth, to the regions of the north. In proof of this aſſertion, he adds, that the bones are generally found ſeparate, as if they had been ſcattered by the waves, covered with a ſtratum of mud, evidently formed by the waters, and commonly intermixed with the remains of marine plants, and ſimilar ſubſtances *; inſtances of which he himſelf obſerved during his progreſs through Siberia, and which ſufficiently prove that theſe regions of Aſia were once overwhelmed with the ſea. CHAP. VI.

Thus far Mr. Pallas, to whoſe excellent diſquiſition on the ſubject I muſt refer the curious reader: for my own part, I can only add, that I examined the ſpecimens in the muſeum with that attention which they deſerved, and am perfectly ſatisfied that they are the foſſil bones of the animals in queſtion. The moſt curious of theſe ſpecimens is the head and foot of a rhinoceros, which were dug up entire in a bank of the Vilui, a ſmall river falling into the Lena, in latitude 64, below Yakutſk: the body was found in December 1771; and when

* De reliquiis animalium exoticorum per Aſiam repertis.

"In pleriſque ripis, quæ foſſili ebore oſſibuſque inealuerunt, membra animalium plerumque disjecta reperiuntur, quaſi a fluctibus agitata, et obruta limo vel glareoſis maxime ſtratis evidentiſſime undarum effectu et fluctuatione congeſtis, imo variis ſæpe corporum marinorum reliquiis conſociata. Hujus momenti in extricanda oſſium foſſilium hiſtoria graviſſimi pluribus in locis luculentiſſima exempla propriis oculis vidi."

And again, "Ex eodem limoſo ſolo Rhymnus, ubicunque altiores ripas ſubruit, crebro in conſpectum producit elephantum dentes, maxillas, magna artuum oſſa, bubalorum immania cum cornibus capita, ſimileſque reliquias, quarum bene magnum numerum per haſce regiones profectus miraculi loco apud plebem adſervari vidi, quæque magis integra reliquerat ætas collegi."

Mr. Pallas, in a recent publication, has deſcribed ſeveral foſſil bones lately dug up in the government of Caſan, ſome whereof were ſent to Peterſburgh in 1779, and depoſited in the muſeum of the academy. The moſt remarkable of theſe bones which he enumerates, are the following: An elephant's tooth, 10 ſpans $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in circumference; ditto, 5 feet 3 inches in length, and the ſame in circumference; ſeveral bones of elephants of conſiderable ſize; a damaged horn of a rhinoceros, 2 feet 4 inches long; a jaw of a rhinoceros, 3 ſpans and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, containing two black teeth, &c. Gericht von Gebeinen groſſer auſlaendiſcher Thiere. Pallas's Nordiſche Beytrage, vol. I. p. 173.

Mr.

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Mr. Pallas came into thoſe parts the following year, the head and two legs were ſent to him by the governor of the province, and by him tranſmitted to the muſeum. The ſkin and hair are very apparent. The following tranſlation of the account relative to the diſcovery of this rhinoceros is extracted from Pallas's Travels. I have preferred this extract to the deſcription given in the Commentaries of the Academy, as well becauſe the latter is too long to be inſerted in this place, as becauſe the German, in which the former is written, is leſs familiar to the Engliſh reader than the Latin, in which the other is compoſed.

"This winter the hunters of Yakutſk found, near the ri-
"vulet Vilui, the body of an unknown animal, the head and
"two hinder feet whereof were ſent to Irkutſk by Ivan An-
"guſof, vayvode of Vilitſk. In the account of this diſco-
"very, dated the 17th of January, it appears, that in Decem-
"ber, about 26 miles above Vilitſk, the body of an animal
"was obſerved half buried in the ſand, about a fathom
"from the water, and four fathom from a ſteep cliff. Being
"meaſured upon the ſpot, it was found to be 7 feet 7 inches
"in length, and in height about 7 feet 6 inches. The hide
"was entire, the body appeared of its natural bulk, but in
"ſuch a ſtate, that only the head and feet could be carried
"away; one of the latter was ſent to Yakutſk, and the remain-
"der to Irkutſk. Upon inſpection, they ſeemed to have be-
"longed to a full-grown rhinoceros; and as the head was
"entirely covered with the ſkin, there could be no doubt of
"the fact. On one ſide the ſmall hairs were ſtill perfect.
"The exterior organization was well preſerved, and the eye-
"lids were not entirely corrupted. Here and there under the
"ſkin, and the bones, and alſo in the hollow part of the ſkull,
"was found a ſlimy ſubſtance, the remains of the putrid
"fleſh; and upon the feet, beſide the ſlime, parts of the
"tendons

"tendons and ſinews were obſerved. Both the horn and the "hoofs were wanting; but the hollow in which the horn "had been ſet, and the edge of the ſkin which encircled its "baſe being apparent, and the cloven ſeparation of the hoofs "being viſible, afforded undoubted proof that the animal "was a rhinoceros. Having given in the Commentaries of "the Academy of Sciences, a particular deſcription of this "extraordinary diſcovery, I will not repeat what I have "there advanced concerning the cauſes which might have "brought this rhinoceros into theſe northern regions, and "have diſperſed the other remains of exotic animals through "Siberia. I ſhall here only mention a few circumſtances, "which I obtained from Argunof, relative to the place where "the remains of the rhinoceros were diſcovered; and ſhall "add a few conjectures upon the poſſibility of their preſerva-"tion during ſo long a period. The country about the Vilui "is mountainous, and the mountains conſiſt of ſtrata, partly of "ſand and lime-ſtone, and partly of clay mixed with many "pebbles. The body was found in a hill, compoſed of ſand "and pebbles, about fifteen fathoms high; it was buried "deep in a coarſe gravelly ſand, and was preſerved by the "froſt, as the ground in that part is never thawed at any con-"ſiderable depth. The warmeſt and moſt expoſed places are "thawed about two ells deep by the ſun; but the lower "parts, which are formed of clay and ſand, are, even at the "end of ſummer, frozen at no more than half an ell below "the ſurface. Without this circumſtance, it would have been "impoſſible that the ſkin and other parts of this quadruped "ſhould have been preſerved for ſo long a time: for we can-"not aſſign the quick tranſportation of this animal, from its "native country in the ſouth to theſe cold regions, to a later "period, or to a leſs important cauſe, than to the deluge; as "the moſt antient hiſtories of mankind make no mention of

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"any later revolution of this globe, which could, with equal "probability, have buried theſe remains of the rhinoceros, as "well as the bones of the elephants that are ſcattered through- "out Siberia *."

The variety of ores collected from the numerous mines of the Ruſſian empire, highly deſerves the attention of the mineralogiſt. In ſpeaking of this collection, I ſhall confine myſelf to two ſpecimens very intereſting to naturaliſts; namely, native copper, and a large maſs of native iron. The former was brought from a ſmall iſland lying cloſe to Beering's Iſland, within ſight of the coaſt of Kamtchatka, which takes its name of Mednoi Oſtrof, or Copper Iſland, from the pieces of native copper that are not unfrequently found upon the beach.

The ſpecimen of native iron is part of a moſt remarkable maſs, conſiſting of that metal in its pure ſtate, blended with glaſs-like matter †: it is in every reſpect perfect, malleable, and capable of being forged into any form, ſuſceptible of ruſt, in a word, partaking of all the undoubted qualities of iron. It was diſcovered in Siberia by Mr. Pallas, who, at my deſire, favoured me with a deſcription in French; and, as it helps to elucidate the account ſent to the Royal Society by the ſame author, I ſhall here inſert a tranſlation. Let me only remark, that I repeatedly examined the ſpecimen, and found its real ſtate to be exactly deſcribed. I expreſsly mention theſe circumſtances, as ſome perſons have doubted the exiſtence of this block of native iron, and as I am always anxious, whenever I have it in my power, to aſcertain the truth of every relation which I give to the public.

* Pallas Reiſe, Part III. p. 97.

† It appears, by Mr. Meyer's Analyſis of this mineral, that the glaſs-like matter conſiſts of eight parts of ferrugineous earth, 27 of filicious earth, and 25 of the earth of magneſia. See Meyer's "Verſuche mit der von "dem Herrn Prof. Pallas in Siberien gefunde- "nen Eiſenſtuffe;" in Beſchaeftigungem der Berlin. Geſellſchaft. Vol. III. p. 405.

"This

"This maſs, which exhibits the firſt inſtance of native iron "ever found in a perfect ſtate of malleability, was diſcovered "upon an eminence oppoſite to Mount Memis, near the Eaſt-"ern bank of the Yeniſèi, between the rivulets Oberi and Si-"ſim, which fall into that river above the town of Kraſnoy-"arſk: it was a ſeparate maſs, which ſeemed to have been "detached, by lapſe of time, from the mountain upon which "it reſted; and what is very remarkable, the chain of moun-"tains, among which it was found, do not afford the leaſt "traces of any volcano, any remains of forges or antient "mines, or in any other part the ſmalleſt appearances of na-"tive iron. Within about 374 yards of the ſpot where it was "obſerved, is a rich vein of a blueiſh magnetic ore; which, "being viſited by the Ruſſian miners, firſt led to the diſcovery "of the inſulated maſs, which, in its original ſtate, weighed "1440 Engliſh pounds, and was incruſted in moſt parts with "a thick coat of blackiſh iron ore. The inſide conſiſts of "pure malleable iron, divided by irregular cavities, which "are filled with a vitrified tranſparent ſubſtance, yellow for "the moſt part, but black in a few places, eſpecially near "the ſurface, and blended here and there with ocre. Thoſe "who have never ſeen any parts of this maſs may be diſpoſed "to conclude that it muſt have been the effect of art; but "they who examine it with attention muſt be of opinion, that "it was entirely natural, although they cannot account for the "mode of its production."

The anatomical cabinet is highly eſteemed, from its having been prepared by Ruyſch, a celebrated anatomiſt of the Hague, who ſold it, in 1717, to Peter the Great, for 30,000 florins *. This collection is particularly celebrated for the regular ſucceſſion of fœtuſes in ſpirits, from the earlieſt period of conception to the birth of the infant; and for the injections of the

* About £ 3000.

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brain and eye. The membranes of the eye are ſo fine and tender, that it requires infinite care to inject them; and Ruyſch, of all others, ſucceeded beſt in this difficult operation. He ſuppoſed that he had diſcovered a new membrane in the choroides of the eye, which is from him called Ruyiſchian: in order to aſcertain this diſcovery, he ſpared neither pains nor expence; and although, in the opinion of the moſt able anatomiſts, he may not have ſucceeded in his attempts to prove the exiſtence of this new membrane *, yet his labours muſt be eſteemed of great uſe, and his injections of the finer veſſels of the eye are juſtly admired for their ſuperior delicacy.

I haſten to the chamber of rarities, in which, among the moſt conſpicuous curioſities, muſt be mentioned the ornaments found in the tombs of Siberia, many of which are of great value †, being of maſſive gold, and of very elegant workmanſhip. Theſe ornaments conſiſt of bracelets, ſome of

* He affirmed, that he divided the choroides into two membranes; but it is now the received opinion, that he only ſplit the ſame membrane into two parts.

† The quantity of gold found in theſe tombs is ſcarcely credible; one which was opened in the neighbourhood of the Irtiſh, is thus deſcribed in the Archæologia:

"After removing a very deep covering of "earth and ſtones, the workmen came to "three vaults, conſtructed of ſtones of rude "workmanſhip; a view of which is exhibited "in the annexed plate.

"That wherein the prince was depoſited, "which was in the centre, and the largeſt of "the three, was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the "ſword, ſpear, bow, quiver, and arrow, which "lay beſide him. In the vault beyond him, "towards which his feet lay, were his horſe, "bridle, ſaddle, and ſtirrups. The body of "the prince lay in a reclining poſture, upon a "ſheet of pure gold, extending from head to "foot: and another ſheet of gold of the like "dimenſions was ſpread over him. He was "wrapped in a rich mantle, bordered with "gold, and ſtudded with rubies and emeralds. "His head, neck, breaſt, and arms naked, "and without any ornament.

"In the leſſer vault lay the princeſs, diſtinguiſhed by her female ornaments. She was "placed reclining againſt the walls, with a "gold chain of many links, ſet with rubies, "round her neck, and gold bracelets round "her arms. The head, breaſt, and arms "were naked. The body was covered with a "rich robe, but without any border of gold "or jewels, and was laid on a ſheet of fine "gold, and covered over with another. The "four ſheets of gold weighed 40 pounds. The "robes of both looked fair and complete; but, "upon touching, crumbled into duſt."

Demidof's Account of certain Tartarian Antiquities, in the Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 223, 224.

which

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which weigh a pound; of collars in the ſhape of ſerpents; of vaſes, crowns, bucklers, rings, figures of animals richly carved in gold and ſilver, ſabres with golden hilts, ornamented with precious ſtones; Tartar idols, and other antiquities. The ſurprizing quantity of golden ornaments, were they not evident to ſight, would exceed all belief; but having been in fact diſcovered in the manner repreſented, it is certain that the people whoſe relics were interred in theſe places muſt have been very rich. How then are we to account for a civilized nation, capable of theſe artificial productions, formerly exiſting upon the banks of the Irtiſh, the Tobol, and the Yenisèi? Mr. Muller, who has made reſearches upon the ſubject, and who, during his travels through Siberia, examined many of the ſpots where the tombs were opened, advances the following probable conjectures concerning the people to whom they belonged; and from him all ſubſequent authors, who have written upon this point, have drawn their concluſions *.

After deſcribing the different ſpecies of tombs obſerved in the ſouthern parts of Siberia, he adds, "that as in ſeveral of "theſe burial places the bones of men, women, and horſes, "have been found with javelins, bows and arrows, and other "weapons; it ſeems evident, that the ſame antient ſuperſti- "tion, which ſtill reigns in India, was formerly prevalent in "thoſe parts; namely, that the departed ſouls follow the ſame "kind of life in a future ſtate, which they purſued in this "world †. For this purpoſe, at the demiſe of a perſon of "diſtinction, his favourite wife, his ſervants, the horſes upon "which he was accuſtomed to ride, were ſacrificed at his "tomb, and buried with him; and for the ſame reaſon his

* See Mr. Muller's excellent Treatiſe Von den Altern Graebern in Siberia in Haygold, vol. II. p. 155. alſo in the Journal of St. Pet. for 1779.

† Or, as the poet has elegantly expreſſed it:

——— Quæ gratia currûm
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
Paſcere equos; eadem ſequitur tellure repoſtos. Æneid. lib. VI. 653.

"arms,

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" arms, dreſs, and other accoutrements, were alſo interred: " hence the Indian wives, to this day, throw themſelves upon " the funeral pile of their huſbands." And Mr. Muller obſerves, that, upon inſpecting the antient archives of Yakutſk, he found the ſame cuſtom obtained among the inhabitants when the Ruſſians firſt made the conqueſt of thoſe parts; and that the only effectual method of putting a ſtop to ſuch proceedings, was by puniſhing all thoſe as murderers who ſacrificed the wives and ſervants of the deceaſed. Having thus accounted for the quantity of gold and ſilver ornaments found in theſe tombs, he next endeavours to point out the particular people to whom theſe burial places belonged; and he is equally judicious in the ſolution of this difficult inquiry. He begins by aſſerting, that the richeſt of theſe burial places were made in the time of Zinghis Khan and his immediate ſucceſſors. The moſt valuable tombs being found near the banks of the Volga, the Tobol, and the Irtiſh; the next in value in the deſerts of the Yeniſèi; and the pooreſt in the countries bordering upon the Lake Baikal: he ſuppoſes them all to have been the work of the Mongol Hordes at different periods, who inhabited, at various times, the diſtricts in which the burial places at preſent exiſt. He grounds his proof upon the following circumſtances: Zinghis, or Tchinghis Khan, laid the foundation of his vaſt power in the beginning of the 13th century. The roving hordes of Mongols, who were firſt under his dominion, inhabited the countries about the rivers Selenga, Tola, Orkon, and Anon, ſtretching from the river Amoor to the Mongol Deſert, which leads to the wall of China. Theſe hordes were at that time a poor tribe, and hence the tombs which are found in thoſe parts are very ſcantily provided with rich accoutrements, and ornaments of any value.

Zinghis

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Zinghis had no ſooner brought the Mongols under his ſubjection, than he turned his arms to different quarters. With the aid of theſe warlike tribes, he and his immediate ſucceſſors conquered great part of China, independent Tartary, Perſia, and the regions as far as the Black Sea, and held for ſome years almoſt all Ruſſia under their yoke. The plunder of ſuch vaſt countries centered for the moſt part in the ſettlement of the chief Khan, acknowledged by all the feudal princes as the head of that extenſive empire; which, upon the death of Zinghis Khan, was divided into many independent principalities. This ſettlement was, about the middle of the 13th century, not far from the banks of the Irtiſh, as appears from the travels of the miſſionary Rubruquis, who, in his way to the court of the Khan Magnu, deſcribes the laſt river he croſſed to be the Yaik; and as he never mentions the Irtiſh, it is probable that the ſeat of the court was ſituated between thoſe two rivers; and accordingly we find, in corroboration of this ſuppoſition, that the richeſt ſepulchres are diſcovered in the parts between the Yaik and the Irtiſh. Towards the beginning of the 15th century, the empire of the Mongols fell to pieces; and therefore there ſeems no other period, but the 13th and 14th centuries, in which they could have collected ſuch an immenſe booty as the ornaments found in theſe tombs ſeem to indicate.

It is a remarkable circumſtance, that many of theſe ornaments are executed with ſuch taſte and elegance, as is hardly to be accounted for from the ſtate of the arts at that time in the Eaſt: and indeed they were undoubtedly the work of Europeans, whom the liberality of Zinghis Khan and his ſucceſſors drew to their courts; for Rubruquis met at the court of Magnu William Boucher, a French goldſmith, employed by the Khan.

Mr.

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Mr. Muller, with his uſual candour, allows one exception to his general aſſertion, that all the tombs of Siberia, in which arms and ornaments were interred with the deceaſed, were the burial places of the Mongols; and he deſcribes a few which ſeem of a far more antient date, and contain copper arms, utenſils, and ornaments. Theſe relics are now preſerved in the chamber of rarities, and I examined them with great attention. The knives, ſpears, and ſwords, being uniformly of copper, ſeem to prove, that the people who were buried in theſe parts were not acquainted with the uſe of iron; and therefore muſt have been of very high antiquity, and far anterior to the Mongol hordes. Mr. Muller, who has inveſtigated all theſe ſubjects with a wonderful ſpirit of inquiry, ſuppoſes theſe people to have been the Igurs, or Uigurs*, from whom Zinghis Khan, as his own ſubjects the Mongols were entirely without the uſe of letters, is ſaid to have adopted the alphabet and the art of writing. But he gives this merely as a conjecture, and admits the uncertainty of ſettling deciſively to what people theſe copper arms and ornaments belonged, or at what period they were buried.

A long gallery contains the various dreſſes of the inhabitants in the Ruſſian empire, and of many eaſtern nations: among which the Chineſe are the moſt conſiderable. One apartment is filled with the dreſſes, arms, and implements brought from the new diſcovered iſlands between Aſia and America, and from the parts of the continent which have been viſited by the Ruſſian veſſels. Some of theſe ſpecimens are the ſame which are mentioned in the Journals of the Ruſſian Voyages; namely, caps beautifully adorned with long ſtreamers of hair like the antient helmets; clothes made with the ſkins of ſea-otters, of

* Or Ugorians, the anceſtors of the preſent Hungarians, who, in remote times, inhabited parts of Siberia. One of the necklaces found in theſe tombs reſembles thoſe ſtill uſed in Hungary. Eſſai Bib. p. 176.

rein-

rein-deer, and of birds painted red, and ornamented with fringes of leather, hair, or ſinews; alſo wooden maſks, repreſenting the heads of large fiſh and ſea-animals, which the inhabitants occaſionally wear at feſtivals *. CHAP. VI.

In this gallery are various idols, which Mr. Pallas procured from the Calmuc or Mongol hordes roving in Siberia, many of whom are ſtill plunged in a ſtate of the groſſeſt idolatry, and follow the religion of the Dalai Lama. Some of theſe deities are delineated upon canvas; others are of clay, painted or gilded; and a few are of bronze, chiefly procured from Thibet. They are moſtly groteſque figures, with many hands and arms, and ſitting croſs-legged; and are ſimilar to thoſe worſhipped by many ſects in the Eaſt; they are hollow, and generally filled with relics and ſentences of prayers. Engravings of the moſt remarkable idols are given in Pallas's Travels.

I paid great attention to the collection of Ruſſian coins, which throw a conſiderable light upon the early hiſtory of this country. The moſt antient ſubſtitutes for money, which paſſed among the natives, were ſmall pieces of leather, or of martens' ſkin; but in their dealings with foreigners, the Ruſſians, like the Chineſe at preſent, uſed to exchange their merchandize for gold and ſilver in bullion. The preciſe time in which the art of coining began to be practiſed in Ruſſia is unknown; but it was moſt probably derived from the Tartars. The coins † are ranged into nine claſſes.

1. The firſt contains thoſe that are without inſcriptions; theſe, which are undoubtedly the moſt antient, exhibit in one or two inſtances an human figure on horſeback wielding a ſword; but are for the moſt part ſtamped with the rude repreſentations of certain animals, and which, according to the

* See Ruſſian Diſcoveries, p. 114. 169. 172. and other parts.

† Monſ. Le Clerc has lately favoured the public with a very curious account of the Numiſmatic Hiſtory of Ruſſia, which he has rendered extremely valuable by engravings of 177 of the moſt antient coins. See Hiſt. de la Ruſſ. Anc. Vol. II. p. 527 to 549.

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ingenious conjecture of a Ruſſian hiſtorian *, denote their Tartarian origin in the following manner: The cycle or period of computation employed by the Tartars, was ſimilar to that ſtill uſed by the Chineſe and Mongols, and contained twelve years; each whereof was ſucceſſively marked by the following animals: 1. a mouſe; 2. an ox; 3. a tiger; 4. a hare; 5. a crocodile, and ſometimes a dragon; 6. a ſerpent; 7. a horſe; 8. a lamb; 9. an ape; 10. a hen; 11. a dog; 12. a hog. Of theſe all but the crocodile, the ape, and the hare, appear upon the coins; and perhaps the Tartars who over-ran Ruſſia uſed, inſtead of them, the ſwan, the harpy, and the ſiren, whoſe repreſentations are occaſionally obſerved. The coins which are impreſſed with the figures above-mentioned were probably ſtruck in the correſponding years of the cycle. The ſame hiſtorian alſo advances, that the annual tribute paid by the Ruſſians to the Tartars was marked by the animals which denote the particular year of the cycle; and, as in ſome coins two of theſe animals are repreſented at the ſame time, probably the tribute of two years was delivered at once: he ſupports this conjecture with great appearance of argument. 2. Coins with a Tartar inſcription exhibit images of men on foot, or on horſeback, holding in their hands a ſabre, a lance, and a falcon; alſo of griffins, goats, fowls, and ſwans. 3. Coins that have jointly both Tartar and Ruſſian inſcriptions. 4. Coins with only Ruſſian characters without date; and as the name of the prince in whoſe reign they were ſtruck is not expreſſed, their age cannot be determined. We may remark upon the three laſt claſſes, that from the time the coin bore any inſcription, the characters were ſometimes Tartar, ſometimes Ruſſian, and ſometimes both, as the ſovereigns of this empire were more or leſs ſubject to the Tartar yoke. 5. The coins of the great-dukes, beginning from Vaſſili Demitrievitch,

* Sherebatof in Journ. St. Pet. for 1781, Part II. p. 15.

and

and ending with thoſe of Vaſſili Ivanovitch. The year in which the great-duke firſt ſtruck money at Moſcow is not aſcertained; but from the Ruſſian inſcription upon the moſt antient pieces of this claſs, *Knaes Veliki Vaſſili*, the great-duke Vaſſili, probably about the year 1424, when Vaſſili Demitrievitch obtained a complete victory over Kundal, khan of the Tartars. The year before the death of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. a coin was ſtruck by Ariſtotle of Bologna, who, among other foreign artiſts, was drawn by that prince to Moſcow. 6. The coins of the princes of the blood who held independent principalities; namely, thoſe of Galitz, Svenigorod, Moſhaiſk, Bielofero, Suſdal, Reſan, Tver, &c. 7. Thoſe of the principal towns, which had the right of coining; namely, Novogorod, Pleſcof, Moſcow, Tver, &c. The moſt antient are thoſe of Novogorod, in which city the Tartar money had no currency, as the commercial intercourſe with foreign nations had introduced the Lithuanian and Swediſh ſpecies. 8. The coins from the tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. to the majority of Peter the Great. The firſt gold piece was made in the reign of Ivan, and the impreſſion was at the ſame time greatly improved. Upon ſome of theſe pieces I obſerved on one ſide the ſpread-eagle and an unicorn; and on the reverſe the ſpread-eagle, with a St. George and the dragon on its breaſt. The firſt introduction of the ſpread-eagle is ſuppoſed to be owing to the marriage of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. with the Greek princeſs Sophia; in whoſe right he is ſaid to have founded pretenſions to the Greek empire, and to have borne that device upon his arms. But we have no proof of the fact, either from the coins of this monarch, or from the accounts of Herberſtein and Poſſevinus; and Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. was undoubtedly the firſt prince under whom the device of the ſpread-eagle was ſtamped upon the coin; but hiſtory is ſilent on what occaſion it was aſſumed. The firſt rouble, which before was only uſed like

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our pound ſterling in computing, was coined by Alexèy Michaelovitch. In this claſs are three coins remarkable in the hiſtory of the empire: the firſt is a Ruſſian ducat, having the heads of the two tzars Ivan and Peter Alexievitch on one ſide; and on the other that of their ſiſter Sophia, with the crown, ſceptre, and royal robes. The others are two coins of Ivan and Peter, which baffle the conjectures of hiſtorians: they bear no date; and as theſe princes were both joint-ſovereigns, no antiquarian has been as yet able to account for their ſeparate repreſentation, when the money, during their reign, was, excepting in this inſtance, uniformly impreſſed with both their heads. 9. The laſt claſs compriſes all the money iſſued by Peter and his ſucceſſors: upon comparing theſe with the preceding ones, it is evident to the commoneſt obſerver, how greatly the die was corrected by Peter the Great upon his return from his travels, and that ſince his time it has not been in the leaſt improved *.

The cabinet is rich in Eaſtern coins; containing, among others, an ample collection of thoſe of the caliphs of Arabia and Samarcand; thoſe of the khans of Bulgaria, of Crim Tartary, of Aſof; and of the Mongol tribe, called by the Ruſſians the Golden Horde. Among the Indian pieces are the twelve roupees, repreſenting the twelve ſigns of the Zodiac, of Queen Nourmahall, whoſe hiſtory, related in the Travels of Tavernier †, has more the air of an Eaſtern tale than of a true narrative. Theſe roupees are ſo extremely rare, that the original poſſeſſor of this cabinet is ſaid to have purchaſed them for a thouſand crowns ‡.

In an adjoining apartment, I was ſtruck with a waxen figure of Peter the Great, as large as life, ſitting in an armed chair.

* See Eſſai ſur la Bib. p. 245. Verſuch ueber die alten Ruſſiſchen Muentzen. Journ. St. Pet. 1781.

† Tavernier's Travels, Part II. p. 10.

‡ Backmeiſter Eſſai ſur la Bibl. p. 254.

The

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The features bear the moſt exact reſemblance to the original, becauſe they were taken from a mould applied to his face when dead, and coloured in imitation of his real complexion. The eye-brows and hair are black, the eyes dark, the complexion ſwarthy, the aſpect ferocious, and the head inclined to one ſide according to his uſual cuſtom; he was very tall, and, upon meaſuring the figure, as well as the attitude would permit, the height was above ſix feet. It is clothed in the only full dreſs which that emperor ever wore, and is the ſame which he had on when, with his own hand, he placed the crown upon the head of his beloved Catharine. It is a ſuit of blue ſilk richly embroidered with ſilver; the ſtockings are of fleſh-coloured ſilk, with ſilver clocks. I muſt own I ſhould have received more ſatisfaction in contemplating this great monarch's image, if it had been dreſſed in the plain blue uniform, and braſs hilted ſword, which are preſerved in the ſame room, and were worn by him at the battle of Pultava: near them is preſerved the hat uſed on the ſame occaſion, which was pierced near the crown by a muſket ball. This apartment contains alſo his trowſers, worſted ſtockings, ſhoes, and cap, which he wore at Sardam, when he worked in the dock-yard in the character of Maſter Peter. The Academy of Sciences have paid the greateſt reſpect to the memory of their illuſtrious founder, by preſerving in their muſeum the horſe which he rode at the battle of Pultava, two favourite dogs, his turning-lathe and tools, and ſeveral ſpecimens of his workmanſhip; an iron bar, on which is the following inſcription, "1724, Thurſday, Feb. 21, His Majeſty Peter I. being "at Olonetz, forged this bar with his own hand." I muſt not omit three goblets of ſilver, preſented to the ſame monarch upon the launching of three ſhips of the line, which had been conſtructed under his immediate direction. One of theſe goblets, containing 65 medals of the French kings, was the gift of

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of the empreſs Catharine, who equally availed herſelf of her huſband's virtues and foibles to win upon his affections. Another article, which engaged my attention, was the model of a veſſel of 120 guns, given by William III. to Peter I. during his reſidence in England. The emperor, who had received many marks of the king's attention and friendſhip, preſented him at parting with a diamond of great value, wrapped in a piece of common brown paper: no bad emblem of himſelf or his nation, whoſe virtues and abilities were yet under a coarſe cover.

Before I cloſe this account of the Academy of Sciences, I muſt mention the Celeſtial Sphere, known by the name of the Globe of Gottorp, now placed in a detached building, in order to preſerve it from fire. It is a large concave ſphere, eleven feet in diameter, containing a table and ſeats for twelve perſons. The inſide repreſents the viſible ſurface of the heavens: the ſtars and conſtellations are diſtinguiſhed, according to their reſpective magnitudes, by gilded nails. It is ſet to the meridian of Peterſburgh; and, being turned by means of a curious piece of mechaniſm, exhibits the true poſition of the ſtars, their riſing and ſetting. The outſide is a terreſtrial globe. This machine is called the Globe of Gottorp, from the original one of that name; which, at the expence of Frederic III. duke of Holſtein, was erected at Gottorp, by Andrew Buſh, under the direction of Adam Olearius *. It was planned after a deſign found among the papers of the celebrated Tycho Brahe, and was preſented by Frederick IV. king of Denmark to Peter the Great, who ſaw it in 1713, and expreſſed much ſatisfaction at its curious ſtructure and mechaniſm. The carriage of ſo cumbrous a machine from Gottorp to Peterſburgh was attended with great expence and labour. It was conducted over the ſnow upon rollers and ſledges to Riga, the

* Buſching Erdbeſchreibung, article Gottorp. Acta Pet. for 1777, Part II. p. 7.

foreſts

forefts being in many parts cleared; and from Riga it was ſent by ſea to the new metropolis*. This ſphere was afterwards erected in the building of the Academy of Sciences, and was burnt in 1747. From the iron plates or carcaſe which remained, the preſent globe was conſtructed, with conſiderable additions, and placed in 1751 in its preſent poſition. It is exactly of the ſame ſize with the original, and is far preferable, becauſe all the modern improvements in geography and aſtronomy have been added. The meridian and horizon were formed by Scott, an Engliſh mechanic.

Travellers are too apt, in deſcribing foreign countries, to overlook their own, and to repreſent many objects as extraordinary and peculiar, which may ſometimes be found in greater perfection at home. In order to avoid the imputation of this partial proceeding, I ſhall here add, that this aſtronomical machine is far inferior in ſize to one of the ſame kind erected at Pembroke College in the univerſity of Cambridge, by the late Dr. Long, maſter of that ſociety, which is thus deſcribed by the doctor himſelf †.

"I have in a room lately built in Pembroke-Hall, erected a ſphere of 18 "feet diameter, wherein above 30 perſons may ſit conveniently; the entrance "into it is over the ſouth pole by ſix ſteps: the frame of the ſphere conſiſts "of a number of iron meridians, not complete ſemicircles, the northern "ends of which are ſcrewed to a large round plate of braſs, with an hole in "the centre of it; through this hole, from a beam in the cieling, comes "the north pole, a round iron rod, about three inches long, and ſupports "the upper parts of the ſphere to its proper elevation for the latitude of "Cambridge; the lower part of the ſphere, ſo much of it as is inviſible in "England, is cut off; and the lower or ſouthern ends of the meridians, or "truncated ſemicircles, terminate on, and are ſcrewed down to a ſtrong "circle of oak, of about thirteen feet diameter, which, when the ſphere is put "into motion, runs upon large rollers of lignum vitæ, in the manner that "the tops of ſome wind-mills are made to turn round. Upon the iron me-

* Motraye's Travels.

† Long's Aſtronomy, vol. II. Introduction.

"ridians

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" ridians is fixed a zodiac of tin painted blue, whereon the ecliptic and helio-
" centric orbits of the planets are drawn, and the conſtellations and ſtars
" traced: the great and little Bear and Draco are already painted in their
" places round the north pole; the reſt of the conſtellations are propoſed to
" follow: the whole is turned round with a ſmall winch, with as little labour
" as it takes to wind up a jack, though the weight of the iron, tin, and
" wooden circle, is about a thouſand pounds. When it is made uſe of, a
" planetarium will be placed in the middle thereof. The whole, with the
" floor, is well ſupported by a frame of large timber."

Thus far Dr. Long, before this curious piece of mechaniſm was perfected. Since the above was written, the ſphere has been completely finiſhed; all the conſtellations and ſtars of the northern hemiſphere, viſible at Cambridge, are painted in their proper places upon plates of iron joined together, which form one concave ſurface.

The Academy of Arts was eſtabliſhed by the empreſs Elizabeth, at the ſuggeſtion of count Shuvalof, and annexed to the Academy of Sciences: the fund was £ 4000 per annum, and the foundation for 40 ſcholars. The preſent empreſs has formed it into a ſeparate inſtitution, enlarged the annual revenue to £ 12,000, and augmented the number of ſcholars to 300; ſhe has alſo conſtructed, for the uſe and accommodation of the members, a large circular building, which fronts the Neva. The ſcholars are admitted at the age of ſix, and continue until they have attained that of eighteen: they are clothed, fed, and lodged, at the expence of the crown. They are all inſtructed in reading and writing, arithmetic, the French and German languages, and drawing. At the age of fourteen they are at liberty to chuſe any of the following arts, divided into four claſſes. 1. Painting in all its branches of hiſtory, portraits, battles, and landſcapes; architecture; Moſaic; enamelling; &c. 2. Engraving on copper-plates, ſeal-cutting, &c. 3. Carving in wood, ivory, and amber. 4. Watch-making, turning, inſtrument making, caſting ſtatues in bronze and

and other metals, imitating gems and medals in paſte and other compoſitions, gilding, and varniſhing. Prizes are annually diſtributed to thoſe who excel in any particular art; and from thoſe who have obtained four prizes, twelve are ſelected, who are ſent abroad at the charge of the empreſs. A certain ſum is paid to defray their travelling expences; and when they are ſettled in any town, they receive an annual ſalary of £ 60, which is continued during four years. There is a ſmall aſſortment of paintings for the uſe of the ſcholars; and thoſe who have made great progreſs are permitted to copy the pictures in the empreſs's collection. For the purpoſe of deſign, there are models in plaiſter of the beſt antique ſtatues in Italy, all done at Rome, of the ſame ſize with the originals, which the artiſts of the Academy were employed to caſt in bronze. We obſerved ſeveral finiſhed pieces of drawing, painting, and ſculpture, which had much merit, and ſeemed to predict the future improvement of the arts in Ruſſia.

Though this inſtitution is indeed admirably calculated for promoting the liberal arts, and is deſerving of the higheſt encomiums, we muſt not be ſurprized upon conſidering the ſmall effects which have hitherto flowed from ſuch a liberal endowment. The ſcholars, for the moſt part, make a conſiderable progreſs during the time they remain in the Academy, and many improve themſelves abroad. It is remarkable, however, that the perſons of the greateſt merit often ſettle in other countries; or, if they return, ſoon ſink into an indolence, which appears almoſt national. The cauſe of this failure ſeems to proceed from the little encouragement they receive from the nation in general. The ſovereign may rear artiſts, like foreign plants, at a prodigious expence, and by conſtant cultivation; but unleſs the ſame care is continued when they are brought to maturity, they will ſicken by neglect; and it is impoſſible, even for a monarch, however inclined to protect and encou-

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rage merit, or for a few of the nobility who are pleaſed to follow ſuch an illuſtrious example, to diffuſe a love for the works of art among a people, who muſt, before they can judge or be pleaſed with them, imbibe a degree of taſte which can only be acquired by experience: and if thoſe who are eminent are not in ſome meaſure diſtinguiſhed, they cannot feel that noble ſpirit of improvement and emulation which excites to excellence; nor, unleſs they are employed, can they ſubſiſt by their profeſſion. The caſe is, that the Ruſſians are by no means deficient in genius; but, as there is not yet that general zeal for the purſuit and cultivation of the arts which has taken place in other European countries, they have not ſufficient motives to animate and encourage a continuance of induſtry, or to gratify the purſuits of reputation and character. As the nation, however, is gradually haſtening towards a higher ſtate of civilization and refinement, theſe inſtitutions, ſtill in their infancy, muſt infallibly be productive of more extenſive and permanent effects.

The Free Oeconomical Society, or the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture at Peterſburgh, is too important and uſeful an inſtitution to be overlooked. It owes its origin to the following occaſion: The empreſs one day at table expreſſing herſelf with warmth upon the advantages that would reſult from ſuch a ſociety, firſt ſuggeſted the idea to prince Orlof, who happened to be preſent. In conformity to the wiſhes of his imperial miſtreſs, he and fourteen other perſons, partly men of rank, and partly men of learning, aſſembled in June 1765, drew up rules, and formed themſelves into a regular ſociety. Having laid the plan before the empreſs, her majeſty returned the following anſwer, written with her own hand.

"The deſign which you have juſt formed for the improve-
"ment of agriculture and huſbandry, is highly agreeable to
"Us; and your labours will be regarded as effectual proofs
"of

" of a true zeal and love for your country. We conſider the " plan and the regulations, by which you have bound your- " ſelves, as deſerving our approbation; and we graciouſly allow " you to be called The Free Oeconomical Society. You may " reſt aſſured, that we take your ſociety under our protection: " We not only conſent that you uſe our ſeal and imperial coat " of arms; but, as a particular mark of our good-will towards " you, we permit you to bear our device in the center of our " imperial arms; namely, a hive, to which bees are bringing " honey, with the motto 'Profitably.'

" We gratify, moreover, your ſociety with 6000 roubles *, " towards the purchaſe of a convenient houſe, as well for your " meeting, as for the purpoſe of holding a library on ſubjects " of agriculture. Your labours will, under the protection of " Divine Providence, be highly advantageous to you and your " poſterity; and we will not fail, in proportion as your zeal " diſplays itſelf, to increaſe our good-will.

" October 31, 1765. CATHARINE."

The ſociety conſiſts of a preſident, who is changed every four months; and of an indefinite number of members. The candidate for admiſſion muſt be propoſed by three members, and ſtands rejected or admitted by the majority of the perſons preſent. The ſociety is chiefly ſupported by the voluntary contributions of its members, many of whom are perſons of the firſt diſtinction and fortune. Their number, in 1781, amounted to 179. The aſſembly meets regularly once in the week, when the papers on agriculture and ſimilar ſubjects are read; thoſe which are thought worthy of publication are printed at the empreſs's expence, and the profits of the ſale are given to the ſociety. The work is ſold at a very low price; and twelve copies are forwarded *gratis* to the governors of each province, in

* £ 1200.

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order to be distributed in the several governments. The Transactions are either written or translated into the Russian language, and are printed in octavo. The original title was "Treatises of the Oeconomical Society," which consist of 30 parts, in ten volumes. The first part was put forth in 1765, and the last in 1775. The title has since been altered into "Continuation of the Treatises," &c.; and the work, instead of being published three times in the year, comes out only occasionally. Since this alteration, the first volume made its appearance in 1769, and the second in 1780 *.

This society gives annual prizes, consisting of gold and silver medals, or money, sometimes to the amount of £ 140, for the best solutions of certain questions relative to agriculture, for discovering improvements in husbandry, &c.

The empress, in the true spirit of this institution, sends several young men into England, in order to study practical agriculture. They are chiefly recommended to Arthur Young, Esq; who has distinguished himself by many excellent works on various branches of husbandry; and who was elected in the most honourable manner a member of this society.

Catharine likewise has lately formed an establishment for the improvement of agriculture, which is as singular in its kind, as it is calculated to be highly beneficial to the country. The design was planned by Mr. Samborski, a clergyman of great learning and abilities, who studied agriculture for several years in England; and who accompanied the great-duke during his late tour, that he might observe the different modes of farming in the several countries through which he passed. The plan, which is now carrying into execution, is as follows:

* For an account of this Society, see Schmidt's Nachricht von der Freyen Oecon. Gesells, in his Beytrage; Bachm. Russ. Bib. passim; and the Abhandlungen der Frey. Ges. or the German Translation of these Transactions.

At

At Sophiſk, about three quarters of a mile from Tzarſko-Tzelo, a farm of a thouſand acres is provided with dwelling-houſes, and other neceſſary buildings. In this ſpot Mr. Samborſki, and the young men who have been educated in England, are to be ſettled. Every ſpecies of huſbandry is to be introduced; and lectures upon the theory and practice of agriculture are to be given. From each ſeminary of the empire two children of prieſts, who are likely to ſucceed their fathers in their benefices, are to be placed in this rural eſtabliſhment, that they may render themſelves acquainted with the œconomy of a farm; and be able, in due time, to inſtruct their pariſhioners. Any nobleman, who is deſirous to improve his peaſants in this branch of knowledge, will be permitted to ſend one to Sophiſk. The whole is to be under the protection and inſpection of the empreſs. As this uncommon and curious eſtabliſhment was formed ſince my departure from Ruſſia, I am incapable of laying any further information before the reader. I can only add, that Mr. Samborſki has carried from Mr. Young's houſe, in Suffolk, ploughs, harrows, and other implements of agriculture; and is now employed in ſettling and regulating the farm of Sophiſk.

In Peterſburgh there are two ſeminaries for the education of the nobility; the one for males is called *Corps de Cadets*; and the other for females is denominated *Le Couvent des Demoiſelles Nobles*.

The houſe appropriated for the ſeminary of the land cadets, was formerly a palace belonging to prince Menzikof, and is ſituated in the Vaſſili Oſtrof. The number of perſons reſiding in this houſe, including the cadets, amount to at leaſt 2000. This inſtitution owes its firſt origin to the empreſs Anne, by the advice of marſhal Munich; but it has been ſo much improved, and the fund ſo conſiderably enlarged by Catharine II. that

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leaſt attention to their difference of rank and fortune; but this plan is wiſely amended, and they now receive education more adapted to their reſpective ſituations in life. They are both divided into four claſſes. The firſt claſs is habited in white, the ſecond in light brown, the third in green, and the loweſt in chocolate. The dreſs of the *bourgeoiſes* is coarſer than that of the young ladies: the firſt claſs of the latter wear alſo black handkerchiefs and green aprons, while the others are clothed entirely in white. The whole ſociety learn reading, writing, accounts, and all kinds of needle-work. The young ladies are ſeparately inſtructed in hiſtory and geography; they obtain, beſide a grammatical knowledge of their native tongue, the French, German, and Italian languages; and receive leſſons in dancing, muſic, and drawing, according to the bent of their genius. In the room of theſe accompliſhments the *bourgeoiſes* are employed in the management of houſehold affairs; they prepare and waſh their own linen; are taught to make bread; and are trained to the art of cookery. One of the apartments was hung with the deſigns, paintings, charts, genealogical tables, and other trophies of the ingenuity of the young ladies. Prizes are annually diſtributed among thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves; they conſiſt chiefly of ribbands, which are worn in bows at their ſides.

On the day in which we viſited this noble foundation, a hundred poor women dined in the hall, and were attended by the oldeſt members of the ſeminary. The young ladies diſtributed to each perſon a ſmall ſilver coin, and a few yards of linen. This ceremony was inſtituted to inculcate in their tender minds an attention to the poor, and a readineſs to relieve human diſtreſs.

The quadrangular building contains an elegant theatre, in which the young ladies occaſionally act plays. We were preſent at a repreſentation, and were greatly entertained with the perform-

performance. The theatre is an elegant circular room, neatly painted with trees in the form of a landſcape, and ſeemed capable of containing about 400 ſpectators. The pieces were, *La Servante Maitreſſe*, and *L'Oracle*; both performed in the French tongue; the firſt by young ladies of about ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age, and the laſt by thoſe of about ten or twelve. Both parties acted with ſpirit, and diſplayed great propriety both in their geſture and elocution. I was greatly aſtoniſhed at the ſurprizing purity with which they pronounced the French tongue. The repreſentation was concluded by a ballet, and various dances, adapted to the ages and ſtrength of the ſeveral performers. The national dance was introduced. It is executed by two perſons, who continue nearly on the ſame ſpot, but uſe a variety of actions with the arms, body, and head, while their ſhoulders are elevated and depreſſed in exact meaſure. It is expreſſive of a courtſhip; firſt languiſhing looks, coyneſs, refuſal, and invitation, &c. and at length, after the two dancers have once or twice changed places, they make a couple of circles briſkly, and conclude with an embrace. CHAP. VI.

After the play was a ball and ſupper, to which were admitted ſeveral of the nobility and foreign gentlemen, and a few of the cadets. About twelve, a collation was ſerved upon ſeveral tables, at which parties promiſcuouſly ranged themſelves. As I was walking about the room, one of the young ladies obſerving a foreigner unprovided with a ſeat, quitted the table where ſhe was ſitting, and politely invited me to make one of their company; an invitation I immediately accepted. I withdrew, with the reſt of the company, about two o'clock in the morning, highly delighted with the eaſe and innocent vivacity of my fair entertainers; whoſe politeneſs and affability beſpoke the elegant ſpirit of the inſtitution.

CHAP. VII.

Anecdotes of profeſſor Pallas.—*His travels and works.*—*Circumſtances of Dr.* Samuel Gmelin's *death.*—*Memoirs of* Guldenſtaedt.—*His travels into* Georgia *and* Imeretia.—*Reception at the courts of the princes* Heraclius *and* Solomon.—*Works of* Guldenſtaedt.

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THE * preſent learned and eminent naturaliſt and traveller, Dr. Pallas of Peterſburgh, is ſon of Simon Pallas, profeſſor of ſurgery at Berlin, and firſt ſurgeon of the Charity Hoſpital in that city. Simon Pallas, the father, made himſelf known among the writers of phyſic, by a Treatiſe on the Operations of Surgery, publiſhed in 1763; and by a Supplement to it, On the Diſeaſes of the Bowels, in 1770; in which year he died at the age of 76.

Peter Simon Pallas, the ſon, was born in 1731, and probably received the early part of his education at Berlin; but in the year 1750 he was ſent to Gottingen, to ſtudy under the celebrated Haller, to whom he was ſtrongly recommended by Dr. Meckel, the colleague of his father at Berlin, and profeſſor of anatomy. He afterwards purſued his ſtudies in Holland, and, in the year 1760, took his degree of doctor of phyſic at Leyden; on which occaſion he wrote a very ingenious treatiſe under the title of *Diſſertatio inauguralis de infeſtis viventibus intra viventia.* In this tract the author appears to have taken great pains to diſtinguiſh theſe noxious animals; and has with ſingular accuracy deſcribed, particularly, thoſe worms which

* I am indebted for a great part of this account of Mr. Pallas to the ingenious Dr. Pulteney, well known to the public by his "General View of the Writings of Linnæus."

are

are found in the human body. The talents of the author probably recommended him very early to the favour and patronage of the celebrated Gaubius, at that time principal profeſſor of phyſic at Leyden; and through his recommendation and intereſt, he ſeems to have obtained a ſettlement at the Hague, where we find him in 1766, when he publiſhed a much-eſteemed work under the title of *Elenchus Zoophytorum.*

The attention which Dr. Pallas had beſtowed on the Zoophytes, or animal-plants, in the inveſtigation of the worms which infeſt the human body, and particularly the uncommon nature of the *tænia*, or tape-worm, as he acknowledges, ſeems to have led him into this line of natural ſcience, and in which he has ſhewn a great degree of accuracy, and ſurprizing induſtry. In this work, which is printed in octavo, pp. 451, after having treated on the nature of theſe ambiguous kinds of animals in a general way, and given the various opinions of authors relating to the place they ought to hold in the Syſtem of Nature, he deſcribes, from his own inſpection, more than 270 ſpecies of thoſe worms and animalcules, which are known under the various generical names of polypes, corals, madrepores, corallines, ſea-pens, *tænia*, or tape-worm, ſponges, ſea-fans, &c.

The free acceſs which he had to the muſeum of the prince of Orange, and other curious collections in Holland, enabled him to enrich his work with the deſcription of a great variety of theſe productions, which were brought from both Indies. He has deſcribed each ſpecies at large, and given it a new name characteriſtic of its real diſtinctions: and (what eſpecially increaſes the value of his work) he has, with wonderful induſtry, extricated, as far as poſſible, the ſynonyms of former authors, both antient and modern; thus rendering his book highly uſeful to thoſe who are curious in this branch of natural hiſtory.

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That our author's character as a man of ſcience muſt have been well eſtabliſhed, even before the publication of this book, may fairly be inferred from his being elected member of the Royal Society of London, on the 7th of June 1764, and of the Imperial Academy before that time. It is probable that the credit of theſe works occaſioned the removal of the author to his native city, where he was reſident in 1767; and in the ſame year he was invited, by the empreſs of Ruſſia, to accept the profeſſorſhip of natural hiſtory at Peterſburgh; and was, at the ſame time, made inſpector of the muſeum.

The ſovereigns of Ruſſia had at various times deputed learned and ſkilful men to viſit the moſt diſtant provinces of their vaſt empire, with a view to enlarge the bounds of ſcience, and extend the knowledge of uſeful arts among the natives. About the time of our author's eſtabliſhment at Peterſburgh, two of theſe expeditions had been planned: Dr. S. Gmelin had the conduct of one; and Pallas was placed at the head of the other, with Meſſrs. Falk, Lepekin, and Guldenſtaedt, as his aſſociates.

Mr. Pallas quitted Peterſburgh in the month of June 1768, paſſed through Moſcow, Vladimir, Kaſimof, Murom, Arſamas, to Caſan; and, having examined great part of that province, wintered at Simbirſk. From thence he departed in March of the following year, and penetrated through Samara, and Orenburgh, as far as Gurief, a ſmall Ruſſian fortreſs, ſituated at the mouth of the river Yaic, or Ural. There he examined the confines of Calmuc Tartary, and the neighbouring ſhores of the Caſpian; and, returning through the province of Orenburgh, he paſſed the ſecond winter at Ufa. After ſeveral expeditions in the adjacent parts of that province, he left Ufa on the 16th of May 1770; proſecuted his route through the Uralian mountains to Catharinenburgh; viſited the mines of that diſtrict; proceeded to Tcheliabinſk, a ſmall fortreſs in the government

government of Orenburgh; and in December made an excurſion as far as Tobolſk. The next year he was employed in traverſing the Altai Mountains, in tracing the courſe of the Irtiſh up to Omſk and Kolyvan; where, having inſpected the celebrated ſilver-mines, he made for Tomſk, and finiſhed that year's expedition at Kraſnoyarſk, a town upon the Yeniſèi. In that place, ſituated only in the 56th degree of north latitude, the cold was ſo intenſe, that the learned profeſſor was witneſs to the natural freezing of quickſilver, which curious phænomenon he has minutely deſcribed *. From Kraſnoyarſk he iſſued on the 7th of March 1772; and proceeded by Irkutſk, and acroſs the Lake Baikal to Udinſk, Selenginſk, and Kiakta, where the trade between Ruſſia and China is principally carried on. Having penetrated into that part of Dauria which is ſituated in the ſouth eaſternmoſt part of Siberia, he journeyed between the rivers Ingoda and Argoon, at no great diſtance from the Amoor; thence tracing the lines which ſeparate the Ruſſian empire from the Mongol hordes dependent upon China, he returned to Selenginſk, and again wintered at Kraſnoyarſk. In the ſummer of 1773, he viſited Tara, Yaitſk, and Aſtracan; and concluded that year's route at Tzaritzin, a town upon the Volga; from whence he continued his journey in the enſuing ſpring, and arrived at Peterſburgh on the 30th of July 1774, after an abſence of ſix years.

The account of this extenſive and intereſting tour was publiſhed by Mr. Pallas, in three parts †, containing 2004 pages, in five volumes in quarto, which has greatly contributed to extend his fame and eſtabliſh his character. The author, in this valuable work, has entered into a geographical and topo-

* See Pallas Reiſe, P. III. p. 417—419. and a tranſlation of this remarkable paſſage, in V. I. p. 227, of Chemical Eſſays, by Dr. Watſon, biſhop of Landaff.

† Reiſe durch verſchiedenen Provinzen des Ruſſiſchen Reichs.

graphical

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graphical deſcription of the provinces, towns, and villages, which he viſited in his tour, accompanied with an accurate account of their antiquities, hiſtory, productions, and commerce; he has diſcriminated many of the tribes who wander over the various diſtricts, and near the confines of Siberia; and detailed, with peculiar preciſion, their cuſtoms, manners, and languages: he has alſo rendered his travels invaluable to the naturaliſt, from the many important diſcoveries in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, with which he has enriched the ſcience of natural hiſtory. Theſe travels are written in the German language; but the author has added to each part an appendix in the Latin tongue, which contain 395 ſcientific deſcriptions of ſeveral quadrupeds, birds, fiſh, inſects, and plants. He has alſo greatly contributed to increaſe the utility of his performance by 9 charts and 123 engravings of various antiquities, of ſeveral Tartar dreſſes and idols, and of many animals and plants. The curious naturaliſts and philoſophers of England could not fail conſidering a tranſlation of theſe travels, and thoſe of Georgi, Lepekin, and Gmelin, the two former whereof were made, and the latter were printed, under the inſpection of Pallas, as a valuable addition to our knowledge of thoſe diſtant parts of the globe.

Expeditions of this kind, into inhoſpitable regions, among vagrant, and almoſt barbarous nations, are full of danger; as had been ſufficiently experienced, and particularly in that undertaken by Muller, and Gmelin the elder, in the reign of the empreſs Anne; and nothing but the moſt extenſive ardour for ſcience can ſtimulate men to ſuch undertakings. In that expedition M. De l'Iſle and Steller periſhed; and, as if theſe ſchemes were deſtined to ill fate, Dr. S. Gmelin, after having loſt many of his papers and collections, ſunk under grief and diſeaſe, and expired in a ſmall village of Mount Caucaſus in 1774: Falk died in the courſe of the journey; and profeſſor

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feſſor Lowitz was wantonly maſſacred by the inhuman Pugatchef.

Mr. Pallas fortunately returned, but not without having endured many hardſhips, and having narrowly eſcaped from the moſt imminent dangers; as we may conclude by the manner in which he finiſhes the account of his travels. "And on "the 30th of July I reached Peterſburgh, with a very en- "feebled body and grey hairs, though only in the three-and- "thirtieth year of my age; but yet much ſtronger than when "I was in Siberia; and full of grateful acknowledgements "to Providence for having hitherto preſerved and delivered "me from numberleſs perils."

Mr. Pallas, known to the generality of the Engliſh readers only as a great naturaliſt, deſerves a conſiderable place among thoſe writers who have ſucceeded in developing the complicated hiſtory of the roving tribes that are ſcattered over thoſe extenſive regions which ſtretch from the heart of Siberia to the northern limits of India. The profeſſor has, in a recent publication, entitled, Collections upon the Political, Phyſical, and Civil Hiſtory of the Mongol Tribes*, thrown new light upon the annals of a people, whoſe anceſtors conquered Ruſſia, China, Perſia, and Indoſtan; and, at more than one period, eſtabliſhed, perhaps, a larger empire than ever was poſſeſſed by any ſingle nation. The materials for this publication he collected, partly during an intercourſe with the Mongols, Burats, and Calmucs, and partly from the communications of Muller and Gmelin.

Hitherto moſt authors who have written upon theſe Aſiatic hordes, have called them all indiſcriminately by the name of Tartars: but this erroneous appellation is rectified by Mr. Pallas, who proves unqueſtionably, that the Mongol tribes are a diſtinct race from the Tartars; that they differ from them in

* Samlungen Hiſt. Nachrichten ueber Mongoliſchen Volkerchaften.

their

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their features, language, and government; and reſemble them in nothing but in a ſimilar inclination to a roving life. This primitive nation of Aſia, whoſe origin, hiſtory, and preſent ſtate form the ſubject of this intereſting work, dates its celebrity from its founder Zinghis Khan, whoſe exploits and ſovereignty have been already mentioned. When his vaſt dominions fell to pieces under his ſucceſſors in the 16th century, the Mongol and Tartar hordes, who had compoſed one empire, again ſeparated, and have ſince continued diſtinct and independent. The Mongol hordes Mr. Pallas divides into three principal branches, called Mongols, Oerats or Calmucs, and Burats; and each of theſe he ſeparately deſcribes with that preciſion and accuracy which diſtinguiſh all his writings. This volume, deſcribing their hiſtorical, civil, and political ſtate, is to be followed by a ſecond, that will contain a very circumſtantial account of their religious eſtabliſhment, which conſiſts in the worſhip of the Dalai Lama. It is the religion of Thibet, and of the Manſhur ſovereigns who now ſit upon the throne of China. "A work," as Mr. Tooke juſtly obſerves, "that will enrich the ſtock of human knowledge with diſcoveries, the greateſt part entirely new, and which no perſon "but Mr. Pallas is able to communicate*."

In the ſame year in which the profeſſor printed his *Elenchus Zoophytorum*, he alſo put forth a treatiſe, under the title of *Miſcellanea Zoologica quibus novæ imprimis atque obſcuræ Animalium ſpecies deſcribuntur et obſervationibus iconibuſque illuſtrantur.* Hagæ Com. pp. 118. with 14 copper-plates. This work is in a great meaſure incorporated into a ſubſequent publication, made the next year on his return to Berlin, entitled, *Spicilegia Zoologica*; and which has been continued in numbers, or *faſciculi*, at uncertain periods, until 1780, when the 14th was delivered. It contains, beſide the letter-preſs, 72 plates, and has reflected

* Tooke's Ruſſia Illuſtrata, Introd. p. cxl.

the

the higheſt credit upon the author, as a moſt careful obſerver and critic in zoology: it comprehends a rich magazine of knowledge for future writers, not only from the great number of new animals diſcovered in conſequence of his travels through the Ruſſian empire, but alſo from a vaſt fund of new obſervations on thoſe before known, and particularly from the light he has thrown upon the deſcent of ſeveral of the domeſticated kinds, the origin of which had been hitherto involved in the utmoſt obſcurity. The works of count Buffon, the illuſtrious French zoologiſt, amply teſtify the labours of Pallas in the ſupplementary volumes: and our own excellent writer on the ſame ſubject, Mr. Pennant, makes frequent acknowledgements of his obligations to the ſame ſource, particularly for his new edition of the Synopſis of Quadrupeds, having received from Mr. Pallas conſiderable additions and corrections communicated in a long ſeries of letters.

In June 1777 the learned profeſſor read before the academy of Peterſburgh, in a meeting at which the king of Sweden was preſent, a Diſſertation on the Formation of Mountains, and the Changes which this Globe has undergone, more particularly as it appears in the Ruſſian Empire. This curious treatiſe, written in the French tongue, was printed at St. Peterſburgh; and a tranſlation of it is given by Mr. Tooke in his Ruſſia Illuſtrata. In 1778 he publiſhed *Novæ Species Quadrupedum e Glirium ordine.* This performance, printed at Erlang in quarto, contains 388 pages and 27 plates, and deſcribes numbers of the rat genus, and their anatomy. In 1781 he brought out *Enumeratio Plantarum quæ in horto Procopii à Demidof Moſcuâ vigent*; (Pet. octavo) or Catalogue of the Plants in Mr. Demidof's Gardens at Moſcow; and in the ſame year he gave to the public two volumes, in octavo, of an intereſting work in the German tongue, called, *Neue Nordiſche Beytrage*, &c. or New Northern Collections on various ſubjects of Geography, Natural Hiſtory,

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and Agriculture; which, amongſt other diſſertations, contain the following by himſelf:

Deſcription of the Tangut Buffalo, together with general obſervations on the wild ſpecies of oxen; from the French, by the ſame author, in the New Commentaries of the Academy, accompanied with an engraving.—Natural hiſtory of the Korſak, a ſpecies of little fox, found in the ſouthern deſerts of Middle Aſia.—Remarks upon tape-worms in men and animals, with engravings. In this diſſertation he continues his obſervations upon theſe noxious animals which he had made in his *Diſſertatio Inauguralis*; and even accurately deſcribes 21 diſtinct ſpecies.—Compariſon of certain mortal diſtempers obſerved in Sweden, Ruſſia, Siberia, and the neighbouring deſerts, which may be comprehended under the general name of gangrenous boils.—Remarks upon that chain of the Swediſh mountains which ſtretches between the White Sea and the Lakes Onega and Ladoga.—Deſcription of the bones of large exotic animals found buried in the government of Caſan.—Accounts of Thibet, from the relations of ſome Tangut Lamas [prieſts] among the Mongols of Selenginſk.—Deſcription of the mountain Altai, from a Chineſe book, tranſlated in 1759 by Roſſokin, &c.—Journal of an expedition* over the ice, made by Andreef, Leontief, and Lyſſoff, to the Bear Iſlands in the Frozen Ocean, near the mouth of the Kovyma.—Geographical deſcription of the river Anadyr and the rivulets which it receives.—Particular accounts of the Tchutſki promontory, and the neighbouring iſlands, tranſlated from the Ruſſian.—Account of the Journal of captain Krenitzin and Levaſhef from Kamtchatka to the New Diſcovered Iſlands, as far as Alaſka, on the American Continent; from Coxe's Ruſſian Diſcoveries.—On the diſcoveries in the Eaſtern Ocean between Siberia and America, with a chart of the ſaid diſcoveries.—Short deſcription of the ceremonies obſerved from the 22d June 1729, to the 12th of July, in the village of Urga upon the river Elbina, at the new-birth of the Kutukta, one of the moſt celebrated prieſts among the Mongols.—Deſcription of the art ſtill practiſed at Aſtracan of preparing ſhagreen.—On the migration of the large water-mice *(mus amphibius)* generally called water-rat, upon the Volga.

* A chart of this expedition is given in the Ruſſian Diſcoveries.

The

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The ſecond volume contains the following treatiſes:

Deſcription of the *dſhigetai*, or wild-mule, found in the deſerts of Middle Aſia, from the Latin account of the ſame author in the New Commentaries, with a coloured figure.—Obſervation on the *onager* of the antients, or the wild-aſs, from the French in Act. Acad. Pet. for 1777, with an engraving of the animal.—Account of two American monkeys (*Simia Jacchus*), which have propagated their breed at Peterſburgh.—Deſcription of the Surinam heron, or *ardea helias*, with a coloured engraving.—Remarks on tape-worms, in regard to the 12th and 14th article in the *Naturforſcher*.—Journal of the route of a caravan in 1727 and 1728, from Kiakta to Pekin, under the direction of the agent Laurence Lange.—Journal of the route of a caravan in 1736, from Zurukaitu through Mongolia to Pekin.—Geographical and hiſtorical deſcription of Pekin.—Remarks upon the Labrador ſtone.—Topographical and phyſical deſcription of Beering's Iſland, extracted from Steller's papers.—Short deſcription of Copper Iſland, extracted from the papers of Peter Yakovſlaf, who ſailed there in 1755.—Account of a four years' voyage to the iſlands betwen Aſia and America, made in 1772 by Demetri Bragin, and communicated to Mr. Pallas at Irkutſk.—Extract from a journal of a voyage, made by Ivan Solovief in 1770 to 1778, to the American promontory, called Alaſka.

The third volume, which made its appearance in 1782, contains theſe treatiſes by Mr. Pallas.

Deſcription of two remarkable South-American birds, the *Cuculus Tenebroſus*, and *Picus Minutiſſimus*.—Account of Daniel Gotlieb Meſſerſchmidt's ſeven years journey through Siberia.—Route from Kiof to Conſtantinople in the year 1714, tranſlated from the Ruſſian.—Journal of a voyage in 1775, to explore the coaſt of America north of California, by the Second Pilot of the Spaniſh fleet, Don Franciſco Antonio Maurelle, in the king's ſchooner Sonora, commanded by Don John Franciſco de la Bodega.—Extract from Saikof's Journal of a Voyage to the weſtern coaſts of America.—Conjectures on the origin of the Americans.—Short extract from the Hiſtory of Georgia.—Deſcription of the ſolemn burning of a lama, or prieſt's body.

In 1782 he put forth two *faſciculi*, or numbers, of *Icones Inſectarum, præſertim Ruſſiæ, Siberiæque peculiarium*, &c. quarto, Erlang; or Figures of Inſects, principally of thoſe which are peculiar

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culiar to Ruſſia and Siberia, accompanied with deſcriptions and illuſtrations. Theſe two numbers treat of the *ſcarabæi, curculiones, tenebriones, bupeſtres, meloedes, cerambyces,* with ſix plates, containing coloured figures of 180 inſects of thoſe genera.

By intelligence received during the courſe of laſt year, we find that he is employed in the arrangement and publication of a ſplendid work, which is to be executed at the empreſs's expence, and is to contain the entire botany of the Ruſſian empire. It is to be embelliſhed with ſeveral hundred plates of the more uſeful or ſcarce plants. It will be of the large ſized paper, and will be delivered out in numbers.

Excluſive of theſe ſeparate publications, he has likewiſe read before the Imperial Academy the following diſſertations, which have been printed in the Tranſactions of that learned body.

Deſcriptio tubulariæ fungoſæ prope Wolodimerum menſe Julio 1768 *obſervatæ.—De oſſibus Siberiæ foſſilibus craneis præſertim rhinocerotum atque buffalorum, obſervationes.—De reliquiis animalium exoticorum per Aſiam borealem repertis complementum. De reliquis animalium exoticorum per Aſiam borealem repertis complementum.—Obſervatio de dentibus molaribus foſſilibus ignoti animalis,* &c. *ad Uralenſe jugum repertis.* The extraordinary facts mentioned in theſe three treatiſes, on the foſſil bones, ſkulls, and other parts of the rhinoceros, elephant, and buffalo, found in various parts of Siberia, have been already related. *Deſcriptio Leporis Puſilli. Deſcriptiones Quadrupedum et Avium anno* 1769 *obſervatorum. Equus Hemionus—Tetrao Arenaria.—Lacerta Apoda.—Additamentum Diſſ. de Cranio Rhin.* &c.—*Obſervationes circa Myrmecophagam Africanam ad Didelphidis novam ſpeciem,* &c.—*Deſcription du Buffle à queue de cheval précédée d'obſervations genérales ſur les eſpèces ſauvages du gros betail.—Obſervations ſur l'ane dans ſon etat ſauvage, ou ſur le veritable Onagre des anciens* *.

It cannot but be pleaſing to the lovers of ſcience to be informed, that Mr. Pallas has been lately diſtinguiſhed with a mark of imperial favour, being appointed member of the

* Theſe ſeveral treatiſes are in the 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, and 19th Vols. of the Novi Comment. and in the Acta for 1777, Part II.

board

board of mines, with an additional appointment of £200 per annum. CHAP. VII.

As the care of putting into order and publiſhing the papers of Gmelin and Guldenſtaedt is conſigned to Mr. Pallas, I ſhall cloſe this chapter with a ſhort account of thoſe learned profeſſors.

Dr. Samuel Gmelin, profeſſor at Tubingen, and afterwards member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Peterſburgh, commenced his travels in June 1768; and having traverſed the provinces of Moſcow, Voronetz, New Ruſſia, Azof, Caſan, and Aſtracan, he viſited, in the years 1770 and 1771, the different harbours of the Caſpian; and examined with peculiar attention thoſe parts of the Perſian provinces which border upon that ſea, of which he has given a circumſtantial account in the three volumes of his travels already publiſhed. Actuated by a zeal for extending his obſervations, he attempted to paſs through the weſtern provinces of Perſia, which are in a perpetual ſtate of warfare, and infeſted by numerous banditti.

Upon this expedition he quitted, in the month of April 1772, Einzellee, a ſmall trading place in Ghilan, upon the ſouthern ſhore of the Caſpian; and, on account of many difficulties and dangers, did not, until the ſecond of December 1773, reach Sallian, a town ſituated upon the mouth of the river Koor. From thence he proceeded to Baku and Kuba, in the province of Shirvan, where he met with a friendly reception from Ali Feth Khan, the ſovereign of that diſtrict. After he had been joined by twenty Uralian Coſſacs, and when he was only four days journey from the Ruſſian fortreſs Kiſlar, he and his companions were, on the 5th of February 1774, arreſted by order of Uſmèi Khan, a petty Tartar prince, through whoſe territories he was obliged to paſs. Uſmèi urged as a pretence for this arreſt, that thirty years ago ſeveral families had eſcaped from his dominions, and had found an aſylum in the Ruſſian territories;

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territories; adding, that Gmelin ſhould not be releaſed until theſe families were reſtored. The profeſſor was removed from priſon to priſon; and at length, wearied out with continual perſecutions, he expired on the 27th of July, at Achmet-Kent, a village of Mount Caucaſus; his death was occaſioned partly by vexation for the loſs of ſeveral papers and collections, and partly by diſorders contracted from the fatigues of his long journey. Some of his papers had been ſent to Kiſlar during his impriſonment; and the others were not without great difficulty reſcued from the hands of the barbarian who had detained him in captivity *. The arrangement of theſe papers, which will form a fourth volume of his travels, was at firſt conſigned to the care of Guldenſtaedt, but upon his death has been transferred to Mr. Pallas.

John Anthony Guldenſtaedt was born at Riga on the 26th of April 1745; received the rudiments of his education in that town; and in 1763 was admitted into the medical college of Berlin. He completed his ſtudies at Franckfort upon the Oder, and in 1767 received the degree of doctor of phyſic in that univerſity. On account of his knowledge of foreign languages, and the conſiderable progreſs he had made in natural hiſtory, he was conſidered as a fit perſon to engage in the expeditions which were planned by the Imperial Academy. Being invited to Peterſburgh, he arrived in that city in 1768, was created adjunct of the academy, and afterwards, in 1770, member of that ſociety, and profeſſor of natural hiſtory. In June 1768, he ſet out upon his travels, and was abſent ſeven years. From Moſcow, where he continued till March 1769, he paſſed to Voronetz, Tzaritzin, Aſtracan, and Kiſlar, a fortreſs upon the weſtern ſhore of the Caſpian, and cloſe to the confines of Perſia. In 1770 he examined the diſtricts watered by the rivers Terek, Sunſha, and Alkſai, in the eaſtern

* See Bach. Ruſſ. Bibl. for 1775, p. 50.

extremity

extremity of Caucaſus; and in the courſe of the enſuing year penetrated into Oſſetia, in the higheſt part of the ſame mountain, where he collected vocabularies of the languages ſpoken in thoſe regions, made inquiries into the hiſtory of the people, and diſcovered ſome traces of Chriſtianity among them. Having viſited Cabarda, and the northern chain of the Caucaſus, he proceeded to Georgia, and was admitted to an audience of prince Heraclius, who was encamped about ten miles from Tefflis. CHAP. VII.

Prince Heraclius *, or, as he is called, the tzar Iracli, who made ſo bold a ſtand againſt the Turks in the laſt war between the Porte and Ruſſia, and now poſſeſſes all Georgia, Kaketia, and the two ſmall diſtricts of Bortſhal and Koſak, which were ceded to him by Nadir Shah, is above ſixty years old, of a middle ſize, with a long countenance, a dark complexion, large eyes, and a ſmall beard. He paſſed his youth at the court and in the army of the celebrated Nadir Shah, where he contracted a fondneſs for Perſian cuſtoms and manners, which he has introduced into his kingdom. He has ſeven ſons and ſix daughters. He is much revered and dreaded by the Perſian khans his neighbours; and is uſually choſen to mediate between them in their diſputes with each other. When they are at war, he ſupports one of the parties with a few troops, who diffuſe a ſpirit and courage among the reſt, becauſe the Georgian ſoldiers are eſteemed the braveſt of thoſe parts; and prince Heraclius himſelf is renowned for his courage and military ſkill. When on horſeback he has always a pair of loaded piſtols at his girdle, and, if the enemy is near, a muſket ſlung over his ſhoulder. In all engagements he is the foremoſt to give examples of perſonal bravery; and frequently charges the enemy at the head of his troops with the ſabre in his hand. He loves pomp and expence; he has adopted the dreſs of

* See Journ. St. Pet. 1779, p. 328.

Perſia;

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Perſia; and regulates his court after the manner of that country. From the example of the Ruſſian troops, who were quartered in Georgia during the laſt Turkiſh war, he has learnt the uſe of plates, knives, and forks, diſhes, and houſehold furniture, &c. Although his revenues are very ſmall, ſcarcely exceeding £ 50,000 per annum, yet he contrives to maintain a ſtanding army of about 6000 men.

The profeſſor accompanied prince Heraclius in a campaign along the banks of the river Koor, 80 miles into the interior part of Georgia, and returned with him to Tefflis. All the houſes of that capital are of ſtone, with flat roofs, which ſerve, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt, as walks for the women. The buildings are neat and clean, but the ſtreets are exceedingly dirty and narrow. The town contains one Roman Catholic, thirteen Greek, and ſeven Armenian churches. Having paſſed the winter in Tefflis, and in examining the adjacent country, he followed in ſpring the prince to the province of Kaketia, and explored the ſouthern diſtricts inhabited by the Turcoman Tartars, and ſubject to Heraclius, in the company of a Georgian magnate, whom he had cured of a dangerous diſorder. In July he paſſed into Imeretia, a country which lies between the Caſpian and Black Seas, and is bounded on the eaſt by Georgia, on the north by Oſſetia, on the weſt by Mingrelia, and on the ſouth by the Turkiſh dominions.

The * ſovereign of this diſtrict, the prince or tzar Solomon, having upon his acceſſion forbid the ſcandalous traffic practiſed by the noblemen of ſelling their peaſants, greatly offended the Turks, who gained by that ſpecies of commerce. Being by their intrigues driven from his throne, and compelled to find an aſylum in the woods and mountains, he lived like a wild man for ſixteen years in caverns and holes, and frequently by

* See Journ. St. Pet. p. 336.

his

his perſonal courage eſcaped aſſaſſination, until he was reinſtated in his dominions by the Ruſſians in the late war. The prince wears uſually a coarſe dreſs of a brown colour, with a muſket upon his ſhoulder; but upon ſolemn occaſions he puts on a robe of rich gold brocade, and hangs round his neck a ſilver chain. He is diſtinguiſhed from his ſubjects by riding upon an aſs, perhaps the only one in Imeretia, and by wearing boots. He has no regular troops, but can collect a deſultory and undiſciplined army of 6000 men, with no artillery. Theſe troops are drawn together by the ſound of the trumpet: in other reſpects the prince's orders are iſſued in the following manner at the markets which are held every Friday. One of his ſervants aſcends a tree near the place of meeting, and proclaims the edict with a loud voice, which is communicated to the people by each perſon upon his return to the place of his abode. His ſubjects are of the Greek religion. CHAP. VII.

In the almoſt unknown dominions of this prince, who, from his gratitude to Ruſſia, afforded to Guldenſtaedt every aſſiſtance in his power, the profeſſor penetrated into the middle chain of Mount Caucaſus, viſited the confines of Mingrelia, Middle Georgia, and Eaſtern and Lower Imeretia; and, after eſcaping many imminent dangers from the banditti of thoſe parts, fortunately returned to Kiſlar on the 18th of November, where he paſſed the winter, collecting various information concerning the neighbouring Tartar tribes of the Caucaſus, and particularly the Leſgees. In the following ſummer he journeyed to Cabarda Major, continued his courſe to Mount Beſhtan, the higheſt point of the firſt ridge of the Caucaſus; inſpected the mines of Madſhar, and went to Tcherkaſk upon the Don. From thence he made expeditions to Azof and Taganroc, and then along the new limits to the Dnieper, he finiſhed this year's route at Krementſhuk, in the government of New Ruſſia. In the enſuing ſpring he was proceeding to

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Crim Tartary, but receiving an order of recall, he returned through the Ukraine to Moſcow and Peterſburgh, where he arrived in the month of March 1775*.

Upon his return he was employed in arranging his papers; but before he could finiſh them for the preſs, was ſeized with a violent fever, which proved mortal, and carried him to the grave, in the month of March 1781. His writings, which have been hitherto publiſhed, conſiſt only of the following treatiſes.

Theoria virium corporis humani primitivarum, &c. by which he obtained his doctor's degree.—*Memoire ſur les produits de Ruſſie propres pour ſoutenir la balance du commerce exterieur toujours favorable.* St. Pet. 1777.—Account of the Havens in the Seas of Azof, Euxine, and Marmora, in the Journal of St. Peterſburgh for 1776.—Of the Harbours and Trade of the Caſpian Sea, with a Chart in the ſame Journal for 1777.—Chymical Analyſis of the Warm Baths near the River Terek, in the Geographical Calendar for 1778.—Geographical, Hiſtorical, and Political Account of the new Ruſſian Lines between the Terek and the Sea of Azof, accompanied with a Map in the Journal for 1779.—Thoughts on the Commerce to be opened between Ruſſia and Germany, through the Danube, in the Journal for 1780.—The five laſt articles are written in the German language; and the following, which are printed in the Acts of the Academy, are in the Latin tongue.

Mus Suſlica—Anas Nyroca—Spalax novum glirium genus—Peregbuſna nova Muſtelæ ſpecies—Salmo Leucichtys et Cyprinus Chalcoides deſcripti—Kraſtheninicovia novum plantarum genus—Cyprinus Copoeta et Cyprinus Murſa—Axerina piſcis ad Percæ genus pertinens—Sex avium deſcriptiones—Loxia Rubicilla—Tanagra Melanicteta—Muſciapa Melanoleuca—Motacilla Erythrogaſta—Scolopax Fubarquata—et Cinerea—Chacalæ hiſtoria—Chaus, animal feli affine deſcriptum—Antilopes Subguttoroſæ Deſcriptio, et Anatomia—Cyprinus Barbus et Cyprinus Capito. Appendix Obſervationum ad hiſt. reliquorum Cyp. cirraterum pertinentium.

* For an account of Guldenſtaedt ſee Ruſſ. Bib. v. I. p. 49. 102. 301. 548. v. II. p. 221. 456. v. III. p. 72. 421. Hiſt. des Decouvertes, &c. Introd. p. 27. and Nachricht von den Lebens-Umſtanden des Herrn Prof. Guldenſtaedt, in Journ. St. Pet. for 1781.

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CHAP. VIII.

Origin of the Sclavonian *alphabet.—Its introduction into* Ruſſia.—*The ſmall progreſs made by the* Ruſſians *in the arts and ſciences owing neither to want of genius nor to the effects of climate.—Inquiry into the riſe and progreſs of* Ruſſian *literature.—*I. *Hiſtorians.—*Neſtor *and his continuators.—*Cyril.—Makari.—Nicon.—Theophanes.—Khilkof.—Tatiſchef.—Sherebatof.—*Remarks on* Voltaire's *Life of* Peter the Great.—II. *Poets.—*Lomonozof.—*Digreſſion concerning the* Ruſſian *ſtage.—*Volkof.—Sumorokof.—Kheraſkof.—*His epic poem the* Roſſiada.—Ruſſian *tranſlations.—Claſſical learning.*

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THE invention of the Sclavonian characters is generally attributed to Conſtantine, a Greek philoſopher, afterwards more known by the name of Cyril, which he aſſumed when he turned monk. About the middle of the 9th century, Cyril and his brother Methodius were ſent from Conſtantinople by Michael III. to plant the Goſpel among the Sclavonian nations inhabiting the countries bordering upon the Danube, now called Hungary and Bulgaria, and thoſe which were ſettled in Bohemia and Moravia. As thoſe barbarous nations ſcarcely knew the uſe of letters, Cyril compoſed for them an alphabet, and tranſlated ſeveral religious books into their tongue *. The

* "Petentibus deinde, ut litteris inſtruerentur, Michael Imp. Methodium et Conſtantinum Leonis Theſſalonicenſis filios miſit, qui cum permultos libros convertiſſent Slavonicè, Methodius Moraviæ epiſcopatum adiit, Conſtantinus monachatum induit et nomen Cyrilli." Extracted by Bayer from an antient annaliſt in his ingenious Diſſertation de Ruſſorum in Comm. Petrop. VI. p. 366.

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greateſt part of the characters were the capitals of the Greek alphabet, the ſame uſually employed in writing; to which he added a few others, in order to expreſs ſeveral ſounds that were peculiar to the Sclavonian language. Notwithſtanding the difficulty of aſcertaining the firſt formation of any alphabet, the probability of this account ſeems to be eſtabliſhed from the perfect ſimilarity which ſubſiſts between the characters in the moſt antient eccleſiaſtical writings, and thoſe in a copy of a Greek manuſcript of the ninth century, publiſhed by Montfaucon*. Another proof that Cyril's alphabet was formed from the Greek, may be derived from the following circumſtances, that moſt of thoſe Sclavonian nations, who received Chriſtianity from the Greeks, and have retained the Greek religion, ſtill make uſe of his characters; while the other people of that tribe, who were either firſt converted by the Germans or Italians, or who afterwards adopted the Roman Catholic tenets, employ either the German or Roman alphabet †.

That tribe of Sclavonians, called Ruſſians, when they iſſued from the banks of the Danube in the ninth century, and laid

* Palæographia Græca, p. 408. Although I have only a ſuperficial knowledge of the Sclavonian alphabet, yet merely from that ſlight acquaintance, upon comparing the above-mentioned Greek manuſcript written in the ninth century, with the Cyrilian characters; I was able to trace ſo perfect a ſimilarity, as to make out ſeveral words, notwithſtanding the abbreviations.

† Beſide the Ruſſians, the Sclavonians dwelling in Dalmatia, and in the iſlands under the dominion of Venice, who are of the Greek religion, ſtill uſe the Cyrilian characters. The ſame were employed by all the nations of Hungary, Sclavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and others in the Auſtrian territories; but as the Roman Catholic perſuaſion has gained ground amongſt them, they have lately begun to adopt the Roman letters; while the Sclavonian people, ſubject to the Turks, namely, the inhabitants of Albania, Servia, Boſnia, Bulgaria, who are of the Greek religion, preſerve the Cyrilian alphabet. The Bohemians, who ſoon after their firſt converſion quitted the Greek religion, and were afterwards turned by the Germans to the Roman Catholic ſect, uſe the German or Gothic characters, which were alſo in uſe among the Poles, equally indebted to the Germans for the firſt introduction of Chriſtianity amongſt them; but the Poles have lately, in moſt of their publications, adopted the Roman alphabet. See the Preface to the Neue Slavoniſch und Deutche Grammatik, printed at Vienna, 1774.

the

the foundation of this empire, either brought with them, if they knew the uſe of letters, the Cyrilian alphabet, or afterwards adopted it, when converted to Chriſtianity, and when the Sclavonian Bible, tranſlated by Cyril in the ſame century, was introduced amongſt them. Theſe characters are occaſionally written, like the oldeſt Greek and Roman manuſcripts, of equal ſize, at equal diſtances, without connection or ſtops, and without diſtinction of words.

The earlieſt Sclavonian book ever publiſhed was a Ruſſian tranſlation of the Pentateuch, printed in the Cyrilian alphabet at Prague in 1519*: the ſame letters were introduced into Ruſſia upon the eſtabliſhment of the firſt preſs at Moſcow; and they continued to be uſed, not only for eccleſiaſtical publications, but alſo for all others, until 1707, when ſome new Ruſſian types, conſiſting of great and ſmall letters, were caſt at Amſterdam for the printing-houſe at Moſcow, ſimilar to thoſe which are now employed†. The language in which the church-ſervice is ſtill performed, is the ſame which was ſpoken in the ninth century by the Sclavonians ſettled upon the banks of the Danube, in the countries now called Hungary and Bulgaria, from whom the Ruſſians are undoubtedly deſcended. The tranſlation of the Bible made in that century being ſtill in general uſe, has aſcertained its original, and preſerved it in its priſtine ſtate; and it is remarkable that the ſeveral dialects of Sclavonian, ſuch as Poliſh, Ruſſian, Bohemian, &c. have a greater reſemblance to this mother-tongue than to each other‡.

The Cyrilian alphabet employed by the Ruſſian church is compoſed of 39 characters, ſome of which contained, ac-

* Eſſai ſur la Bibliotheque, p. 92.

† See a Specimen of the Ruſſian characters, in vol. I. book III. chap. V.

‡ Schloetzer Prob. Ruſ. An. p. 189.

cording

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cording to our mode of ſpelling, three or even four conſonants; but, as new modified in 1707, for common uſe, is reduced to 30 * letters.

The Sclavonian, in its different dialects, is known through a larger extent of country, and by a greater number of people, than perhaps any other language in the world. It is the native tongue in Bohemia, Moravia, Croatia, Carinthia, Carniola, Sclavonia, Boſnia, Servia, Albania, Dalmatia, different parts of Hungary and Bulgaria, Poland, and Ruſſia; in a word, a traveller acquainted with that language would be underſtood from the confines of Germany to the Sea of Kamtchatka.

The Ruſſian dialect of the Sclavonian, which is ſaid to be extremely rich and harmonious, has not, till very lately, undergone any degree of cultivation, having been chiefly confined to affairs of government, eccleſiaſtical writings, and to unconnected chronicles and journals.

Some authors, in conſidering the ſmall advances which the Ruſſians have made in the arts and ſciences, when compared with the progreſs of the more enlightened nations in Europe, have erroneouſly attributed this deficiency to the effects of their climate, or to an innate want of genius. With reſpect to the latter aſſertion, it ſcarcely deſerves a ſerious refutation; for all intellectual improvement muſt ariſe from culture; and the greater or leſſer degree of knowledge muſt ultimately depend upon the greater or leſſer degree of inſtruction. Beſides, this illiberal national reflection, indiſcriminately caſt upon a whole people, is ſufficiently refuted by the bare mention of ſeveral illuſtrious Ruſſians, who, amongſt many others, might be ſelected on this occaſion: Philaretes and Nicon; Sophia Alexiefna; prince Vaſſili Galitzin and Peter the Great; the learned

* Ruſſian Dictionary, 1778. In Charpentiere's Grammar there are 32 characters.

Theophanes;

Theophanes; the poets Lomonozof and Sumorokof; and the preſent hiſtorian prince Sherebatof. CHAP. VIII.

With reſpect to the firſt objection, that the genius of this nation has been fettered by the intenſe cold of their climate, we may ſubjoin the following remarks. If climate has ſuch an invincible effect upon mankind, where ſhall we draw the line of the greateſt intellectual ability? Shall we ſuppoſe a point, in which the human mind is at its greateſt perfection, and from which, in proportion as it recedes, it gradually degenerates; in the ſame manner as rays of light become fainter and fainter, as they diverge from their focus to a greater diſtance? Is the influence of climate uniform or caſual? If uniform, why is modern Greece no longer the ſeat of arts and learning? Why was Iceland once the ſole repoſitory of northern literature? Why are the Swedes more enlightened than the Ruſſians? and why are not the Ruſſians of Aſtracan more civilized than thoſe of Peterſburgh and Archangel? If the effects of climate are caſual, they are then counterbalanced by other circumſtances, and it ceaſes to be a poſitive criterion of diſtinction.

To a perſon at all converſant with this ſubject of inquiry, there are many impediments ariſing from the government, religion, and particularly from the abſolute vaſſalage of the peaſants, which would tend to check the diffuſion of the arts and ſciences in this empire, without the neceſſity of having recourſe to a ſuppoſed want of genius in the natives, or to the effect of climate. But inſtead of combating theoretical reaſonings, which have no foundation in fact or experience, I ſhall haſten to trace the riſe and progreſs of Ruſſian literature, and take a curſory view of its preſent ſtate.

While ſome authors deny the ſmalleſt portion of literature to the Ruſſians, and even hold them to be incapable of any conſiderable progreſs in ſcience; others, on the contrary, aſſert, that

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that they began to be enlightened even at ſo early a period as during the reigns of Oleg and Igor *. But their arguments in favour of this hypotheſis, prove little more than that the art of writing was probably not abſolutely unknown to the Ruſſians in thoſe times; that they concluded treaties of alliance and commerce; ſealed commiſſions and paſſports; that they were not entirely without laws; and that they had compoſed, or could repeat, a few antient ſongs, which celebrated the military exploits of their princes and leaders. But undoubtedly the whole nation was plunged in the groſſeſt ignorance, and in a ſituation not ſuperior to that of the moſt wandering hordes who now inhabit Independent Tartary. It is ſaid of Svatoſlaf, the ſon of Igor †, "Upon his march he carried with him no "baggage-waggon, no kitchen furniture; his food was the "fleſh of horſes and other animals, juſt warmed over the fire; "he had no tent; his houſings ſerved him for a bed, and his "ſaddle for a pillow; and the whole army followed his ex-"ample." A deſcription which characterizes the chief of an unlettered Scythian tribe, and not the ſovereign of a people in whom the ſmalleſt traces of the arts were to be found. And although perhaps the knowledge of the Sclavonian alphabet might have been brought into Ruſſia by a few Chriſtians, who were drawn to the court by Olga, the wife of Igor; yet the

* Ruric, entered Ruſſia about 862; died 879.

2. Oleg, probably the nephew of Ruric, great-duke or regent during the minority of Igor.

3. Igor, died 945; married Olga.

4. Svatoſlaf, died 973.

5. Yaropolk, died 980.

6. Vladimir the Great, reigned 980; died 1014.

7. Yaroſlaf, 1053.

† Journ. St. Pet. for 1781, Part I. p. 151.

firſt

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first introduction of literature must be ascribed to Vladimir the Great, upon his conversion to Christianity in 988: that sovereign even instituted schools, and passed a decree * to regulate the mode of instructing youth in his dominions. His son Yaroslaf, who ascended the throne in 1018, invited many learned priests from Constantinople, caused various Greek books to be translated into the Russian tongue, hymns, and other poetical versions of the psalms to be sung in the churches: he established a seminary at Novogorod for 300 students; and gave to that republic the first code of written laws. This dawn of letters, which shone upon Russia at so early a period, was, however, obscured by the subsequent calamities; and was succeeded by a long darkness of three centuries, during which time the nation was subject to the Tartar yoke. The Christian religion, however, tended in this, as well as in most other countries of Europe, to preserve some small remains of literature in the schools and seminaries of the several monasteries. Thus each of these mansions of bigotry and superstition then fortunately became an asylum for the preservation, though not for the diffusion of knowledge; and in this period of barbarism and ignorance, many monks were distinguished for their erudition.

Upon the final expulsion of the Tartars by Ivan Vassilievitch I. in the middle of the 15th century, Russia gradually emerged from this state of almost total darkness; and continued improving in civilization and culture, under the patronage of the succeeding sovereigns, particularly Ivan II. Boris Godunof, the two first tzars of the line of Romanof, and the princess Sophia, who held the reins of government in the minority of Peter I. But it was not till the æra of that great monarch, that letters, which, a few instances excepted, had hitherto been con-

* This curious decree still exists in the Russian tongue, and is translated into French by Bachmeister, in his Essai sur la Bib. &c. p. 9.

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fined to the regular clergy, began to be cultivated by the laity; a ſure ſign that the nation was advancing to a more general ſtate of improvement.

A review of the lives and works of a few of the moſt eminent writers, who have contributed to poliſh and refine the language, and to diffuſe a taſte for ſcience among their countrymen, will aſſiſt in tracing the progreſs of literature, and aſcertaining its preſent ſtate *.

In this inquiry I ſhall confine myſelf principally to two heads: I. Hiſtory; and II. Poetry.

I. HISTORY.

This empire can boaſt the earlieſt hiſtorian of the North; for, at a period when Poland, Sweden, and Denmark were unlettered; when even the annaliſts of Iceland were yet mute, a monk of the convent of Petcherſki at Kiof was compiling the hiſtory of Ruſſia.

This annaliſt, whoſe ſecular name is not known, was born in 1056, at Bielozero; and in the nineteenth year of his age he aſſumed the monaſtic habit in the above-mentioned convent, and took the name of Neſtor †. At Kiof he made a conſiderable proficiency in the Greek language: but ſeems to have formed his ſtyle and manner rather from the Byzantine hiſtorians, Cedrenus, Zonaras, and Syncellus, than from the antient claſſics. The time of Neſtor's death is not aſcertained;

* Perhaps ſome little apology would have been thought neceſſary for the author's preſuming to touch upon the literature of a nation, with whoſe language he profeſſes himſelf unacquainted; if the ſubject had not been totally unknown to the Engliſh reader, and ſeemed in a great degree connected with the plan of this work; if the author had not carefully peruſed ſeveral eſteemed tranſlations of the original compoſitions; and had not always given his criticiſms on the authority of thoſe perſons who are either natives or perfect maſters of the Ruſſian tongue.

† For the account of Neſtor, ſee principally Muller, S. R. G. V. p. 6; and Schloetzer's Probe Ruſſiſche Annalen; which acurate and intereſting work I have chiefly followed, as the great ſource of information relative to the early annaliſts of Ruſſia.

but

but he is ſuppoſed to have lived to an advanced age, and to have died about the year 1115. CHAP. VIII.

His great work is his Chronicle, to which he has prefixed an introduction, which, after a ſhort ſketch of the early ſtate of the world taken from the Byzantine writers, contains a geographical deſcription of Ruſſia and the adjacent regions; an account of the Sclavonian nations, their manners, their emigrations from the banks of the Danube, their diſperſion, and ſettlement in the ſeveral countries, wherein their deſcendants are now eſtabliſhed. He then enters upon a chronological ſeries of the Ruſſian annals, from the year 858 to about 1113. His ſtyle is ſimple and unadorned, ſuch as ſuits a mere recorder of facts; but his chronological exactneſs, though it renders his narrative dry and tedious, contributes to aſcertain the æra and authenticity of the events which he relates *.

* A competent judge thus expreſſes himſelf with regard to this performance:

"Neſtor's chronicle is *unique* in its kind. "For all the other Sclavonian people, ſuch as "the Poles, Bohemians, Illyrians, &c. cannot "produce any writer who can in the ſmalleſt "degree contend with the Ruſſian annaliſt in "antiquity, minuteneſs, accuracy, and truth. "He was ſo highly eſteemed in Ruſſia, and "the ſubſequent writers were ſo convinced of "his fidelity, that, in ſpeaking of the ſame "times, they adopt his very words, or make "only the ſmalleſt alterations.

"I will not prejudice the readers in their "judgement concerning the authenticity of "this annaliſt; and I am convinced, that "whoever peruſes his work, will at once do "him the juſtice which he deſerves. I allude "to thoſe readers only who do not acknow-"ledge any other hiſtories than thoſe which "are derived from the moſt eſteemed ſources; "and who know how to diſtinguiſh with cri-"tical exactneſs the purity of thoſe ſources. "But I do not addreſs myſelf to thoſe who "have not hitherto been acquainted with any "other writers on the early times of the Ruſ-"ſian hiſtory than Herberſtein and Petreius; "who place the introduction of the art of wri-"ting into Ruſſia ſo late as the 13th century; "who hold the ſucceſſion of Ruſſian ſove-"reigns to be unknown, at leaſt uncertain, "until the time of Ivan Vaſſilievitch; who "conſider this long period as totally obſcure, "in which no chronicle affords a clue to the "diſcerning hiſtorian; who draw their whole "knowledge of Ruſſian hiſtory from Strah-"lenberg, Voltaire, La Combe, and from the "ſtill more wretched compilers of the article "Ruſſia in the Univerſal Hiſtory: Theſe "readers will not indeed be eaſily induced to "eſteem, as authentic, the relations of a "monk, whoſe writings ſhow the inaccuracy "of the above-mentioned authors, and con-"fute at once their whole account of Ruſſia "during the middle ages." Schloetzer, Ruſſ. Ann. p. 32.

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It is remarkable, that an author of ſuch importance, whoſe name frequently occurs in the early Ruſſian books, ſhould have remained in obſcurity above 600 years; and been ſcarcely known to his modern countrymen, the origin and actions of whoſe anceſtors he records with ſuch circumſtantial exactneſs. A copy of his chronicle was given in 1668 by prince Radzivil to the library of Konigſburgh, where it lay unnoticed until Peter the Great, in his paſſage through that town, ordered a tranſcript of it to be ſent to Peterſburgh. But it ſtill was not known as the performance of Neſtor: for when Muller, in 1732, publiſhed the firſt part of a German tranſlation *, he mentioned it as the work of the abbot Theodoſius of Kiof; an error which aroſe from the following circumſtance: the ingenious editor, not being at that time ſufficiently acquainted with the Sclavonian tongue, employed an interpreter, who, by miſtaking a letter in the title, ſuppoſed it to have been written by a perſon whoſe name was Theodoſius. This ridiculous blunder was ſoon circulated, and copied by many foreign writers, even long after it had been candidly acknowledged and corrected by Muller.

Neſtor was ſucceſſively followed by three annaliſts; the firſt was Sylveſter, abbot of the convent of St. Michael at Kiof, and biſhop of Periſlaf, who died in 1123: he commences his chronicle from 1115, only two years poſterior to that of Neſtor, and continues it to 1123; from which period a monk, whoſe name has not been delivered down to poſterity, carries the hiſtory to 1157; and another, equally unknown, to 1203. With reſpect to theſe performances, Mr. Muller informs us, "the labours of Neſtor and his three continuators have pro-" duced a connected ſeries of the Ruſſian hiſtory ſo complete,

* S. R. G. I. p. 1, &c. The real title to this manuſcript was, by the "Monk of the "Theodoſian Convent of Petcherſki;" which the interpreter, by miſtaking one letter, explained, The Monk Theodoſius, of the Convent, &c. See Schloetzer, p. 16.

"that

"that no nation can boaſt a ſimilar treaſure for ſo long and "unbroken a period *." We may add likewiſe from the ſame authority, that theſe annals record much fewer prodigies and monkiſh legends, than others which have iſſued from the cloiſter in times ſo unenlightened.

From this period, which terminates in 1203, there is no regular continuation of the Ruſſian hiſtory, but many ſeparate and detached annaliſts: for as the empire was broken into independent principalities, each writer has detailed the events of the particular diſtrict in which he flouriſhed. The next general annaliſt who preſents himſelf to our notice is Cyprian, metropolitan of Ruſſia in the reign of Demetrius Donſki, who began in the 14th century the *Book of Degrees*; ſo called becauſe it arranges the hiſtory of the empire, according to the order of *deſcent*: each degree contains the reign of thoſe ſovereigns who followed each other in an uninterrupted line; and a new one commences when the throne paſſed to a collateral branch. This work was continued by the metropolitan Macarius, who flouriſhed under Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and afterwards by unknown compilers, to the times ſomewhat poſterior to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch. Theſe writings, unlike thoſe of Neſtor and his continuators, contain many idle traditions and abſurd legends; but the events, which they at the ſame time record, naturally render them the object of the hiſtorian's notice; and Mr. Muller has thought them of ſufficient conſequence to become their editor.

The chronicle of Nicon, in which he collected a complete ſeries of Ruſſian annaliſts, from Neſtor to the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, and the extraordinary exertions which he made to diffuſe knowledge among his countrymen, have been already related.

* S. R. G. V. p. 6.

The

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The reign of Alexèy was extremely fertile in what were called hiſtorical productions, but which in reality are rather dry materials than deſerving ſuch an honourable appellation. It would be tedious to enumerate the various chronicles, journals of the court, books of genealogy, public records, ſtate-papers, and other ſimilar ſources of information, both of his and ſucceeding times, which the libraries contain in ſuch abundance as to aſtoniſh a ſtranger, who by falſe repreſentations may have been miſled to conceive that the Ruſſians are deficient in ſuch original documents.

Among the perſons who, poſterior to Nicon, have moſtly contributed to promote ſcience by their example and protection; to whom Ruſſia is chiefly indebted for the introduction of polite literature; and who may be claſſed among the hiſtorians, muſt not be omitted Theophanes Prokopovitch, metropolitan archbiſhop of Novogorod. This learned prelate, who is here mentioned as the author of a Life of Peter the Great, was the ſon of a burgher of Kiof: he was born in that city on the 9th of June 1681, and was baptized by the name of Eliſha. Under his uncle Theophanes, rector of the ſeminary in the Bratſkoi Convent at Kiof, he commenced his ſtudies, and was well grounded in the rudiments of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongues. Though his uncle died in 1692, he completed his education in that ſeminary; and in 1698, in the eighteenth year of his age, he travelled into Italy. He reſided three years at Rome, where, beſide a competent knowledge of the Italian, he acquired a taſte for the fine arts, and improved himſelf in philoſophy and divinity.

Upon his return to Kiof, he read lectures on the Latin and Sclavonian art of poetry in the ſame ſeminary in which he had been educated; and, having aſſumed the monaſtic habit, he changed his name to Theophanes. Before he had attained the 25th year of his age, he was appointed præfect, the ſecond office

office in the ſeminary, and profeſſor of philoſophy. In 1706 he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſpeaking a Latin oration before Peter the Great; and ſtill more by a ſermon which, in 1709, he preached before the ſame monarch after the battle of Pultava. Having once attracted the notice, he ſoon acquired the protection of Peter, who was ſo captivated with his great talents, ſuperior learning, and polite addreſs, as to ſelect him for a companion in the enſuing campaign againſt the Turks:—a ſure prelude to his future advancement. In 1711 Theophanes was nominated abbot of the monaſtery of Bratſkoi, rector of the ſeminary, and profeſſor of divinity. His cenſures againſt the ignorance and indolence of the Ruſſian clergy, and his endeavours to promote a taſte for polite literature among his brethren, rendered him a fit inſtrument in the hands of Peter for the reformation of the church, and the final abolition of the patriarchal dignity. He was placed at the head of the ſynod, of which eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment he himſelf drew the plan; was created in 1718 biſhop of Pleſcof; and in 1720 archbiſhop of the ſame dioceſe: ſoon after the acceſſion of Catharine he was conſecrated archbiſhop of Novogorod and metropolitan of all Ruſſia; and died in 1736. CHAP. VIII.

Beſide various ſermons and theological diſquiſitions, he wrote a treatiſe on rhetoric, and on the rules for Latin and Selavonian poetry; he compoſed verſes in the Latin language; and was author of a work, for which he is chiefly mentioned in this place, the Life of Peter the Great, which unfortunately terminates with the battle of Pultava. In this performance the prelate has, notwithſtanding his natural partiality to his benefactor, avoided thoſe ſcurrilous abuſes of the contrary party, which frequently diſgrace the beſt hiſtories; and has been particularly candid in his account of Sophia. Peter, from a well-grounded experience, had formed ſuch a good opinion of the talents of Theophanes, as to employ him in compoſing the

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the decrees which concerned theological queſtions, and even many which related to civil affairs.

Theophanes may be ſaid, not only to have cultivated the ſciences, and to have promoted them during his life, but likewiſe to have left a legacy to his countrymen, for their further progreſs after his deceaſe, by maintaining in his epiſcopal palace ſixty boys, whoſe education he ſuperintended: under his auſpices they were inſtructed in foreign languages, and in various branches of polite knowledge, which had been hitherto cenſured by many as profane acquiſitions; thus tranſmitting the rays of learning to illuminate future ages and a diſtant poſterity *.

Hitherto, though Ruſſia abounded in chronicles and annals relative to detached periods, yet, excepting a dry detail of facts compiled for the uſe of Alexèy Michaelovitch, it poſſeſſed no regular and connected hiſtory. The firſt attempt towards ſuch a work was undertaken by prince Khilkof. This nobleman †, deſcended from a very antient family, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as embaſſador to ſeveral foreign courts, before he was ſent in 1700 to Stockholm in that capacity. He accompanied Charles XII. in his deſcent upon the Iſle of Zealand, and upon the enſuing truce of Travendahl between Sweden and Denmark returned to Stockholm on the 17th of September, at the eve of the rupture which broke out between the Swediſh and Ruſſian monarchs. His character of embaſſador, deemed ſacred by the law of nations, could not protect him from the

* For the hiſtory of Theophanes I have followed implicitly Muller, whoſe fidelity and accuracy always appear to me unqueſtionable. See S. R. G. V. p. 564. Monſ. Le Clerc differs from Mr. Muller in relating the earlieſt part of this prelate's life. He alſo informs us, that Theophanes perſuaded Peter to introduce the proteſtant religion into Ruſſia; and that the emperor was inclined to follow his advice, but was prevented by his death.

This important anecdote I could not, however, venture to adopt, though I cannot controvert it, as the ingenious author has not cited his authority. See Le Clerc's Hiſt. An. de Ruſſie, p. 292; and Hiſt. Mod. p. 65, 66.

† See Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. for 1777, p. 78 to 87.

reſentment

reſentment of Charles XII.; and, on the 20th of the ſame month, he was arreſted and impriſoned.

As an amuſement during his captivity, which was long and for ſome time extremely rigorous, and at the requeſt of his fellow-priſoner prince Trubetſkoi, he began an abridgement of the Ruſſian Hiſtory from its earlieſt period to his own time; which he completed before he was reſtored to liberty. After a confinement of eighteen years, he expired in his priſon of Weſteros, in the moment when he was upon the point of being releaſed. His work, called the Kernel of the Ruſſian Hiſtory, is a mere abridgement, and was publiſhed in 1770 by Mr. Muller. It forms only one volume in octavo, and contains ſeven books: the firſt commences with the creation of the world, and ends with the erection of the Ruſſian empire under Ruric; the remaining ſix carry down the hiſtory from that period to the year 1713. During ſome part of his confinement, he was permitted to receive from Moſcow books, extracts from chronicles, and a few ſtate-papers; but as he could not obtain the neceſſary documents ſo well as if he had been upon the ſpot, his performance unavoidably contains occaſional errors, many of which the judicious editor has pointed out and corrected.

About the time of Khilkof's death, another native commenced a ſimilar work upon a much larger ſcale, and who had more opportunities of obtaining information. This perſon was Vaſſili Tatiſchef, who, in 1720, began to collect materials for a complete hiſtory of Ruſſia; and continued his reſearches without intermiſſion for the ſpace of 30 years. The indefatigable compiler finiſhed his account to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch; and was bringing it down to this century, when death put a period to his labours. Part of this great work was conſumed in a fire; and the remainder was publiſhed after the author's death by Mr. Muller. It conſiſts of three large volumes in quarto. The firſt contains ſeveral curious

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rious dissertations relative to the antiquity of the Sclavonian nation; while the second and third comprise the history of the Russian empire, from its earliest origin to the year 1237. It can hardly be called a regular history, but is rather a connected series of chronicles, whose antiquated Sclavonian dialects are only changed into the Russian idiom; and the author is justly censured for not regularly citing the various annalists as he abridges or new models them, and for not assigning the reasons which induced him to prefer the writers whose relations he has adopted, to those which he has rejected *.

Since Tatischef, several writers † have published collections of state-papers and other documents; but the honour of composing a complete history of this country is probably reserved for prince Sherebatof, who, if we except Mr. Muller, has contributed more than any other person towards illustrating the Russian annals.

This learned nobleman is editor of the following works: A journal of Peter the Great in 2 vols. quarto, which he found in the archives, and published by order of the empress. It consists of eight books, five of which were corrected by Peter himself. The first volume begins with the insurrection of the Strelitzes in 1698, and finishes with the year 1714; and the second concludes with the peace of Nystadt in 1721. The learned editor has added several remarks, and some important pieces from the Russian archives.—The Russian History, by an Antient Annalist, from the beginning of the reign of Vladimir Monomski in 1114, to 1472, in which the author particularly

* Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1774, p. 43; also for 1775, p. 216. L'Evesque, Vol. I. p. xxxi.

† Particularly Novikof, in his antient Russian Library, in ten volumes, a work thus characterised by L'Evesque: "Recueil de "pieces originales et authentiques, tirées des "cabinets et des archives: on y trouve des "morceaux très importantes." Vol. I. xxiv. The Academy of Sciences has also published an Historical Journal every month, from 1755 to 1765. It consists of 20 volumes, octavo, and contains "un grand nombre de morceaux "historiques très interessans, dont la plupart "ont été composés par le savant Muller." Ib.

dwells

dwells upon the civil feuds in the city of Novogorod, and its ſubjection to Ivan Vaſſilievitch I.—The Life of Peter the Great, in the Ruſſian language, firſt publiſhed at Venice; which the prince reprinted in 1774, and, according to his uſual cuſtom, enriched with many hiſtorical obſervations.—His own works are, an Account of the Ruſſian Impoſtors: amongſt theſe is the Life of Demetrius, which is chiefly drawn from the ſame ſources as thoſe which Mr. Muller conſulted in his relation of the ſame period.—But this noble author's great work now comes under conſideration, his Hiſtory of Ruſſia, from the earlieſt times. He has already publiſhed three volumes in quarto, which finiſh with the reign of Demetrius Donſki, who died in 1389. The fourth volume was in the preſs in the year 1778; but I am not certain whether it has yet made its appearance. I have read with great pleaſure the German tranſlation of this performance, which appears to me a moſt valuable addition to the hiſtory of the North. The author has had acceſs to the imperial archives; he draws his information from the moſt antient and unqueſtionable ſources; is particularly exact in quoting his authorities; and ranges the events in chronological ſeries with great perſpicuity. A writer, who, having conſulted many of the ſame chronicles which are cited by this hiſtorian, and who having given to the public the moſt complete hiſtory of Ruſſia yet extant, is no incompetent judge of Sherebatof's merit, thus ſpeaks of this work: "L'Auteur "cite toujours ſes autorités. J'ai vérifié un grand nombre de "ſes citations, et j'ai reconnu par tout ſon exactitude. Si le "premier caractere d'un hiſtorien eſt l'amour de la vérité, ce "prince mérite des grands éloges *."

* "The author always cites his authori- "ties. I have verified a great number of his "references, and have always diſcovered his "accuracy. If the firſt character of an hiſto- "rian is the love of truth, the prince deſerves "the greateſt praiſe." L'Eveſque.

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Although this diſquiſition is confined to the native writers, yet I cannot avoid in this place curſorily mentioning Voltaire's Life of Peter the Great, as it is the work from which moſt foreign nations have formed their ideas of Ruſſia; which many French and Engliſh authors have ſervilely copied until it is conſidered as a ſtandard book, to which we may refer as to the moſt unqueſtionable authority; and particularly as the author informs us in the Preface: "*La cour de Peterſ-*
"*bourg, &c. a fait parvenir à l'hiſtorien chargé de cet ouvrage*
"*tous les documens autentiques. Il n'a écrit que ſur des preuves*
"*inconteſtables.*"

But the well-informed Ruſſians, although this work idolizes their hero Peter I. do not ſcruple to confeſs, that it is a very inaccurate performance, and by no means deſerving the encomium which, according to the prevalent taſte of the age, is indiſcriminately and unhappily beſtowed upon all Voltaire's productions. It is a panegyric rather than a hiſtory, in which many principal facts are omitted or diſguiſed; where every defect in the principal character is ſoftened, and every virtue exaggerated: and indeed, when we conſider the cauſe for which it was compiled, and the perſon from whom the materials were chiefly tranſmitted, we ſhall the leſs wonder at any deficiency in the execution. The truth is, that the elegant author wrote this Life by deſire of the empreſs Elizabeth, who conferred upon him a conſiderable preſent for his trouble, and by whoſe orders he received the principal materials. Hence it may eaſily be conjectured, that nothing would be communicated which could reflect the ſmalleſt diſcredit, either upon Peter or Catharine I. He was too partial and intereſted to conſult truth, and was unwilling to inſert any circumſtance which might be diſpleaſing to Elizabeth. His genius was fettered by theſe reſtraints; the picture accordingly which he has drawn of Peter I. is almoſt as devoid of animation as of reſemblance;

reſemblance; and this ſketch is the leaſt entertaining, as well as the moſt inaccurate, of all his hiſtorical pieces.

But frequently alſo in regard to thoſe events which did not interfere with Elizabeth's prejudices, he certainly either did not examine, or did not follow, ſome of the beſt and moſt authentic materials which had been ſent from Peterſburgh *. From theſe circumſtances we may fairly aſſent to the truth of the cenſure paſſed by the lively writer upon his own performance, when he ſaid, "*Je ferai graver ſur ma tombe, cy git qui a voulu écrire l'hiſtoire de Pierre le Grand.*†"

II. Poetry.

With reſpect to the Ruſſian poetry previous to this century, the only ſpecimens were a few antient ſongs, ſome occaſional copies of verſes, and a pſalter, compoſed by the monk Simeon Polotſki, and printed at Moſcow in 1680. To uſe the expreſſions of the epic writer Kheraſkof, "the Muſes waited till the "reign of Peter the Great, in order to make their appearance "in Ruſſia: before his time there were indeed a few poets, "but their compoſitions were more rhymes than verſes; and

* Buſching has publiſhed in the third volume of his Hiſtorical Magazine: "Memoire "abregé ſur la vie du Tſarevitch Alexèi Pe-"trovitch." This memoir, ſays the editor, was ſent to Voltaire before he began to write his Hiſtory of Ruſſia: it will ſerve as a proof, how little that writer employed the authentic papers tranſmitted to him. Vol. III. p. 194. Mr. Muller alſo charges Voltaire with not paying ſufficient attention to the papers which he communicated from the moſt undoubted authorities. "Tout le monde eſt d'accord, &c. "Buſ. XVI. p. 352. que l'Hiſtoire de Pierre "le Grand de Voltaire n'a point rempli l'at-"teinte qu'on en avait avant qu'elle parut au "jour. On s'en apperçut même avant la "publication par les échantillons, que l'auteur "envoyoit a St. Peterſbourg en Miſcript. Je "fus prié de faire là deſſus des remarques. "Je le fis: mais M. Voltaire n'eut pas la pa-"tience d'en profiter; tant ſe hata-t-il à faire "imprimer le I. Tome. Après la publication "je continuai mes remarques. Tout ce la fut "envoyé à l'auteur. C'eſt à l'aide de ces re-"marques que M. Voltaire dans la Preface du "II. Tome vient de corriger quelques legéres "fautes qu'il avoit commiſes dans le premier. "Il en a excuſé d'autres. Il a payé de du-"retés. Il a eu garde ſur tout de ne point "toucher à des faits qui le feroient rougir. "Voila ce que c'eſt qu'un auteur qui ne veut "avoir tort." See B. H. M. XVI. p. 352.

† Cited by L'Eveſque, vol. I. p. xxx. "Here lies the perſon who *would* have writ-"ten the Hiſtory of Peter the Great."

"even

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"even during his reign the art was ſtill in its infancy. At "length came Lomonozof *," &c. Theophanes had indeed read lectures upon the rules for Sclavonian or Ruſſian verſes; prince Kantemir, Ilinſki, Trediatoffki, and a few others, had compoſed, but there were certainly no poets of eminence before Lomonozof and Sumorokof. A ſketch therefore of the lives and writings of theſe two authors, a ſhort account of the Ruſſian ſtage, and a few remarks on the compoſitions of Kheraſkof, will convey to the reader ſome idea of the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate, of poetry in this empire.

Lomonozof †, the great refiner of his native tongue, was the ſon of a perſon who trafficked in fiſh at Kolmogori: he was born in 1711, and was fortunately taught to read; a rare inſtance for a perſon of ſo low a ſtation in Ruſſia. His natural genius for poetry was firſt kindled by the peruſal of the Song of Solomon, done into verſe by Polotſki, whoſe rude compoſitions, perhaps ſcarcely ſuperior to our verſion of the Pſalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, inſpired him with ſuch an irreſiſtible paſſion for the muſes, that he fled from his father, who would have compelled him to marry, and took refuge in a monaſtery at Moſcow, where he had an opportunity of indulging his taſte for letters, and of ſtudying the Greek and Latin languages. In this ſeminary he made ſo conſiderable a progreſs in polite literature, as to be noticed and employed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. In 1736 he was ſent, at the expence of that ſociety, to the univerſity of Marburgh ‡ in Heſſe Caſſel, where he became a ſcholar of the celebrated Chriſtian Wolf, under whom he ſtudied univerſal grammar, rhetoric, and philoſophy. He continued at Marburgh four years, du-

* Preface to Kheraſkof's Poem on the Battle of Tcheſme, quoted in Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. for 1774, p. 201.

† Le Clerc Hiſt. Mod. p. 70.

‡ Le Clerc ſays Magdebourg, which is no univerſity: I preſume it is a falſe print, for Marburgh, where Wolf was profeſſor of mathematics and philoſophy, from the year 1723 to 1741.

ring

ring which time he applied himſelf with indefatigable diligence to chymiſtry, which he afterwards purſued with ſtill greater ſucceſs, under the famous Henckel, at Freyberg in Saxony. In 1741 he returned into Ruſſia; was choſen in 1742 adjunct to the Imperial Academy; and in the enſuing year member of that ſociety, and profeſſor of chymiſtry. In 1760 he was appointed inſpector of the ſeminary, then annexed to the Academy; in 1764 he was gratified by the preſent empreſs with the title of counſellor of ſtate; and died on the 4th of April that year, in the 54th year of his age. CHAP. VIII.

Lomonozof excelled in various kinds of compoſitions; but his chief merit, by which he bears the firſt rank among the Ruſſian writers, is derived from his poetical compoſitions, the fineſt of which are his odes. The firſt was written in 1739, while he ſtudied in Germany, upon the taking of Kotſchin, a fortreſs of Crim Tartary, by marſhal Munich. The odes of Lomonozof are greatly admired for originality of invention, ſublimity of ſentiment, and energy of language; and compenſate for the turgid ſtyle which, in ſome inſtances, has been imputed to them, by that ſpirit and fire, which are the principal characteriſtics in this ſpecies of compoſition. Pindar was his great model; and if we may give credit to a perſon * well verſed in the Ruſſian tongue, he has ſucceeded in this daring attempt to imitate the Theban bard, without incurring the cenſure of Horace †. In this, as well as ſeveral other ſpecies of compoſition, he enriched his native language with various kinds of metre; and ſeems to have merited the appellation beſtowed upon him, of the Father of Ruſſian Poetry.

A brief recapitulation of the principal works of Lomonozof, which were printed in three volumes octavo, will ſerve to

* L'Eveſque, who ſays of him, "Il eſt peût-être le ſeul émule de Pindare."

† "Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet æmulari," &c. L'Ode de Lomonoſof fit connoitre aux Ruſſes les veritables regles de la harmonie. Le Clerc.

ſhow

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ſhow the verſatility of his genius, and his extenſive knowledge in various branches of literature.

The firſt volume, beſide a preface on the advantages derived to the Ruſſian tongue from the eccleſiaſtical writings, contains ten ſacred and nineteen panegyric odes, and ſeveral occaſional pieces of poetry.

The ſecond compriſes an Eſſay in Proſe, on the Rules for Ruſſian poetry; tranſlation of a German Ode; Idylls; Tamira and Selim, a tragedy; Demophoon, a tragedy; Poetical Epiſtle on the Utility of Glaſs; two cantos of an epic Poem, entitled Peter the Great; a congratulatory copy of verſes; an Ode; tranſlation of Baptiſt Rouſſeau's ode, *Sur le Bonheur*; Heads of a Courſe of Lectures on Natural Philoſophy; certain paſſages tranſlated in verſe and proſe, according to the originals, from Cicero, Eraſmus, Lucian, Ælian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Quintus Curtius, Homer, Virgil, Martial, Ovid, Horace, and Seneca, which Ruſſian tranſlations were brought as examples in his Lectures upon Rhetoric; laſtly, deſcription of the Comet which appeared in 1744.

The third volume conſiſts chiefly of ſpeeches and treatiſes read before the academy; panegyric on the empreſs Elizabeth; on Peter the Great; treatiſe on the advantages of chymiſtry; on the phænomena of the air, occaſioned by the electrical fire, with a Latin tranſlation of the ſame; on the origin of light, as a new theory of colours; methods to determine with preciſion the courſe of a veſſel; on the origin of metals by the means of earthquakes; Latin diſſertation on ſolidity and fluidity; on the Tranſit of Venus in 1761, with a German tranſlation *.

Beſide theſe various ſubjects, Lomonozof made no inconſiderable figure in hiſtory, having publiſhed two ſmall works relative to that of his own country. The firſt, ſtyled Annals of the Ruſſian Sovereigns, is a ſhort chronology of the Ruſſian monarchs; and the ſecond is the Antient Hiſtory of Ruſſia, from the origin of that nation to the death of the great-duke Yaroſlaf I. in 1054; a performance of great merit, as it illuſtrates the moſt difficult and obſcure period in the annals of this country.

* Mr. Damaſkin, who publiſhed this complete edition of Lomonozof's works, received from the empreſs a preſent of £ 100. See Ruſ. Bib. for 1780, p. 338.

Alexander

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander Sumorokof, who is juſtly denominated the founder of the Ruſſian theatre, was the perſon who, after Lomonozof, principally contributed to refine the poetry of his country. But before I enter upon a detail of his life and writings, I ſhall premiſe a ſhort account of the Ruſſian ſtage, as well becauſe a view of the ſtate in which Sumorokof found the national theatre * will diſplay his powers in dramatic compoſition, as becauſe the hiſtory of the ſtage in any country forms no inconſiderable part of the true hiſtory of its literature.

Before the æra of Peter the Great, almoſt the only † dramatic repreſentations in Ruſſia were exhibited in the monaſteries of Kiof and Moſcow, where the ſtudents performed occaſionally an *Actus Oratorius*, or a ſcriptural hiſtory.

The learned Demetrius Tooptalo ‡, metropolitan archbiſhop of Roſtof, was highly diſtinguiſhed among the literati for compoſing, in the prevailing taſte of thoſe times, the following ſcriptural hiſtories in verſe. The Sinner, an allegory.—Eſther and Ahaſuerus.—The Birth of Chriſt.—And the Reſurrection of Chriſt. At the commencement of this century, theſe pieces became the faſhionable repreſentations; and were not only performed in convents, but were acted at court, even ſo late as the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

The ſtudents of ſurgery in the hoſpital at Moſcow ſeem to have given the firſt public performance exhibited by any of the laity, in the great hall, where they raiſed a ſtage, and

* It does not enter into my plan to trace the introduction and progreſs of the German, Italian, and French players in Ruſſia. I ſhall only obſerve, that, in the reign of Peter the Great, the firſt ſet of German actors played at Peterſburgh; that ſome Italian performers firſt made their appearance in 1730; and the French comedians in 1742. For further information on this ſubject, the reader is referred to Staehlin's Geſ. des Theatres in Ruſſland, in Haygold, or Schloetzer's Beylage, vol. I. p. 400.

† We may except the repreſentations at court during the minority of Peter the Great, when ſome of Moliere's plays, tranſlated into the Ruſſian tongue, were acted in the Ikonoſpatſkoi Convent; among other perſons of diſtinction, the princeſs Sophia performed a part.

‡ He died in 1709.

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uſed ſcreens for the ſcenery. Mr. Staehlin *, who was preſent at one of theſe plays, the ſubject of which was Tamerlane, informs us, that nothing could be more groteſque and ridiculous; and relates an inſtance of moſt profane ribaldry introduced into one of the ſcriptural pieces, too groſs to be mentioned. The ſame ingenious author remembers to have ſeen at Peterſburgh the empreſs's grooms act in a ſtill more wretched manner, either in the hay-loft of the imperial ſtables, or in an unfurniſhed houſe. Actors of this ſort uſed alſo to perform every year for the amuſement of the common people: they had no regular theatre, but were accuſtomed to play in different parts of the city. At duſk, a paper lantern was hung from the window, and two huntſmen's horns were blown, in order to announce a comedy for that evening. The entrance money was from ½ to 2 *d.* and the ſpectators uſually remained two hours to ſee and hear every ſpecies of nonſenſe and ribaldry. Such was the ſtate of the Ruſſian ſtage when Sumorokof brought out his firſt tragedy of Koref.

About the ſame time the firſt regular Ruſſian theatre was opened at Yaroſlaf, under the direction of the celebrated actor Feodor Volkof, the Garrick of Ruſſia, whoſe talents for the ſtage were as great as thoſe of Sumorokof for dramatic compoſition. This ſurpriſing genius was ſon of a tradeſman at Yaroſlaf, and was born in 1729; having diſcovered very early proofs of great abilities, he was ſent for his education to Moſcow, where he learnt the German tongue, muſic, and drawing. His father dying, and his mother marrying a ſecond huſband, who had eſtabliſhed a manufacture of ſalt-petre and ſulphur, he applied himſelf to that trade; and going upon the buſineſs of his father-in-law to Peterſburgh about the year 1748, his natural inclination for the ſtage led him to frequent

* See Geſchichte des Theatres in Ruſsland, from which ingenious treatiſe I have principally taken this account of the Ruſſian ſtage.

the

the German plays, and to form an intimate acquaintance with some of the actors. CHAP. VIII.

Upon his return to Yaroſlaf, he conſtructed a ſtage in a large apartment at his father-in-law's houſe; painted the ſcenes himſelf; and, with the aſſiſtance of his four brothers, acted ſeveral times before a large aſſembly. Their firſt performances were the ſcriptural hiſtories written by the archbiſhop of Roſtof; theſe were ſucceeded by the tragedies of Lomonozof and Sumorokof, and ſometimes ſatirical farces of their own compoſition againſt the inhabitants of Yaroſlaf. As the ſpectators were admitted *gratis* at every repreſentation, his father-in-law objected to the expence. Accordingly Volkof conſtructed in 1750, after his own plan, a large theatre, partly by ſubſcription, and partly at his own riſk; having ſupplied it with ſcenes, which he painted himſelf, and dreſſes, which he aſſiſted in making; and having procured an additional number of actors, whom he regularly inſtructed, he and his troop performed with great applauſe before crouded audiences, who cheerfully paid for their admiſſion.

In 1752, the empreſs Elizabeth, informed of their ſucceſs, ſummoned them to Peterſburgh, where they repreſented, in the theatre of the court, the tragedies of Sumorokof. In order to form the new troop to a greater degree of perfection, the four principal actors were placed in the ſeminary of the Cadets *, where they remained four years. At the concluſion of that period, a regular Ruſſian theatre was eſtabliſhed at the court, three actreſſes were admitted, Sumorokof was appointed director, and £ 1000 were allowed for the actors. Beſide this ſalary, they were permitted to perform once a week to the

* Staehlin ſays, that Volkof was amongſt theſe; but Le Clerc aſſerts, "L'Impératrice "fit placer les acteurs au corps des cadets, "*Volkof excepté.* Celui-ci ſe voyant privé de ſes "compagnons, s'amuſa à faire des Marion-"nettes; tant le penchant naturel a de puiſ-"ſance ſur l'homme." P. 80.

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public, and the admiſſion-money was diſtributed among them without deduction, as the lights, muſic, and dreſſes were provided at the expence of the empreſs.

The chief performances were the tragedies and comedies of Sumorokof, and tranſlations from Moliere and other French writers. The company continued to flouriſh under the patronage of Catharine II. and the ſalaries of the actors were gradually increaſed to £ 2200 per annum. Volkof and his brother were ennobled, and received from their imperial miſtreſs eſtates in land: he performed, for the laſt time, at Moſcow, in the tragedy of Zemira, a ſhort time before his death, which happened in 1763, in the 35th year of his age. He equally excelled in tragedy and comedy; and his principal merit conſiſted in characters of madneſs. He was tolerably verſed in muſic, and was no indifferent poet.

His friend Sumorokof paid the following tribute to the memory of a perſon who had done ample juſtice to his dramatic compoſitions. "Melpomene, unite thy tears with mine.—"Lament, and tear thy locks.—My friend is dead.—Adieu, my "friend—ſorrow penetrates and diſſolves my ſoul.—The ſource "of Hippocrene is frozen.—O Ruſſia! you poſſeſſed a ſecond "Racine! but the new theatre is already tottering from its "foundations; and all the labours of a century are deſtroyed! "Volkof is ſeparated from the Muſes for ever.—Tragedy has "loſt her buſkin and her poignard.—Melpomene bedew his "tomb with thy tears *."

The prophecy, however, of Sumorokof, which his enthuſiaſm for the theatrical abilities of this great actor, or his affection for the memory of his friend, led him to utter, is far from being fulfilled. The ſtage, though it has ſuffered a conſiderable loſs by the death of Volkof, ſtill ſubſiſts and proſpers under the auſpices and protection of her preſent majeſty; and

* Le Clerc, p. 81.

from

from the ſpecimens which I ſaw among the foundlings at Moſcow, and in other ſeminaries, there ſeems no reaſon to apprehend the want of a future ſupply.

To return from this digreſſion, Alexander Sumorokof was the ſon of Peter Sumorokof, a Ruſſian nobleman, and was born at Moſcow, on the 14th of November 1727 *. He received the firſt rudiments of learning in his father's houſe, where, beſide a grammatical knowledge of his native tongue, he was well grounded in the Latin language. Being removed to the ſeminary of the Cadets at St. Peterſburgh, he proſecuted his ſtudies with unwearied application, and gave very early proofs of his genius for poetry. Even on holidays he would retire from his companions, who were engaged in play, and devote his whole time to the peruſal of the Latin and French writers; nor was it long before he himſelf attempted to compoſe.

The firſt efforts of his genius were love-ſongs, whoſe tenderneſs and beauties, till then unexpreſſed in the Ruſſian tongue, were greatly admired, and conſidered as certain prognoſtics of his future fame. Upon quitting the ſeminary, he was appointed adjutant, firſt to count Golovkin, and afterwards to count Roſomofſki; and being ſoon noticed and patronized by count Ivan Shuvalof, he was introduced by that Mæcenas to the empreſs Elizabeth, who took him under her protection. About the 29th year of his age, an enthuſiaſtic fondneſs he had contracted for the works of Racine, turned his genius to the drama, and he wrote the tragedy of Koref, which laid the foundation of the Ruſſian theatre. This piece was firſt acted by ſome of his former ſchool-mates, the cadets, who had previouſly exerciſed their talents in declamations, and in acting a French play. The empreſs Elizabeth, informed of this new

* This account of Sumorokof is chiefly taken from "Kurze Nachricht von den Leben und der Schriften des, Alexander Petrowitch Sumorokof," in Journ. St. Pet. for 1778.

phænomenon

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phænomenon in the theatrical world, ordered the tragedy to be exhibited in her preſence upon a ſmall theatre of the court, where German, Italian, and French plays had been performed. The applauſe and diſtinction which the author received on this occaſion, encouraged him to follow the bent of his genius; and he produced ſucceſſively Hamlet, Ariſtona, Sinaf and Truvor, Zemira, Dimiſa, Vitſhelaf, the Falſe Demetrius, and Miciſlaf. Nor was his muſe leſs fertile in comedies; which are, Triſſotinus; the Judge; the Diſpute between the Huſband and Wife; the Guardian; the Portion acquired by Fraud; the Envious Man; Tartuffe; the Imaginary Cuckold, the Mother who rivals her Daughter; the Goſſip; and the Three Rival Brothers. He wrote alſo the operas of Alceſtes, and Cephalus and Procris.

With reſpect to his tragedies, Racine * was his model; and the Ruſſian biographer of Sumorokof, who ſeems a competent judge of his merit, allows, that "though in ſome inſtances "he has attained all the excellence of the French poet, yet he "has failed in many others; but it would be uncandid to in- "ſiſt upon ſuch defects in a writer who firſt introduced the "drama among his countrymen. The French overlook in "their Corneille ſtill greater faults." "His comedies," continues the ſame author, "contain much humour; but I do "not imagine that our dramatic writers will adopt him for "their model: for he frequently excites the laughter of the

* "Elegant comme Racine il tâcha d'imi- "ter la conduite de ſes plans; mais il ne "pût pénétrer le ſecret de notre inimitable "poéte. Il voulut être ſage comme lui, il fut "froid, et ſa ſcene manqua du mouvement." L'Eveſque, V. p. 342.

"En voulant raprocher de Racine dans la "conduite de ſes plans, Sumorokof s'éloigna "dans l'action; ſouvent il eſt froid dans les "ſcénes où Racine electriſe les cœurs et les "ames. Les vers tragiques de Sumorokof "approchent de la douceur, de l'élégance, et "de l'harmonie de ceux de Racine, mais il "s'en faut bien qu'ils en aient l'ame." Le Clerc, p. 76.

His tragedies are written in rhyme, in the Alexandrine verſe, the ſame as the French Heroic. His comedies are in proſe.

"ſpectator

"ſpectator at the expence of his cooler judgement *. Neverthe-
"leſs, they preſent ſufficient paſſages to prove, that he would
"have attained a greater degree of perfection in this line, if
"he had paid more attention to paint our manners, and to fol-
"low the taſte of the beſt foreign writers."

Beſide dramatic writings, Sumorokof attempted every ſpecies of poetry, excepting the epic. He wrote love-ſongs, idyls, fables, ſatires, anacreontics, elegies, verſions of the Pſalms, and Pindaric odes. Superior to Lomonozof † in the compoſitions of the drama, he was yet inferior to him in Pindaric writings. "Though his odes," adds his biographer, "are "diſtinguiſhed by their eaſy flow of verſification, by their har-"mony, ſoftneſs, and grace, yet they are far from reaching "that elevation and fire which characterize thoſe of Lomono-"zof. Theſe two great poets had each their peculiar talents: "the one diſplayed in his ſtyle all the majeſty, ſtrength, and "ſublimity of the Ruſſian tongue; and the other all its har-"mony, ſoftneſs, and elegance. The elegies of Sumorokof "are full of tenderneſs: his idyls give a true picture of the "paſtoral life, in all the pleaſing ſimplicity of unimproved "nature, without deſcending to vulgarity; and may ſerve as "models in this ſpecies of compoſition in all things except-"ing in ſtrict morality. His ſatires are the beſt in the Ruſſian

* "Weil es auch ein Lachen giebt, nach welchem der Zuſchauer nicht wohl mit ſich ſelbſt Zufrieden iſt daſs er gelacht hat." Literally, "Since he occaſions a laughter, at which the ſpectator is not well ſatisfied that he has laughed." Does the biographer mean by this paſſage, that the wit of Sumorokof was often too farcical, and degenerated too much into a low ſpecies of humour? If ſo, let the author anſwer for himſelf. In a letter to Voltaire, he complains that his countrymen had begun to adopt that wretched ſpecies of compoſition, the ſentimental comedy, inſtead of the wit and humour of Moliere; and Voltaire agreed with him in the following words: "Je "ſouſcris entiérement à tout ce que vous dites "de Moliére et de la comédié Larmoyante, qui "à la honte de la nation a ſuccedé au ſeul vrai "genre comique porté a perfection par l'ini-"mitable Moliére." Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. for 1778, p. 153.

† There was an unfortunate rivalry between theſe two poets: each wiſhed to excel in the other's line; and each failed in the attempt. The account of this rivalry between Lomonozof and Sumorokof might unfortunately add another article for the author of *Les Querelles Literaires*.

"language,

BOOK V.

"language, but are extremely unequal, and deſerve to have "been wrought with more plan and regularity. In writing "his fables, his pen ſeems to have been guided by the Muſes "and Graces *; and I do not heſitate, if not to prefer them, at "leaſt to compare them with thoſe of Fontaine."

Sumorokof was alſo author of a few ſhort and detached hiſtorical pieces. A Chronicle of Moſcow, in which he relates the origin of that city; and abridges the reigns of its monarchs from Ivan Danilovitch to Feodor Alexievitch.—A Hiſtory of the firſt inſurrection of the Strelitz in 1682, by which Ivan was appointed joint ſovereign with Peter the Great, and the princeſs Sophia regent.—An account of Stenko Razin's rebellion. His ſtyle in theſe pieces is ſaid to be clear and perſpicuous, but ſomewhat too flowery and poetical for proſe.

Sumorokof obtained by his merit, the favour and protection of his ſovereign. Elizabeth gave him the rank of brigadier; appointed him director of the Ruſſian theatre, and ſettled upon him a penſion of £ 400 per annum. Catharine II. created him counſellor of ſtate; conferred upon him the order of St. Anne; and honoured him with many inſtances of munificence and diſtinction until his death, which carried him off at Moſcow, on the 1ſt of October 1777, in the 51ſt year of his age.

"With reſpect to his diſpoſition," ſays his biographer, "this "celebrated poet ſeems to have poſſeſſed a good and amiable "heart; but his extreme ſenſibility, an excellent quality in a "poet, when tempered with philoſophy, occaſioned that ſin-"gularity and vehemence of character, which gave ſo much "trouble and uneaſineſs to all his acquaintance, but particu-"larly to himſelf. He was polite and condeſcending towards

* This opinion ſeems to be general: "Mais "tous les applaudiſſements ſe ſont réunis en "faveur de ces fables. On ne peut leur refu-"ſer la premiere place après celles de la Fon-"taine." L'Eveſque, v. V. p. 342. "Ses fables peuvent être comparées à ce "qu'on a fait de mieux dans ce genre, de-"puis l'inimitable La Fontaine." Le Clerc, p. 77.

"thoſe

" thoſe who treated him with reſpect, but haughty to thoſe " who behaved to him with pride. He knew no deceit; he " was a true friend, and an open enemy; and could neither " forget an obligation nor an injury. Paſſionate, and frequently " inconſiderate in his purſuits, he could not bear the leaſt op- " poſition; and oftentimes looked upon the moſt trifling cir- " cumſtance as the greateſt evil. His extraordinary fame, the " many favours which the empreſs conferred upon him, the " indulgence and veneration of his friends, might have made " him extremely fortunate, if he had underſtood the art of " being ſo. He had conceived a great, perhaps too great, an " idea of the character and merits of a true poet; and could " not endure to ſee with patience this noble and much-eſteemed " art, which had been conſecrated by Homer, Virgil, and other " great men, profaned by perſons without judgement or abili- " ties. Theſe pretenders, he would ſay, ſhock the public with " their nonſenſe in rhyme; and clothe their monſtrous con- " ceptions in the dreſs of the Muſes. The public recoil from " them with diſguſt and averſion; and, deceived by their ap- " pearance, treat with irreverence thoſe children of heaven, the " true Muſes."

The examples of Lomonozof and Sumorokof have tended to diffuſe a ſpirit of poetry, and a taſte for polite learning, among the Ruſſians, and they are ſucceeded by a numerous band of poets*. Of theſe I ſhall only mention one writer, who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by compoſing the firſt epic poem in the Ruſſian tongue.

Michael Kheraſkof, a perſon of a noble family, has excelled in ſeveral ſpecies of compoſition. His works are, a Poem upon the Utility of Science; ſeveral tragedies and comedies; Pindaric odes, Anacreontics, fables, idyls, and ſatires; a romance, called Ariadne in Thebes; Numa Pompilius; a poem in four

* Many of theſe are enumerated by Mr. Le Clerc. Hiſt. Mod. p. 78 to 98.

BOOK V.

cantos, in honour of the naval victory over the Turks at the battle of Tcheſme; but the piece by which he has acquired the greateſt fame, is an epic poem in twelve cantos, called the Roſſiada, written in Iambic meaſure of ſix feet in rhyme. Its ſubject is the conqueſt of Caſan by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. or, as the author has expreſſed himſelf, "I ſing Ruſſia delivered "from the yoke of barbarians; the might of the Tartars laid "low, and their pride humbled: I ſing the ſtrifes and bloody "conflicts of antient armies; Ruſſia's triumph; and Caſan's "ſubjection." This work is greatly admired by the natives; and may juſtly be conſidered as forming an epoch in the hiſtory of their poetry. The general plan ſeems well diſpoſed *; the events follow each other in a rapid but orderly ſucceſſion; and the imagination of the reader is kept alive by frequent ſcenes of terror, in which the author ſeems particularly to excel. The ſubject is extremely intereſting to the Ruſſians; and the poet has artfully availed himſelf of the popular belief by the introduction of ſaints and martyrs for the machinery of his poem. Mr. Le Clerc informs us, that this poem, while it contains ſeveral ſtriking paſſages of great beauty, is in many parts deficient in harmony; a defect, he adds, which the author, by retouching and correcting, is capable of removing.

Mr. Kheraſkof has not in the preſent reign failed of acquiring the rewards due to his extraordinary talents; having been ſucceſſively appointed vice-preſident of the college of mines, counſellor of ſtate, and curator of the univerſity of Moſcow.

Lomonozof is a rare, and perhaps a ſingle inſtance of any Ruſſian of low degree, who was not an eccleſiaſtic, that has attained, from ſo mean a condition, to great eminence in lite-

* An account of this poem in the German tongue is given in the Journal of St. Peterſburgh for 1779, vol. I. p. 388, in which the contents of each canto are minutely delineated. I had once begun a tranſlation of this Review, and of the contents of each canto, with a deſign of preſenting it to the reader; but deſiſted, as the materials for this work were much more extenſive than I had at firſt reaſon to apprehend.

rature.

rature. But it is probable, that ſuch examples will ſoon ceaſe to be uncommon; ſince the ſchools, inſtituted by Catharine in every province of her wide-extended empire, will facilitate the acquiſition of learning among the lower claſs of people; ſince the zeal for inquiry is ſpread among the natives; and honour and promotion are known by experience to be the certain attendants on literary acquiſitions. Indeed, ſuch is the ſpirit with which the empreſs protects and encourages learning, that ſcarcely any work of merit makes its appearance, for which the author does not inſtantly receive ſome mark of diſtinction or liberality.

In order to ſpread a taſte of literature among her ſubjects, Catharine appointed, in 1768, a committee to order and ſuperintend tranſlations of the claſſics, and the beſt modern authors, into the Ruſſian tongue; and allowed £1000 per annum towards defraying the expence of ſuch undertakings.

The following is a liſt of the tranſlations which had made their appearance before the 8th of July 1774*.

Homer's Batrachomyomachia; Characters of Theophraſtus; Ælian; Herodian; Diodorus Siculus; Terence; Cicero *De Finibus*; Cæſar's Commentaries; Three Epiſtles of Ovid; his Metamorphoſes in proſe; *Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum*; Paterculus; Valerius Maximus; Stritter's *Memoriæ populorum olim ad Danubium incolentium e Script. Byzan. Hiſt. eruta*; Muller's Account of the Antient Inhabitants of Ruſſia; Gmelin's Travels through Ruſſia; Pallas's Travels through Ruſſia; His Pruſſian Majeſty's Treatiſe on the Reaſon for making and repealing Laws; Monteſquieu's *Conſiderations ſur la grandeur et la decadence des Romains*; his *Lyſimaque, Dialogue de Sylla et d'Eucrate, Eſſai ſur le Gout*, and *Temple de Gnide*; Dimſdale's Treatiſe on Inoculation; Chalotais *ſur l'Education*; Hiſtory and Treatiſes of the Amſterdam Society for Recovery of Drowned Perſons; The Ottoman Empire; Republic of Raguſa, Great-Britain, Portugal, Kingdom of Pruſſia, from Buſching's Geography; Voltaire's Candide; a Dialogue of St. Evremond between three perſons of different ſentiments; various articles from the En-

* See Ruſſ. Bib. for 1775, p. 74.

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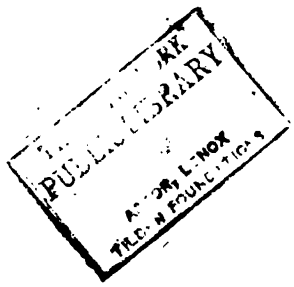
cyclopedie; Juſti's Foundation of the Power and Happineſs of States; *Calliere De la maniere de negocier avec les ſouverains*; Rouſſeau's Abridgement of *St. Pierre's Projet d'une pais perpetuelle*; St. Real's *Conſpiration des Eſpagnols contre la Republique de Veniſe*; Vertot's *Revolutions Romaines*; Mably's *Hiſtoire Grecque*; Chineſe Reflections from the Manſhur tongue; The Viſible World; Lambert's *Traité de l'Amitié*; Taſſo's *Jeruſalemme Liberata*; Gulliver's Travels; Joſeph Andrews; Jonathan Wild the Great; Amelia; of the Ventriloquiſts; Gellert's Betſchweſter; the Art of being polite; Letters upon ſeveral Phyſical and Philoſophical Subjects; Macquer's Chymiſtry; the Duty of an Officer; Dictionary of the French Academy; on the advantage of inſtructing Youth in Claſſical Literature; Rollin's Belles Lettres; Bell's Journey through Ruſſia.

This liſt mentions 83 books, the tranſlations whereof were in the preſs; 78, of which tranſlations were making; and 63, which the committee propoſed to be tranſlated.

I have received an account of the following tranſlations, which have been ſince made.

Henriade; *Diable Boiteux*; Gellert's Works; Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce; Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V. from the French tranſlation; Pallas *Samlungen Mongoliſchen Volkerſchaften*; Engliſh Grammar; Homer's Iliad; Virgil's Æneid; Lucian's Dialogues; Milton's Paradiſe Loſt; Coyer's *Hiſtoire de J. Sobieſki*; Monteſquieu's *Eſprit des Loix*; Mallet's *Hiſt. de Dannemarc*; *Hiſt. Generale de Voyages*; Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics; *Cicero de Natura Deorum*; Plato's Works; Heſiod; Coxe's Ruſſian Diſcoveries; *Les Incas de Marmontel*; Bielfield's Political Inſtitutions; *Hiſt. de la Maiſon de Brandenburgh*; *Memoires de Sully*; Blackſtone's Commentaries; Hiſt. Aug. Script. Sex; Pope's Eſſay on Man; Locke on Education; Livy; ſeveral Epiſtles and Odes of Horace; Young's Six Weeks Tour, tranſlated by particular order of the empreſs, for the purpoſe of diffuſing the knowledge of practical agriculture, &c. &c.

With reſpect to claſſical literature; the Greek language is yet taught in very few of the ſchools, is ſcarcely known to the laity, and is a rare qualification even among the regular clergy. Latin is more common, being underſtood by many of the regular clergy, and not unfrequently cultivated by perſons of improved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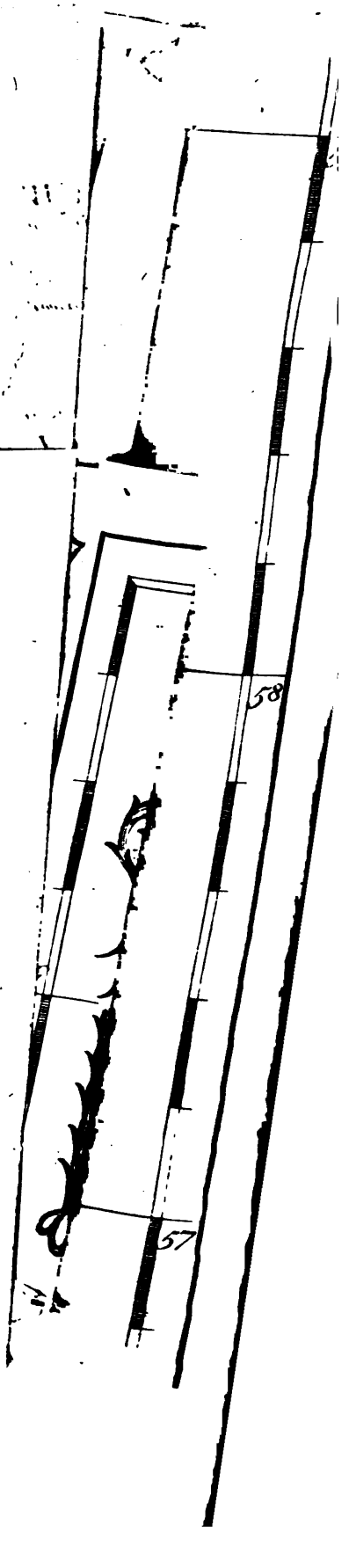
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improved education. Many of the claſſics have been tranſlated by natives into the Ruſſian tongue; ſeveral editions of the moſt approved Greek and Roman authors have been publiſhed at Moſcow and Peterſburgh, but the editors have been chiefly foreigners, encouraged to this attempt by the patronage of thoſe among the Ruſſian nobility who are not deficient in antient literature, and excited by the opening genius of the nation. Among the natives, however, who have rendered themſelves illuſtrious in this branch of knowledge, I muſt not omit the name of Plato archbiſhop of Moſcow, who is highly eminent for claſſical learning; and, among the naturalized foreigners, that of Eugenius archbiſhop of Slavenſk and Kherſon, who, in the true ſpirit of the original, has tranſlated into Greek hexameters the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil, a work printed in folio, at the expence of prince Potemkin, and exhibiting a magnificent ſpecimen of typography. This ſame ingenious author is employed in tranſlating into the ſame language the Æneid, in which he has made conſiderable progreſs. CHAP. VIII.

TRAVELS

INTO

RUSSIA.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

Conjectures on the population and revenues of the Ruſſian *empire.—Bank of aſſignation.—Paper currency.*

BOOK VI. IF we recollect the various publications lately put forth in England relating to the population of Great Britain, and the ſurprizing difference between the calculations of Dr. Price on one hand, and Meſſrs. Wales and Howlett on the other, in a country where the regiſters of births and deaths are ſuppoſed to be regularly kept, and where there are no impediments to our reſearches, we ſhall not be ſurprized at meeting with a ſtill greater uncertainty in reſpect to the population of Ruſſia, conſidering the immenſe extent of its empire, the various nations which compoſe it, the difficulty of procuring exact intelligence, and the obſtructions which prevent a freedom of inquiry; nor can we think it extraordinary, that ſome authors have eſtimated it at 28,000,000 inhabitants, and others at only 14,000,000.

Under this reflection, it might appear preſumptuous in a foreigner, who was only reſident in the metropolis during a few months,

months, to attempt to lay down any positive information upon so intricate a subject. Trusting, however, to the candor of the reader, I submit the following sketch, from which some general inferences may be drawn with respect to the number of inhabitants contained in this vast empire. CHAP. I.

	Souls.
According to the last numeration made in 1764, the males who paid the poll-tax amounted to 7,363,348. By doubling *, therefore, this number for the females, we have for the inhabitants in those provinces which are assessed with the poll-tax, — —	14,726,696
In the new governments of Mohilef and Polotsk, lately dismembered from Poland, and which contain 730,000 males paying the poll-tax, by the same mode of estimation, are — —	1,460,000
In the Ukraine †, which, according to the revision of 1764, contained 955,228 males, are — —	1,910,456
Government of Revel in 1773 — —	176,000
Riga or Livonia — —	447,360
Wiburg — — —	117,998
	18,838,510

As in this calculation are not included the nobles and gentry, the clergy, the army, the navy, the Siberian cossacs, the tribes of wandering Calmucs, the Laplanders, the Samoyedes, the inhabitants of the provinces ceded to Russia by the Turks, and others, who are exempted from the poll-tax, we may fairly add for all these 4,000,000; and the average population of the whole empire will amount to 22,838,510.

* Voltaire, in his estimate of the population of Russia, instead of only doubling, triples the number of males paying the poll-tax; and while he computes the increase by births, makes no allowance for the diminution by deaths.

† In the Ukraine, in 1772, were the following numbers of births and deaths, from which the reader, who is versed in calculations of this sort, will compute the population:

	Births.	Deaths.
Males	38,630	26,746
Females	35,561	24,238
	74,191	50,984

Buf. Hist. Mag. IX. p. 459, &c.

I can-

BOOK VI.

I cannot avoid, in this place, taking notice of an objection which has been made to this mode of calculation. It is urged, that although at the laſt numeration in 1764, the perſons paying the poll-tax amounted to 7,363,348, yet, that ſince that period, their number has been conſiderably diminiſhed by the Turkiſh war, the campaigns in Poland, the rebellion of Pugatchef, and by the plague which raged with great violence at Moſcow, and in the ſouthern parts of the empire: from theſe circumſtances, the author of the Eſſai ſur le Commerce de Ruſſie has reduced the population to 14 millions *. It is very difficult to anſwer an objection which does not ariſe from particular, but from general facts; and which, while it ſtates the diminution, does not at the ſame time pay any attention to the acquiſition of new ſubjects.

The arguments drawn from conjecture may ſeem to make it probable, that the ravages of war and of the peſtilence have occaſioned the loſs of about 600,000 ſubjects; while thoſe deduced from matters of fact poſitively prove, that the increaſe ſince the laſt numeration has greatly exceeded this diminution.

By the acquiſition of the provinces diſmembered from Poland, at leaſt 1,500,000 ſouls have been added to the inhabitants of the empire. Beſide the new ſubjects of the diſtricts bordering upon the Black Sea, which were ceded by the Porte, many thouſand Greek and Armenian families have migrated from Crim Tartary, and help to colonize ſeveral new towns and villages which line the banks of the Dnieper below the cataracts; and it muſt be remarked, that ſince the ſolid eſta-

* "Le dernier dénombrement de 1764, a "pu donner un total de 17 à 18 millions d'ha- "bitants des deux ſexes, tout compris: mais "ce calcul, ſans doute exact à cette époque, ne "peut l'être depuis la guerre de la Pologne & "de la Turquie, depuis la derniere révolte, & "ſur-tout depuis la peſte. Nous croyons donc "pouvoir avancer qu'il n'y a plus que 6 mil- "lions d'hommes en Ruſſie," &c. Eſſai ſur le commerce de Ruſſie, p. 31.

bliſhment

bliſhment of peace throughout the empire, the ſecurity and order derived from a more ſtable legiſlature, the eſtabliſhment of phyſicians and ſurgeons in the new governments, the additional privileges which the empreſs has conferred upon the merchants, burghers, and peaſants of the crown, the population has conſiderably augmented * in many parts of her extenſive dominions. All theſe conſiderations muſt ſurely overthrow any objections to the general calculation of between 22 or 23 millions † for the average population of the Ruſſian empire.

I am well aware, that the important queſtion concerning the Ruſſian finances is no leſs difficult than that which relates to

* I can lay before the reader the following undoubted inſtances of this augmentation.

Table of the births and deaths for 1776 and 1777 in the government of Tver.

	Births.	Deaths.	Births.	Deaths.
Males	8707	3715	9509	3740
Females	6137	3066	6726	3192
	14844	6781	16235	6932

The reader will probably obſerve, with as much aſtoniſhment as I did, the ſurprizing exceſs of the births above the deaths. If we compare the two tables, we ſhall find, that in 1777 there were 1291 births more than in 1776.

According to a liſt in the Journal of St. Peterſburgh for 1781, publiſhed by authority, we find the births in the government of Tver amounted in 1780 to males 11,948, females 9013 = 20961: the marriages to 6074; the deaths, males 4315, females 3613 = 7928. The increaſe, therefore, of the births ſince 1776 amounts to 6117; and the exceſs of the births in the ſingle year 1780 over the deaths, 13,033.

In the government of Novogorod for 1777, were,

	Births.	Deaths.
Males	8536	4216
Females	6625	3641
	15161	7857

In 1779 the liſt was,

	Births.	Deaths.
Males	9337	3965
Females	7129	3289
	16466	7254

By comparing theſe two liſts, the exceſs of births in 1779 over thoſe of 1777, was 1305, and the decreaſe of deaths 603; which gives an increaſe of population for that year only, 1908 ſouls.

† Buſching, in his Erdbeſchreibung, eſtimates the population of Ruſſia at 20 millions; Sueſslich, Vol. II. p. 213, at 24; Monſ. Le Clerc, Hiſt. Mod. p. 177, &c. upon the ſame grounds as thoſe alledged by the author of the Eſſai ſur le Commerce de Ruſſie, at 19; but he falls into the ſame error, by enumerating the cauſes which tend to diminiſh the population, without taking into conſideration thoſe which help to increaſe it. L'Eveſque, in vol. IV. p. 480, ſtates the number at 19,050,000; but then he is evidently deficient in putting the inhabitants of the Ukraine, Siberia, and the Coſſacs, only at 300,000. He adds, however, "Mais la plupart des ſeigneurs aſſurent "que la population eſt conſiderablement aug-"mentée dans leurs villages depuis la derniere "reviſion."

BOOK VI.

Until 1752 it was farmed for £ 540,000; till 1770 for £ 620,000; till 1774 for £ 900,000; and till 1778 for £ 1,500,000. By the new leaſe which took place in 1779, it was let for the four next years at the ſum of £ 1,800,000; and will probably be raiſed at the concluſion of the preſent leaſe; of this ſum Peterſburgh and Moſcow pay £ 464,000.

Stamp duties, monopoly of rhubarb *, pot-aſh, and rich furs, tributes of furs and ſkins, and other taxes which have been omitted †, we may fairly ſtate at £ 500,000.

Recapitulation of the ſeveral articles.

Poll-tax	£ 1,362,935
Revenues of the Ukraine	49,381
Conquered provinces	119,010
Provinces diſmembered from Poland	74,460
Cuſtoms	760,000
Salt	400,000
Gold and ſilver from the mines, copper, profits of coinage, duty upon iron at the forge	679,182
Farm of ſpirituous liquors	1,800,000
Church lands	400,000
Stamp duties, and other taxes omitted	500,000
	6,144,968

It is curious to obſerve how the gradual increaſe of civilization in the Ruſſian empire has been followed by a gradual increaſe in its revenues. At the acceſſion of Peter the Great, they amounted to £ 1,000,000; and at his death to 1,600,000. Elizabeth raiſed them to 3,600,000; when the preſent empreſs aſcended the throne, they produced 4,400,000; now yield above £ 6,000,000; and are ſtill in an increaſing ſtate. This ſum is ſufficient for the peace-eſtabliſhment. Of this revenue, the expences of the army and navy amount to about £ 3,072,485; thoſe of the civil eſtabliſhment to £ 2,272,483;

* This monopoly has been aboliſhed ſince I left Ruſſia.

† Particularly the profits from the coinage of the gold and ſilver which are imported.

and

and the remainder, or £ 800,000, is appropriated to the privy purſe of the empreſs. But it is difficult to conceive how ſhe is able to maintain the magnificence of her court, the number of public inſtitutions, the numerous buildings * which are conſtructed at her expence, the liberality with which ſhe encourages the arts and ſciences, the purchaſes which ſhe is continually making in every country in Europe, and the immenſe donations which ſhe confers upon the moſt favoured of her ſubjects. CHAP. I.

The revenues of Ruſſia may be conſiderably augmented in caſe of emergency, as was evident during the late war, by the increaſe of the poll-tax, and the addition of many new impoſts. It ſhould alſo be obſerved, that in 1775 the empreſs remitted fifty-ſeven taxes, and ten in the following year.

The great ſupport of the laſt war was a new bank, called the Bank of Aſſignation, which was eſtabliſhed during the hoſtilities againſt the Turks, when copper money could not be coined with ſufficient expedition to anſwer the neceſſities of the ſtate. Bank notes, to the value of £ 10, £ 15 †, and £ 20, in copper, were iſſued. Theſe notes are changed at the bank in Peterſburgh and Moſcow. The former, which I viſited, is a brick building, containing ſeveral vaulted rooms, each capable of holding £ 400,000 of copper coin in bags, piled one above another; in ſome the money was already placed, and the others were preparing for the reception of the remainder. It is difficult to aſcertain the preciſe quantity of this paper currency. The officers of the bank informed me, that each note which was iſſued had its equivalent in copper money: that the Bank of Aſſignation had, beſide the building at Pe-

* In time of peace her majeſty uſually allots £ 200,000 per ann. for the purpoſe of building.

† Soon after the inſtitution of this bank, ſome notes of 75 roubles, or £ 15, being forged, thoſe bearing that value were called in and deſtroyed.

terſburgh,

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terſburgh, another at Moſcow: that the former contained £ 2,800,000 in copper coin; and £ 100,000 in gold and ſilver ſpecie; that in the latter £ 1,200,000 in copper was already depoſited, and that £ 200,000 were then coining for that purpoſe. According to this account, in 1779, bank-notes had been circulated to the value of £ 4,200,000. It is ſuppoſed, however, that this ſtatement of the paper currency is underrated; and many perſons pretend to aſſert, that the notes iſſued by government amount to at leaſt £ 10,000,000. Upon the firſt appearance of this paper, it was received, particularly in the remote parts of the empire, not without difficulty, and the diſcount againſt it was commonly about $3\frac{1}{2}$, and in ſome places even 6 per cent. But its obvious advantages over copper money ſoon recommended it to general uſe; and it has been found ſo beneficial to commerce, that the diſcount in favour of ſilver ſpecie is only one per cent. and it bears a premium of one and an half per cent. over copper money.

The debts of Ruſſia in foreign countries amounted, at the concluſion of the laſt war, to only £ 2,000,000, which was almoſt diſcharged; but the ſame ſum has been lately borrowed in Holland; and probably the preſent armaments againſt the Turks will have much increaſed the public expenditure.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Admiralty.—Expedition to Cronſtadt.—*Deſcription of* Cronſlot *and the citadel; of the iſland* Retuſari; *and the town of* Cronſtadt.—*Its harbours and dock.—Navy.—Remarks upon* Ruſſia *conſidered as a maritime power.—General obſervations on the* Ruſſian *army.*

CHAP. II.

THE Admiralty*, which ſtands on the ſouth bank of the Neva, oppoſite to the fortreſs of Peterſburgh, was built by Peter the Great; and is a large building of brick, ſurrounded with a rampart and ditch: it is the great receptacle for ſhips' ſtores; and contains large magazines of cordage, ſails, maſts, anchors, which are ſent to Cronſtadt for the equipment of the fleet. A large area, which lies between the front of the building and the Neva, is uſed for the conſtruction of veſſels: when I was at Peterſburgh, five men of war and two frigates were upon the ſtocks†.

I have already obſerved, that in our expedition to Peterhof and Oranienbaum, we viſited Cronſtadt, a deſcription of which I reſerved for the preſent occaſion.

* I am informed, that the Admiralty is intended to be removed to Cronſtadt; and that a building for that purpoſe is abſolutely begun.

† The men of war which are framed in this dock are, in their paſſage to Cronſtadt, lifted over the bar by means of camels: theſe machines were originally invented by the celebrated De Witt, for the purpoſe of conveying large veſſels from Amſterdam over the Pampus; and were introduced into Ruſſia by Peter the Great, who obtained the model of them when he worked in Holland as a common ſhipwright. A camel is compoſed of two ſeparate parts, whoſe outſides are perpendicular, and whoſe inſides are concave, ſhaped ſo as to embrace the hull of a ſhip on both ſides. Each part has a ſmall cabin with ſixteen pumps and ten plugs, and contains twenty men. They are braced to a ſhip underneath by means of cables, and entirely encloſe its ſides and bottom; being then towed to the bar, the plugs are opened, and the water admitted until the camel ſinks with the ſhip and runs a-ground. Then, the water being pumped out, the camel riſes, lifts up the veſſel, and the whole is towed over the bar. This machine can raiſe the ſhip eleven feet, or, in other words, make it draw eleven feet leſs water.

Cronſtadt,

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Cronſtadt, at which port the greateſt part of the Ruſſian navy is ſituated, ſtands upon the iſland of Retuſari in the Gulf of Finland; and was founded by Peter I. as being provided with the ſafeſt harbour in theſe parts, and as forming a ſtrong bulwark by ſea for the defence of the new metropolis. The only paſſage by which ſhips of burden can approach Peterſburgh, lies on the ſouth ſide of Retuſari, through a narrow channel; one ſide whereof is commanded by Cronſtadt, and the oppoſite by Cronſlot and the citadel.

Cronſlot, which ſtands upon a ſmall iſland of ſand, is a circular wooden building, and ſurrounded with fortifications of wood that jut into the water: it contains a garriſon of an hundred men. The citadel is another ſmall wooden fortreſs, conſtructed alſo upon an adjacent ſand bank, and capable of holding about thirty ſoldiers: all large veſſels muſt ſail between Cronſtadt and theſe two fortreſſes, expoſed to the fire of the oppoſite batteries; for the other parts of the gulf are only from one to eleven feet in depth. All theſe fortifications were, at the time of their conſtruction, eſteemed places of conſiderable ſtrength; but now they derive their conſequence more from their paſt importance, than from any reſiſtance they could make againſt the attack of a powerful fleet.

The iſland Retuſari is a long ſlip of land, or rather ſand; through the middle of which runs a ridge of granite. It is 20 miles from Peterſburgh by water, four from the ſhore of Ingria, and nine from the coaſt of Carelia. It is about ten miles in circumference, and was overſpread with firs and pines when Peter firſt conquered it from the Swedes. It contains at preſent about 30,000 inhabitants, including the ſailors and garriſon, the former of whom amount to about 12,000, the latter to 1,500 men. The iſland affords a ſmall quantity of paſture, produces vegetables, and a few fruits, ſuch as apples, currants,

currants, gooſeberries, and ſtrawberries, which thrive in this northern climate. CHAP. II.

Cronſtadt is built upon the ſouth eaſtern extremity of the iſland, and is defended towards the ſea by wooden piers projecting into the water, and towards the land by ramparts and baſtions. It is a very ſtraggling place, and occupies, like all the Ruſſian towns, a larger ſpace of ground than the number of habitations ſeem to require; the houſes are moſtly of wood, excepting a few fronting the harbour, which are of brick ſtuccoed white. Among the latter are the imperial hoſpital for ſailors, the barracks, and the academy for marines and officers of the navy. That ſeminary contained, in 1778, three hundred and ſeventy cadets, who are clothed, maintained, and taught at the expence of the crown: they are admitted at the age of five, and are ſuffered to remain until they reach their ſeventeenth year. They learn accounts, mathematics, drawing, fortification, and navigation; and have maſters in the French, German, Engliſh, and Swediſh languages. They are trained to naval affairs, and make an annual cruize in the Baltic as far as Revel.

Cronſtadt has a ſeparate haven appropriated to the men of war, and another to merchant-ſhips. The men of wars' haven contained twenty ſhips of the line and nine frigates, which were diſmaſted, with their guns and tackle on ſhore. We went on board of the Ezekiel of 80 guns, eſteemed the fineſt ſhip in the navy: ſhe was built under the inſpection of admiral Knowles, and carries 800 men.

Cloſe to the haven for merchant-ſhips is a canal and ſeveral dry docks, begun in 1719, by Peter I. for the purpoſe of refitting the men of war; this uſeful work was neglected under his ſucceſſors, and was not completed until the reign of his daughter Elizabeth: it has been ſtill further beautified and improved by the preſent empreſs; and is now applied for

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building as well as careening ſhips of the line. At the extremity of theſe docks is a great reſervoir, 568 feet in length, which contains water ſufficient, and half the quantity over, to ſupply all the docks; which is pumped into it by means of a fire engine, the diameter of whoſe cylinder is ſix feet. The length of this work, from the beginning of the canal to the end of the laſt dock, is 4221 feet. The ſides of the docks are faced with ſtone, and the bottom is paved with granite: they are 40 feet deep, and 105 broad; and are capable of containing nine men of war upon the ſtocks.

Nothing can convey a higher idea of the vaſt abilities and perſevering genius of Peter the Great, than the ſituation in which he found the Ruſſian navy, and the ſtate in which he left it. Though in the beginning of his reign he did not poſſeſs a ſingle ſhip in the Baltic, yet in the courſe of a few years he equipped a fleet of fifty ſail of the line, which rode miſtreſs of that ſea. Under his ſucceſſors the Ruſſian navy was greatly neglected; and it was in ſo bad a condition at the acceſſion of the preſent empreſs, that ſhe may be ſaid to have almoſt equalled her great predeceſſor in the creation of a new fleet; ſhe invited ſeveral Engliſh captains and ſhip-builders into Ruſſia, and particularly admiral Knowles, who was remarkable for his ſkill in naval architecture. Under her auſpices Europe lately beheld with aſtoniſhment the Ruſſian flag diſplayed in the Archipelago, and the Turkiſh fleet annihilated at Tcheſme by a ſquadron from the North.

Ruſſia produces every article neceſſary for the conſtruction and equipment of ſhips, which are built chiefly at Cronſtadt, Peterſburgh, and Archangel: thoſe conſtructed at Cronſtadt and at Peterſburgh are framed with oak; while thoſe from Archangel are made with larch-wood; the latter are much leſs adapted than the former for an engagement. For the ſupply of the dock-yards at Peterſburgh and Cronſtadt, the oak

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is sent from the province of Casan; the Ukraine and the government of Moscow supply the hemp; the masts are procured from the vast tracts of forest which lie between Novogorod and the Gulf of Finland; or are furnished by the provinces lately dismembered from Poland. Pitch and tar are obtained from Wiburgh.

Manufactures of cordage and sail-cloths are established in different parts of the empire; and the magazines of Petersburgh and Archangel are always plentifully stored with large quantities of both those articles.

List of the RUSSIAN NAVY in October 1778.

Ships of the Line.

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1	Ezekiel	80	Cronstadt	1773
2	Isidor	74	Ditto	1772
3	St. Andrew	74	Ditto	1770
4	Clement	74	Ditto	1770
5	Tchesmè	74	Ditto	1770
6	Vladimir	66	Ditto	1771
7	Vekeslaf	66	Ditto	1771
8	De Neiss	66	Ditto	1772
9	America	66	Ditto	1773
10	Perislaf	66	Ditto	1772
11	Vsevolod	66	Ditto	1769
12	Demitri Donski	66	Ditto	1771
13	Pam and Eustatia	66	Ditto	1770
14	Victor	66	Ditto	1771
15	Europa	66	Ditto	1768
16	Saratof	66	Ditto	1765
17	Pobeda	66	Ditto	1770
18	Ratislof	66	Ditto	1769
19	Miranositz	66	Ditto	1771
20	Pobidnasovitz, rebuilding	66	At Cronstadt	
21	Count Orlof	66	Revel	1770
22	Alexander	66	Ditto	1772
23	Boris and Glebb	66	Ditto	1773
24	Ingermanland	66	Ditto	1773
25	Asia	66	Ditto	1773
26	Unknown	66	Cronstadt	1777
27	Ditto	66	Ditto	1777
28	Ditto	66	Ditto	1777
29	Ditto	66	Ditto	1777
30	Ditto	66	Ditto	1777

Ships of the Line ready to launch and building.

31	Ready to launch	74	—	Peterſburgh
32	Ditto	74	—	Ditto
33	Building	74	—	Ditto
34	Ready to launch	66	—	Ditto
35	Building	66	—	Ditto
36	Ditto	66	—	Ditto
37	Ditto	66	—	Ditto
38	Ditto	66	—	Ditto

FRIGATES.

	Names.	Guns.		Station.	When built.
1	St. Michael	32	—	Cronſtadt	1774
2	Kaſſevoi	32	—	Ditto	1774
3	Leeſkoi	32	—	Ditto	1773
4	Poſpeſkoi	32	—	Ditto	1774
5	Bohemia	32	—	Ditto	1774
6	Hungaria	32	—	Ditto	1774
7	Nordeſkoi	32	—	Ditto	1769
8	Euſtaſia	32	—	Ditto	1768
9	Pomoſknoi	32	—	Ditto	1768

Frigates ready to launch and building.

10	Ready to launch	28	—	Peterſburgh
11	St. Mark	20	—	Ditto
12	Ready to launch	20	—	Ditto
13	Building	20	—	Archangel
14	Building	20	—	Ditto
15	Building	20	—	Ditto

Prames: 1. Elephant, 36 guns; 2. unknown, 36; 3. Leopold, 18; 4. Barſa, 18.
Gallies: 101 at Peterſburgh; 3 at Cronſtadt; and 5 at Revel.

Thus the navy of Ruſſia, in the ports * of the Baltic and Archangel, conſiſted, in the latter end of 1778, of 38 ſhips of the line, 15 frigates, 4 prames, and 109 gallies.

Of this number about 28 ſhips of the line and ten frigates, including thoſe built with larch-wood, were fit for immediate ſervice. In caſe, however, of neceſſity or danger, Ruſſia producing all the materials for the conſtruction and equipment of ſhips, her navy might ſoon be conſiderably increaſed, of which I have given a remarkable inſtance on a former occa-

* As I could not obtain an exact account of the Ruſſian ſhips in the Black Sea, I have choſe to be ſilent on that head; I ſhall only obſerve, that ſeveral men of war and frigates were building at St. Demetri, Taurof, and Kherſon.

ſion.

ſion *. But though Ruſſia, ſince the beginning of this century, has made ſurprizing exertions in the marine, and rapidly become more powerful at ſea than her neighbouring kingdoms in the North; yet, in naval affairs, ſhe muſt be conſidered as ſtill in her infancy, being in a great degree indebted to the Engliſh, as well for the conſtruction of her ſhips, as for manœuvring and diſciplining her fleet. Many circumſtances indeed concur in retarding the progreſs of her maritime ſtrength: 1. The want of ports in the Ocean; 2. The ſmall extent of her ſea coaſt, and that obſtructed by ice; 3. A deficiency of experienced ſeamen.

1. With reſpect to the firſt cauſe, it is obvious that ſhe poſſeſſes not a ſingle port upon the Ocean, excepting that of Archangel, which is of no uſe but in a commercial light, as well on account of its great diſtance from the other European ſeas, as becauſe the navigation round the North Cape of Lapland, ſituated in the 72d degree of latitude, is only open in the midſt of ſummer. 2. In regard to the ſecond cauſe, it has been juſtly remarked, that there are very few inſtances of any nation's having arrived at a great height of naval power, which did not poſſeſs a conſiderable tract of ſea-coaſt; and Ruſſia, excepting the late acquiſitions upon the Black Sea, the deſolate ſhores round Archangel and in the Frozen Ocean, and the inhoſpitable regions of Kamtchatka, can boaſt no greater portion of maritime country than what lies between Wiburgh and Riga; a mere point for ſo large an empire, and rendered leſs valuable for bordering upon the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic, inland ſeas without tides, when compared with the Ocean ſcarcely ſuperior to lakes, and inacceſſible † for at leaſt five months in the year. 3. The third cauſe is a deficiency of

* See Vol. I. Book IV. Chap. V.

† The ports in the Baltic being frozen during that period, no veſſels can take their departure before the month of April, and muſt return in October.

experienced

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experienced * ſeamen. Government, indeed, retains in its pay about 18,000 ſailors; but moſt of theſe have never ſerved: a few in time of peace make annual cruiſes into the Baltic, or perhaps as far as the Engliſh Channel; and others are employed in the ſummer ſeaſon in navigating the veſſels laden with merchandize from Cronſtadt to Peterſburgh. But ſuch nurſeries as theſe are by no means ſufficient to rear a large number of ſeamen; nor can the deficiency be ſupplied, in caſe of an immediate war, by the ſailors from private veſſels, for Ruſſia has ſcarcely any merchant ſhips; which is chiefly owing to the ſtate of vaſſalage, and the ſtrict laws that prevent the natives from quitting their country without formal licence. A merchant who fits out a trading veſſel, muſt firſt apply to the admiralty for permiſſion to take on board a certain number of natives: leave being obtained, the paſſes for each ſailor are brought and lodged in the admiralty, and a ſufficient ſecurity, at the rate of £ 30 per man, is given for their return. Thus, without altering the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and totally innovating on the long eſtabliſhed rights of vaſſalage, there cannot be an adequate number of ſailors to man a large fleet upon ſudden emergencies. In a word, no kingdom, without diſtant colonies, without conſiderable fiſheries, and without an extenſive ſea coaſt to familiarize its inhabitants to the dangers of the Ocean, is likely to acquire ſuch a marine as to become formidable to the great naval powers of Europe.

The navy of Ruſſia, however, with all theſe deficiencies, is ſufficient to protect her coaſts, to convoy her merchantmen, to make her reſpectable in the Baltic, or, in caſe of a Turkiſh war, to ſend a fleet into the Archipelago. It is her advantage

* In the naval expedition againſt the Turks, it was a remark made by ſeveral of our officers, that the diſtance from St.-Peterſburgh to the Archipelago was a very fortunate circumſtance, as the Ruſſians acquired experience during the length of the voyage.

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to maintain a good correſpondence with the great maritime powers, whom ſhe ſupplies with naval ſtores, and who are, on that account, equally intereſted to reſpect and cultivate her friendſhip. The frontiers of her immenſe dominions border upon Sweden, Poland, Turkey, Perſia, and China; and the ſecurity of her empire depends as much upon her army as her navy.

As I could not obtain an accurate liſt of the Ruſſian army, and as it does not enter into the plan of this work to extract from other publications vague accounts, the veracity of which I cannot, in ſome meaſure, confirm from my own obſervations, I ſhall only lay before the reader the following general information, which I procured from perſons highly qualified to give the moſt authentic intelligence.

The Ruſſian army is divided into regular and irregular troops.

The regulars, conſiſting chiefly of infantry, include all thoſe who wear uniforms, and are trained to European diſcipline. According to the peace eſtabliſhment in 1778, they amounted to about 130,000 effective men. The Ruſſians, when properly diſciplined, are very excellent ſoldiers; being brave, ſteady, obedient, patient of fatigue and hardſhip, and ſcarcely ever guilty of deſertion. Since my departure from Peterſburgh, theſe regulars are ſaid to have been conſiderably increaſed; but to what amount I cannot pretend to determine.

With reſpect to the irregular troops, ſome of whom are ſtill armed with bows and arrows, their number is very conſiderable, and can ſcarcely be aſcertained: they conſiſt entirely of horſe, who are of uſe indeed in a war againſt the Turks, Perſians, and Chineſe; but would add very little to the Ruſſian ſtrength in an European campaign. Of this deſultory body, the corps of Coſſacs, who are eſteemed the moſt excellent, and who

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who bear the greateſt reſemblance to regular troops, are thus deſcribed in the journal of Colonel Floyd.

" The Coſſacs are in general perſons of low ſtature; they " wear ſmall whiſkers, and ſhave their heads, excepting the " crown, upon which they leave a ſmall circle of hair. " Their dreſs is a fur-cap, a looſe long Aſiatic robe, and " large pantaloons, boots or half-boots, without ſpurs, and a " whip hanging from the right wriſt. Their arms are a lance " about twelve feet in length, a brace of piſtols ſlung on the " left ſide, a cartridge-box on the right, and a ſmall ſcymitar " without any guard, or even croſs-bar. Their horſes are " ponies, which are ſtrong and active, but not fleet. The ac- " coutrements are a kind of huſſar-ſaddle, a ſmall ſnaffle with " large eyes and no horns, to the near eye of which is faſt- " ened a thong, that is alſo tied to the ſaddle, and which oc- " caſionally ſerves for a halter. They ride ſhort and full- " footed, raiſe themſelves on their ſtirrups, bend their bodies " with great activity, and throw themſelves into different at- " titudes. They never puſh their horſes on full ſpeed in a " ſtraight line; but in galloping turn them in various direc- " tions, deſcribing in their progreſs a ſerpentine line, and " wheeling continually to the right and left. When not in " action, they carry their lance ſlung on the foot; when en- " gaged, they preſent it againſt the enemy by holding it al- " moſt in the middle, and counterpoizing it under the arm; " and, from conſtant practice, direct it againſt an object with " great dexterity. In retreating, they reſt the lance upon their " ſhoulder as a defence againſt blows, and occaſionally oppoſe " the point to a purſuing enemy.

" Theſe Coſſacs, on account of their averſion to regular " diſcipline, are not trained to attack in ſquadron; but act " only as ſkirmiſhers, and are ſaid to be extremely adroit in " their

" their deſultory evolutions: they are uſually let looſe upon " a flying enemy, when they do great execution. They excel " as patrols, and are remarkable for their vigilance on out- " poſts, and their knowledge of the country. The ſagacity, " which they derive from habit and practice, is in ſome par- " ticulars aſtoniſhing; by examining a tract which has been " lately traverſed by the enemy in the moſt tumultuary man- " ner, they can diſcover, with tolerable exactneſs, the num- " ber of horſes that have paſſed over it, and how many of " them were led. Some of them can deſcry, if any movement " is taking place among a corps of troops, far beyond the " reach of uſual obſervation; others, by applying their ears " to the ground, can diſtinguiſh the buz of men, or the clat- " tering of horſes' feet, at a very conſiderable diſtance. They " can take the field every day without intermiſſion; and are " indefatigable in haraſſing the enemy: they are contented " with a very ſcanty ſubſiſtence, and do not require any forage " to be carried for their horſes.

" There are eight regiments of theſe Coſſacs: each regi- " ment conſiſts of five ſquadrons, and each ſquadron of an " hundred men, beſide officers. There are alſo ſix other regi- " ments of horſe, called regular pikemen, ſimilar in their " arms and accoutrements to the Coſſacs, and diſtinguiſhed " from them only by a trifling difference of dreſs."

CHAP. III.

Riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh *trade into* Ruſſia.—*Commerce of the* Britiſh *Factory of* St. Peterſburgh.—*Exports and imports.*

BOOK VI.

THE commercial intercourſe between Ruſſia and the northern parts of Europe was begun and carried on by the Hanſeatic towns, which, in 1276, eſtabliſhed factories at Novogorod and Pleſcof *, and for a conſiderable period entirely engroſſed the trade of this empire. The accidental diſcovery of Archangel, in 1553, deprived the Hanſeatic towns of a great part of this lucrative commerce, and transferred it to the Engliſh. On the 11th of May, in the above-mentioned year, three ſhips ſailed from Deptford, in order to explore the Northern Seas, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby. Two of theſe veſſels penetrated as high as the 72d degree of latitude, to the coaſt of Spitzbergen; and being afterwards forced by ſtreſs of weather into the bay of the river Arzina in Ruſſian Lapland, both their crews were frozen to death. Richard Chanceller, who commanded the other ſhip, called the Bonaventure, diſcovering the country bordering upon the White Sea, landed near the mouth of the Dvina, in a bay, which he denominated the Bay of St. Nicholas, from a convent of that name, near the preſent port of Archangel. Information of his arrival being inſtantly diſpatched to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. the tzar ſent for him to Moſcow, diſtinguiſhed him with many marks of kindneſs and attention, received in the moſt

* The merchants of Hamburgh and Lubec, and of the other Hanſeatic towns, in carrying on this traffic, uſually ſailed to Revel or Narva, and from thence paſſed through Dorpt to Pleſcof and Novogorod. S. R. G. V. p. 418; and Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. X. 291.

favourable

favourable manner a letter from Edward VI. *, and permitted the Engliſh to open a commerce with Ruſſia. Upon Chancellor's return to England, a Ruſſian company was eſtabliſhed by queen Mary; and in the year 1555 he again repaired to Moſcow, accompanied by ſeveral merchants of the incorporated ſociety. To theſe perſons the tzar, among other conſiderable privileges, granted "a free liberty † of trading to any part of "his dominions, without paying any duties either of export or "import, that they might exerciſe all kind of merchandizes in "his empires and dominions, and every part thereof, freely "and quietly, without any reſtraint, impeachment, price, ex-"action, cuſtome, toll, impoſition, or ſubſidie."

The correſpondence between Elizabeth and Ivan, and the confidence which the latter repoſed in the queen, has been already mentioned ‡; and it is no wonder that the monarch who claimed and obtained the promiſe of an aſylum in England, in caſe he was driven from the throne by a rebellion of his ſubjects, ſhould confer additional immunities on the new company. Theſe privileges, which were renewed upon different occaſions, amounted to an abſolute monopoly, "Ivan "forbidding all other perſons but the members of the ſaid "company, and all other nations but the Engliſh, to carry on "any traffic to any of the northern coaſts of Ruſſia §."

During the reign of Ivan, the Engliſh trade greatly flouriſhed: the company ſettled colonies in different parts of the empire; one at Kolmogori, where they even obtained grants of land, erected warehouſes, and a rope-walk; others at Novogorod and Vologda. Their chief eſtabliſhment was at Moſcow, where the tzar built for their reſidence a large brick edifice, which was called the embaſſador's houſe. The principal

* Hackluyt, Vol. I. p. 253.

† Ib. p. 265, 266, dated Moſcow, 7060, the ſecond month of February.

‡ See Vol. I. Book III. Chap. V.

§ Hackluyt, p. 462.

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merchandize which the firſt Engliſh ſhips exported from Ruſſia were furs and ſkins, maſts, flax, hemp, cordage, tallow, train oil, tar, pitch, and leather *. The Engliſh commodities were chiefly cloths of all ſorts, cottons, and tin. Another unexpected advantage was derived from this connection with Ruſſia. Ivan Vaſſilievitch, having conquered the Tartars of Caſan and Aſtrachan, extended his dominions as far as the Caſpian Sea, and thus eſtabliſhed a communication with the Perſians and Bucharians †. Animated with the hopes of gain, the Engliſh factory obtained a patent for an excluſive trade into Perſia and Bucharia; and ſeveral merchants paſſed through Moſcow to the countries beyond the Caſpian, as will be ſhown in the next chapter.

At the death of Ivan, the Engliſh loſt their great ſupport; and, at the acceſſion of Feodor, the confirmation of their immunities was for ſome time refuſed: this refuſal was owing to the imprudence and impatience of Sir Jerome Bowes, the Engliſh embaſſador, who, offending by his ſupercilious deportment the Ruſſian nobility, occaſioned a revocation of the patent for the monopoly of the Ruſſian trade. In 1586, Mr. Jerome Horſey, the Engliſh agent at Moſcow, obtained the re-eſtabliſhment of ſeveral immunities; and, in 1588, the Engliſh embaſſador, Giles Fletcher ‡, concluded, through the intereſt of Boris Godunof, a treaty of league and amity between Elizabeth and Feodor, the ſecond article of which contains, "A con-" firmation and re-eſtabliſhment of the former privileges of the " companie of our Engliſh merchants, which were infringed " and annulled in the principal points, with divers neceſſary " additions to the ſame, for the better ordering of their trade " in thoſe countrys hereafter ||."

* Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 298—306.

† Ruſſian Diſcoveries, p. 181.

‡ Fletcher, who went this embaſſy, and has publiſhed a curious Account of Ruſſia, was fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

|| Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 473.

But

But at length the right of excluſive trade, which had been frequently revoked, and as often renewed, ſeems to have been finally taken away by Boris Godunof; who extended to the Dutch ſeveral immunities which had been hitherto peculiar to the Engliſh; and again reinſtated the Hanſeatic towns in their antient traffic to Novogorod and Pleſcof *. But ſtill, however, the privileges which remained to the factory were very conſiderable, conſiſting in a free commerce to any part of the Ruſſian dominions without paying any duties of import and export.

At the revolution which placed Demetrius upon the throne, the Engliſh factory conceived a ſtrong hope of recovering its patent of excluſive trade, as appears from a letter written by that tzar to Sir Thomas Smith, the Engliſh embaſſador.

"We, calling to minde the correſpondence, love and amity, which was "between our father the great lord, emperor, and great-duke, Ivan Vaſſilie-"vitch, of famous memory; as alſo our brother the great lord, emperor, "and great-duke, Feodor Ivanovitch, ſole commander of Ruſſia; and their "ſiſter queen Elizabeth, queen of England: In the like manner we do pur-"poſe to have intercourſe, and to be in love with your lord king James, and "more than hath been in former times; and in token of our ſaid love and "amity, we do intend to favour all his ſubjects within our dominions, and to "give unto them more liberty than they have had heretofore." And a ſhort time before his aſſaſſination, he re-eſtabliſhed the commerce of the Engliſh company, "in the ſame form and manner as heretofore was beſtowed on the "Engliſh merchants, in the time of our father of famous memory, the great "lord and Cæſar, and great-duke Evan Vaſſilywich, of all Ruſſia ſole com-"mander, and as was granted unto them in the time of our brother the great-"duke Feodor Evanovich, of all Ruſſia ſole commander †."

His depoſition, however, and untimely fate, prevented the good effects of theſe favourable reſolutions; and the civil calamities which, ſubſequent to his aſſaſſination, deſolated Ruſſia, almoſt annihilated the Engliſh commerce. But theſe

* S. R. G. V. p. 159.

† Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. III. p. 760.

troubles

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troubles were no ſooner terminated by the election of Michael, than Sir James Merricke, embaſſador from James I. to the court of Moſcow, obtained from the new tzar a freſh patent in favour of the company; which allowed them, as before, a free trade, without paying duties or cuſtoms, to Archangel *, and from thence to Kolmogori, Novogorod, Moſcow, and other parts of his dominions †.

This beneficial commerce was, in 1648, ſuddenly annihilated by Alexèy Michaelovitch, who baniſhed the Engliſh merchants from all his dominions. The cauſe of this expulſion is generally imputed to the reſentment which the tzar conceived againſt the Engliſh for the execution of Charles I. ‡, with whom he was cloſely connected by leagues of amity and alliance; but in effect he aboliſhed the company's privileges in the year before that event; and his indignation againſt the Engliſh for their rebellion was only a political pretext; the real motive being derived from the offers made by the Dutch to pay duties of export and import, to the amount of 15 per

* Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. III. p. 738.

† As long as there was no town at the mouth of the Dvina, the merchandize was ſent to Kolmogori, and from thence into the interior parts of Ruſſia. Some time in the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch, the firſt foundations of the caſtle of Archangel were laid: it took its name from a monaſtery built in honour of the *Archangel* Michael. This ſpot ſoon increaſed to a town, and became the great ſtaple of the Engliſh trade. See S. R. G. VII. p. 470.

‡ In the midſt of the Khitaigorod at Moſcow, there is an antient gateway, which forms the entrance into the printing-office of the Holy Synod: it is of curious workmanſhip, ornamented with figures of the lion and unicorn groteſquely carved in wood. Theſe being the ſupporters of the Royal arms of England, authors have conjectured that this gateway was the entrance to the hotel, conſtructed by order of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. for the reſidence of the Engliſh embaſſador, and that the tzar Alexèy was ſo offended at the execution of Charles I. that he converted the hotel into a printing-office. It is probable, indeed, from the figures of the lion and unicorn, that this gateway had ſome reference to the Engliſh, although it was not the embaſſador's hotel, becauſe that was ſituated near the church of St. Maximus, in another part of the Khitaigorod; but it evidently appears, from an inſcription over the gateway, that this building was not converted into a printing-office on account of the execution of Charles I. This inſcription denotes, that Michael Feodorovitch, and his ſon Alexèy, cauſed theſe apartments and this gate to be conſtructed in the printing-houſe, June 39th, 7152, or, according to our æra, 1645: a plain proof that the eſtabliſhment of the printing-houſe was prior, by at leaſt three years, to the execution of Charles I. and could have no reference to that event.

cent.

cent. if they were indulged with the liberty of carrying on as free a trade as the Engliſh throughout his dominions. For not long afterwards, the tzar ſuffered William Prideaux, Cromwell's agent, to reſide at Archangel; and permitted the Engliſh to renew their commerce in that port upon the ſame footing with other foreigners *. It appears alſo, from Milton's and Thurloe's State Papers, that the tzar not only received ſeveral letters from Cromwell, and returned anſwers to them, but that, at the protector's requeſt, he even agreed to admit his embaſſador at Moſcow. In conſequence of this permiſſion, Richard Bradſhaw, Cromwell's reſident at Hamburgh, proceeded in his way to Moſcow as far as Mittau, where he was honourably entertained by the duke of Courland; from that town ſeveral diſpatches paſſed between Bradſhaw and the Ruſſian chancellor, with reſpect to the ſuperſcription of the letter which the protector addreſſed to the tzar, and which did not confer upon that monarch all the titles which he required: this ſeems to have been merely a pretext, as Bradſhaw aſſerts, to prolong the time; and in effect he ſoon afterwards returned to Hamburgh without having accompliſhed his intended embaſſy to Moſcow †. Cromwell, however, ſeems to have gained a great point in opening the commerce of Archangel to the Engliſh, although he could not obtain ſuch honourable terms as they had formerly enjoyed; and although Alexèy could not be induced to grant unto the Engliſh a free trade into the interior parts of his dominions; yet this excluſion was not peculiar to them, for he equally prohibited all foreigners from carrying on any traffic, excepting at Archangel ‡.

Soon after the Reſtoration, Charles II. deſirous of obtaining a renewal of the company's privileges, as they exiſted before the abolition in 1648, diſpatched the earl of Carliſle to Moſ-

* Thurloe, vol. II. p. 558—562. † See Milton's Works, p. 1657. Thurloe, vol. III. p. 258, and VI. 408. 432. 439. ‡ Thurloe, vol. II. p. 598.

cow,

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cow, who was ordered to repreſent, that "theſe very privi-leges were the baſis and foundation upon which the amity of the two crowns of England and Muſcovy were ſuper-ſtructed." The embaſſy failed of ſucceſs: the failure was imputed to the haughty deportment of the embaſſador, who expreſſed diſguſt at the bad accommodations in Ruſſia; did not pay ſufficient court to the miniſters and favourites of the tzar; tendered repeated remonſtrances in a manner totally repugnant to the Ruſſian cuſtom; and, under a falſe notion of maintaining the dignity of his ſovereign, objected to the Ruſſian ceremonial *. It is much to be queſtioned, however, if the earl of Carliſle had acted a leſs impolitic part, whether the Ruſſian court would have renewed the charter of the company in its full extent, and particularly the exemption from duties of export and import; ſince the Dutch, who at that time carried on a very conſiderable traffic to Archangel, readily paid the cuſtoms. The only point which the earl of Carliſle could accompliſh, was a permiſſion that the Engliſh ſhould trade freely into the Ruſſian dominions, but remain ſubject to the

* The following quotation will diſplay the frivolous nature of the diſputes about precedency; and will ſhew, at the ſame time, the ill policy of the Engliſh embaſſador, who, as he wiſhed to gain a point of ſome conſequence, ought to have paid every poſſible deference to the prejudices and pride of the Ruſſians.

"A while after came Pronchiſſof, one of the "tzar's council, deputed as maſter of the ce-"remony to his excellence. And, on this oc-"caſion, we had another ridiculous example "of the pride and ruſticity of the Muſcovites, "who were ſo quick and preciſe in antici-"pating the prerogative of embaſſadors. "Pronchiſſof being arrived within ſome ſmall "diſtance of the embaſſador's ſledge, gave "him to underſtand, that he was ſent to re-"ceive him from the grand-duke his lord, "and that he expected the embaſſador ſhould "firſt come out of his ſledge. But his excel-"lence ſignified to him, that he repreſented "the perſon of the king his maſter, and that, "in that caſe, all ſuch kind of reſpect was due "to himſelf. Pronchiſſof, however, continued "immoveable in his ſledge as the maſter of "the ceremonies, and ſent back to the embaſ-"ſador, that he alſo was ſent from the tzar "his maſter to repreſent his perſon. This an-"ſwer, how abſurd ſoever it was, cauſed ſe-"veral ſmart replies, both on one ſide and the "other: till at laſt, the embaſſador, to pre-"vent any further delay in his entrance, con-"deſcended to this, that both of them ſhould "come out of their ſledges together. But in "this Pronchiſſof took occaſion to deceive his "excellence, and falſify his word, hanging in "the air betwixt the arms of his ſervants, and "but touching the earth with his tiptoes, "while the embaſſador came out freely." Carliſle's Embaſſies, p. 131.

duties

duties of export and import. From that period the Britiſh commerce has ſuffered no interruption.

Archangel continued the ſole port for the exports and imports of Ruſſia, until, upon the building of Peterſburgh, Peter the Great aboliſhed its immunities; and removed the commerce of the White Sea to the havens of the Baltic *. The Britiſh merchants, who were highly favoured by that monarch, ſettled in the new metropolis, which ſuddenly became the principal mart for the Ruſſian trade. The privileges of the Britiſh factory eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia are confirmed by a ſolemn treaty of commerce and navigation, concluded in 1734 between George II. and the empreſs Anne; and renewed, in 1766, between his preſent Majeſty and Catharine II. †

Goods exported in 382 Britiſh ſhips in 1777.

Quantity.		Value. £.	s.
1,283,279	Poods ‡ of Iron	365,324	12
1,104,299	Clean hemp	353,375	12
92,950	Outſhot ditto	27,885	0
32,735	Half clean ditto	9,165	16
84,008	Codilla ditto	13,441	1
209,902	12 head flax	100,753	0
25,470	9 head flax	10,697	8
4,396	6 head flax	1,582	8
36,627	Codilla ditto	4,395	4
1,373	Iſinglaſs	8,238	0
13,514	Briſtles	24,325	4
8,774	Hides	10,528	16

* In 1752 Elizabeth again reſtored the antient immunities of Archangel; and its preſent trade is not inconſiderable.

The port of Archangel ſupplies the government of Archangel, part of thoſe of Niſhnei-Novogorod and Caſan, with European commodities; and draws in exchange from thoſe parts corn, flax, hemp, coarſe linen, cordage, ſails, maſts, tallow, which are moſtly conveyed by the Dvina: it forms alſo a principal communication with the northern and weſtern parts of Siberia, from whence the merchants procure furs, ſkins, and iron.

† The reader will find the firſt treaty of 1734 in Rouſſet's Supplement to Dumont's Corps Diplomatique, vol. III. p. 495; and the laſt, of 1766, in a Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, vol. II. p. 309—327.

‡ A pood = 36 Engliſh pounds.

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Quantity.			Value. £.	s.
2,546	Poods of	Wax	6,110	8
271,273		Tallow	119,360	0
21,525		Old iron	1,722	0
1,157		Feathers	925	12
70,838		Tar *	7,083	16
2,683		Pitch	402	8
1,473		Roſin	441	16
2,987		Cordage	1,194	16
359		Horſehair	143	12
42	32 lb	Rhubarb	846	8
3	3 lb.	Beaver cod	590	8
152,834	Arſhines †	Broad diaper	3,362	5
337,683		Narrow ditto	5,402	16
82,155		Broad linen	1,838	4
1,602,716		Narrow ditto	22,438	0
1,168,440		Craſh	5,842	4
847,290		Drillings	23,724	0
23,429	Pieces of	Fleems	37,598	8
56,644		Ravenducks	67,972	16
1,505		Sail-cloth	2,107	0
3,500		White fox-ſkins	1,400	0
5,000		Hare-ſkins	200	0
18,454	Tchetwert ‡	Linſeed	11,072	8
17,986		Wheat	14,388	16
157,083	Deals are about 80,000 dozen		24,000	0
155	Pood of	Potaſh	77	8
499		Carraway ſeeds	149	12
226		Anniſeed	90	8
37,817		Old rags, old ropes, goat-ſkins, and oxen bones	312	0
2	22 lb.	Raw ſilk	57	12
52		Linſeed oil	15	12
10,424		Horſe-tails, about 200 pood	200	0
78		Maſts and bowſprits, and Wax-candles	1,044	0
205		Fox-ſkin bags and weaſel-ſkin bags	832	0
312		Hare-ſkin bags and ſkins of ſquirrels	15	12

* Before our unhappy diſputes with our Colonies, we uſed to procure our pitch and tar from America. In 1776 we firſt imported theſe commodities from Ruſſia. They were ſold at firſt for only 1*s.* the pood; but in 1777, tar ſold for 2*s.* and pitch at 3*s.* the pood.

† An arſhine = 28 inches.

‡ A tchetwert contains 5¾ buſhels Winchester meaſure.

Quantity.

Quantity.		Value. £.	s.
20	Poods of Ermine ſkins	60	0
14,370	Ermine tails, and ſable tails, and mats	214	0
57	Poods of Caviar	34	4
1,413	Arſhines Checked linen	28	4
		£ 1,293,010	14
	Cuſtoms on exportation £ 107,176 0		
	Shipping charges 5 per cent. 64,650 12	171,826	12
		1,464,837	6
	Commiſſion 3 per cent.	43,945	0
	Total ſum of exports by Britiſh ſhips	£ 1,508,782	6

Goods imported by Britiſh ſhips at Peterſburgh in 1777.

Quantity.		Value. £.	s.
2,154	Poods of Allum	775	8
214	Benzoin	2,565	0
8,080	Brimſtone	985	12
11,482	Campeachy wood	4,592	16
579	Cheeſe	706	4
126	Cochineal	5,040	0
1,288	Coffee	2,060	16
15	Confectionary	61	16
41	Copper wrought and unwrought	120	8
978	Cork	660	0
6	Coral	500	0
108	Gum arabic	129	16
1,560	Indigo	24,961	4
58,804	Lead	21,169	8
568	Muſtard	1,362	12
524	Oil	623	16
46	Olibanum	92	0
1,420	Pepper	3,418	16
37	Pewter	96	12
22½	Plates of gold and ſilver	7,507	0
608	Rice	243	12
54	Sugar refined	896	8
683	Ditto raw		
409	Sal ammoniae	1,636	4
15,874	Tin	25,398	8

Quantity.		Value. £.	s.
60 Poods of	Tobacco and ſnuff	182	8
98	Verdigreaſe	393	12
206,816 Arſhines	Bays	20,956	12
100,494	Calimancoes and camblets	7,034	12
32,412	Camblets	6,880	8
164,205	Cottons for printing	7,225	0
7,132	Cloth fine	55,642	12
162,007	ordinary		
144,125	Cotton, velvets, velverets, &c.	17,364	0
45,995	Druggets	3,219	12
9,828	Flannels	589	12
16,225	Phlug and ſhag	1,986	0
365,896	Shalloons	24,881	12
137,895	Tabouretts	9,652	16
	Clothes ready made	344	4
	Hats	215	8
	Linen and printed handkerchiefs	342	16
	Muſlin and cambric	1,108	0
	Quilting	2,853	0
	Ribbands	133	0
	Stockings	1,787	0
	Sundry ſilk ſtuffs	1,333	0
	Sundry woollen ditto	2,131	0
	Toys and millenery	9,490	8
	Butter	16	12
	Capers	1	8
	Coals	2,033	12
	Cheſnuts	68	0
	Chryſtal	190	4
	Currants, raiſins, and figs	384	8
	Cutlery and hardware	19,181	16
	Diamonds and precious ſtones	5,596	0
	Earthen ware	5,890	12
	Fans	20	16
	Frames for pictures	82	16
	Furniture	312	4
	Furs	40	0
	Hops	24	0
	Lace and ruffles	452	12
	Leather dreſſed and undreſſed	519	4
	Mathematical inſtruments	1,458	0

Muſical

Quantity.		Value. £	s.
	Muſical inſtruments	451	16
	Mohair	45	16
	Nuts	45	8
	Olives	1	0
	Paper hangings	258	8
	Pearls	1,000	0
	Pencils and black lead	674	0
	Pictures and copper-plates	3,605	8
	Pickles	37	12
	Pork and hams	57	8
	Printed books	607	0
	Prunes	94	0
	Stoughton's drops	13	4
	Stone and marble	822	0
	Snuff boxes	241	12
	Tea	35	0
	Tutinage	141	0
	Whips and walking ſticks	108	16
	Wine and mineral water	434	0
	Wood for coaches, furniture, &c.	2,070	0
131	Horſes	2,920	0
38	Dogs	132	12
27,316	Pieces of Beaver ſkins	27,316	0
239,967	Bottles	2,380	8
3,282	Hogſheads Burton ale	26,255	0
61	Coaches and harneſs	2084	4
	Clocks and watches	11,142	16
193	Dozen Cyder	154	16
195	Anchors of French brandy	781	16
3,556	Cheſts of Oranges and lemons	5,817	12
10,703	Otter ſkins	14,844	4
116	Reams of Paper	45	4
13	Anchors of Shrub and rum	98	8
61	Hogſheads of Vinegar	147	16
	Sundry drugs and colours	865	0
	Sundry ſmall articles	590	16
		£423,942	12

The

BOOK VI.

The whole trade of St. Peterſburgh in exports and imports for the ſame year, 1777, with the Engliſh and other nations, was,

In exports	£2,400,000	£4,000,000	0
Imports	1,600,000		
Balance in favour of Ruſſia	800,000		

The Britiſh ſhare in this trade is

In the exports about	£1,508,782 6	£1,932,715	1
Imports	423,942 12		
Gain	1,084,839 14		

Conſequently, the trade with all other nations (the Ruſſian ſubjects included) is,

In the exports	£ 891,227 11	£2,067,284	19
Imports	1,176,057 8		
Loſs	284,829 17		

From hence it is evident Ruſſia gains annually by her trade with the Britiſh

ſubjects about	£1,084,829	17
And that ſhe loſes by her trade with all other nations	284,829	17
Remains annually a clear gain of about	800,000	0

But ſhould the contraband traffic (in which the value of the imports far exceeds that of the exports, and in which the Britiſh have little or no concern) be included, it will conſiderably diminiſh the balance of theſe commercial profits as juſt ſtated.

According to this ſtatement, half the trade of St. Peterſburgh is in the hands of the Engliſh; but as their exports and imports in 1777 exceeded thoſe of the preceding or ſubſequent years, this eſtimate may be conſidered as too highly rated: we may fairly however allow, upon the moſt moderate computation, that a third of this commerce is carried on by our factory.

The average number of merchant ſhips, which annually arrive from England at the port of Cronſtadt, with goods laden for Peterſburgh, may be collected from the following table:

Years.

Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.
1753	149	1758	161	1763	149	1773	319
1754	236	1759	206	1767	200	1774	318
1755	160	1760	137	1768	237	1776	320
1756	186	1761	130	1769	322	1777	366
1757	129	1762	153	1770	306	1778	252

The general ſtate of the trade of St. Peterſburgh in 1778 was,

In exports	£2,042,097	8
Imports	1,318,428	16
	3,360,526	4

In the ſame year the following number of veſſels arrived at Cronſtadt:

Engliſh	252	Portugueſe	2	Pruſſian	26	Hamburgh	2
French *	1	Swediſh	47	Lubeck	38	Stralſund	1
Spaniſh	6	Dutch	147	Roſtock	29	Bremen	3
Ruſſian	12	Daniſh	39	Dantzick	2	Total	607

Beſide the metropolis, the Ruſſian trade in the Baltic is carried on at Riga, Revel, Narva †, and Wiburgh. From Riga a conſiderable quantity of corn is exported by the Engliſh, Swedes, and Dutch, which is ſent down the Duna from the provinces of Pleſcof, Smolenſko, and Novogorod: a few maſts are alſo ſhipped from the ſame port. The other exports from this, and the above-mentioned maritime towns, are ſimilar to thoſe of Peterſburgh.

* The French exports and imports are, in time of war, moſtly conveyed in Dutch bottoms, which is the reaſon why, in 1778, but one French veſſel arrived at Cronſtadt, although their exports and imports for that year amounted to £148,753.

† The exports from Revel in 1780 amounted to £30,283; the imports to £94,648. Jour. Pet. for 1781.

In the ſame year 71 ſhips arrived at Narva, of which 33 were Dutch, 9 Engliſh, 11 Daniſh, 8 Swediſh, and 2 from Lubeck. Ibid.

At Riga 758 ſhips arrived in 1782. See Hamb. Pol. Journ. for 1782. P. II. p. 480.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Riſe, progreſs, and termination of the Engliſh *trade on the* Caſpian Sea.—*Commerce of the* Ruſſians *in the ſame quarter.—Deſcription of the principal ports of the* Caſpian, *divided into* Ruſſian, Perſian, *and* Tartar.—*General exports and imports.—Average value of the trade.—Commerce with the* Bucharians *and* Chineſe.

BOOK VI.

SO early as the 14th century the Venetians and Genoeſe drew, by means of the Caſpian, through Aſtracan to their ſettlements at Azof * and Caffa, the Indian, Perſian, and Arabian merchandize, with which they thus furniſhed the ſouth of Europe; the northern part of this continent was ſupplied likewiſe through Aſtracan with the ſame Aſiatic goods by the Ruſſian merchants of Ladoga upon the Volkof, who ſent them to their principal ſtorehouſe at Wiſby, an Hanſeatic town in the Iſle of Gothland. The devaſtation occaſioned by the wars of Tamerlane, about the end of the 14th century, turned this trade from Aſtracan to Smyrna and Aleppo. The commerce of Arabia, more commodious for thoſe ports, was never brought back to Aſtracan; but part of the Perſian traffic was afterwards reſtored to its old channel.

Before the conqueſt of Caſan and Aſtracan, and while theſe provinces were under the government of the Tartars; the camp, or head quarters of the khan, was a mart for the Ruſ-

* See Guldenſtaedt's Treatiſe Von den Hafen am Caſpiſchen Meere, in Journ. St. Pet. for 1777.

The Indian goods were brought, for the moſt part, through Perſia, acroſs the Caſpian to Aſtracan, from thence up the Volga, then by land to the Don, and down that river to Azof.

ſian

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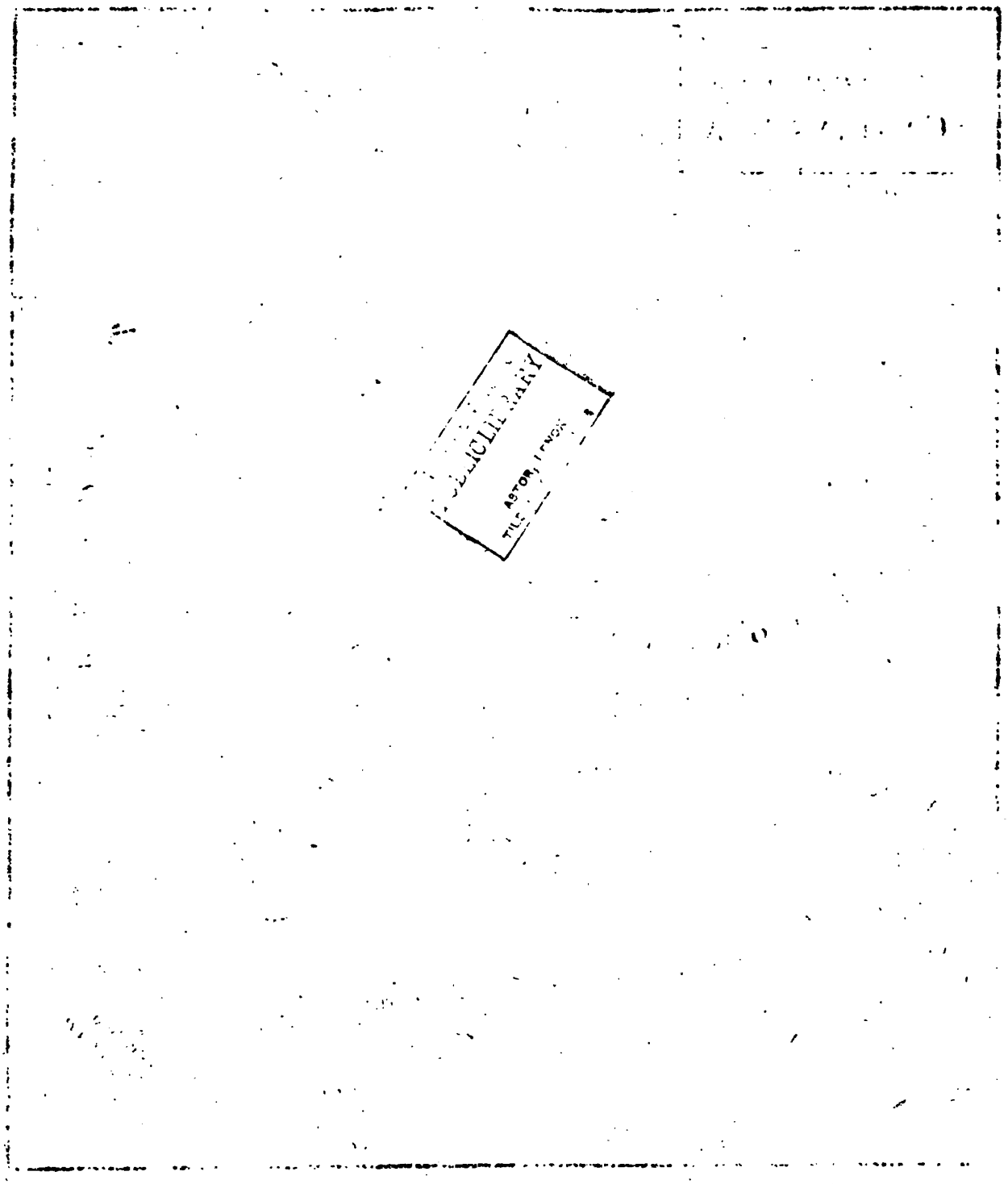
ASTOR, LENOX

ſian and Perſian merchants. But as this camp, according to the cuſtom of the roving Tartars, was frequently changed, Aſtracan and Terki * became at length the two principal places of reſort. The commerce however, impeded and frequently interrupted by the numerous banditti, was precarious, until by the conqueſt of Caſan and Aſtracan Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. opened a ready communication between Moſcow and the Caſpian Sea; and having garriſoned Aſtracan with troops, rendered it a rendezvous for the merchants trading to theſe parts, and the chief depoſitory of their ſeveral commodities. This conqueſt being completed in the year 1554, ſoon after the diſcovery of Archangel, the Engliſh, who had ſettled a regular factory at Moſcow, obtained the tzar's permiſſion to paſs through his dominions into Perſia, and to carry on an excluſive trade over the Caſpian.

Jenkinſon was the firſt Engliſhman who navigated that ſea. In 1558 he landed at Manguſhlak upon the Eaſtern ſhore, paſſed by land through the country of the Turkoman Tartars to Boghara, capital of Great Bucharia, and returned to Moſcow the following year. In 1561 he again ſailed over the Caſpian; and, proceeding to the coaſt of Shirvan, went by land to Caſbin, the reſidence of the ſophy; from whom he obtained for the Engliſh a permiſſion of trading into Perſia. Several merchants followed his example. The laſt expedition was made, in 1597, by Chriſtopher Burroughs, whoſe ſhip being, in its return, hemmed in by the ice in the mouth of the Volga and ſhattered to pieces, he and his crew eſcaped with difficulty, and arrived at Aſtracan after many dangers†. During theſe expeditions the traffic was chiefly carried on to the ports of Tumen, Derbent, Baku, and the coaſts of Ghilan.

* Terki was ſituated near the river Terek, upon the weſtern ſhore of the Caſpian: there are no traces of it now remaining, as the ſpot upon which it ſtood is covered with the ſea.

† See Hackluyt, p. 324—430. S. R. G. VIII. 426—473.

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The diſaſters which attended the laſt voyage of Burroughs, the number of banditti who frequented the ſhores of the Caſpian, and the wars between the Turks and Perſians, obſtructed the infant commerce; and no Engliſh veſſel appeared upon this ſea for above a century and an half. At length, in 1741, the Britiſh merchants of St. Peterſburgh, at the perſuaſion of captain Elton, an Engliſhman in the Ruſſian ſervice, renewed their commerce upon the Caſpian; and eſtabliſhed a factory at Reſhd in the province of Ghilan. Some diſputes unfortunately ariſing, as well between the Engliſh themſelves, as between the Ruſſians and captain Elton; the latter entered into the ſervice of Kouli Khan, and aſſiſted the ſophy in conſtructing ſome veſſels upon the Caſpian ſea. This circumſtance gave umbrage to the court of Peterſburgh; and Elizabeth, in 1746, withdrew the permiſſion which ſhe had granted to the Engliſh merchants, of paſſing through her dominions for the Caſpian commerce. Upon the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, who, in conſequence of captain Elton's influence, had permitted the Engliſh to trade to Perſia, their factory was pillaged by one of the pretenders to the throne of that kingdom, and their commerce in thoſe parts was totally annihilated *.

Having thus ſketched the origin and progreſs of the Engliſh commerce upon the Caſpian, I ſhall now conſider that of the Ruſſians, who purſued with perſeverance the track which our merchants had opened for them: their trade over the Caſpian ſea was not inconſiderable, and would have been puſhed ſtill further, if the caravans, in their journey to and from Aſtracan, had not been frequently pillaged by the roving Coſſacs †. The commercial intercourſe between Perſia and

* See Hanway's Britiſh trade over the Caſpian Sea, in his Travels, Vols. I. and II.; and Chap. XXXIII. in the ſecond volume of Cooke's Travels through the Ruſſian Empire to Perſia. Both theſe accounts, however contradictory to each other, ſufficiently prove the unfortunate miſunderſtandings which had ariſen between the Engliſh who engaged in this trade.

† S. R. G. VII. 489.

Ruſſia

Ruſſia was ſtill further enlarged and extended under Boris Godunof *, who formed an alliance with the ſophy Shah-Abbas the Great, which would have been extremely advantageous if the civil wars had not taken place: and though, under Michael Feodorovitch, theſe commotions ſubſided, and the commerce was renewed; yet it was ſo frequently interrupted by the Tartar banditti and pirates, as to become exceedingly precarious.

Alexèy Michaelovitch having curbed the Coſſacs, and rendered the roads more ſecure, Aſtracan became again the center of the Perſian trade; to which place merchants from Bucharia, Crim Tartary, Armenia, Perſia, and even India, reſorted. That ſovereign turned his attention to the commerce of the Caſpian; and as the veſſels of the Ruſſians were rudely framed, without decks, and of courſe expoſed to conſtant ſhipwrecks †, he drew from Amſterdam ſeveral ſhip-builders, for the purpoſe of conſtructing veſſels more calculated to weather the ſtorms of this ſea: but theſe deſigns were fruſtrated by the rebellion of the Coſſacs of the Don, under the command of Stenko Rafin ‡. The trade of Ruſſia in thoſe parts was ſo entirely annihilated by the devaſtations of theſe Coſſacs, that, upon the quelling of the revolt, and the puniſhment of their leader, the greateſt part of it fell almoſt entirely into the hands of the Armenian merchants eſtabliſhed in Aſtracan, who ſettled factories both in the Ruſſian and Perſian territories §. 1669. 1671.

During this whole period the Ruſſian and Armenian traders ſeem to have penetrated no further than Niezabad, a port between Derbent and Baku; and their chief ſettlement was at

* S. R. G. VII. 490.

† Ibid. p. 499.

‡ Buſching, IX. 80—88. For an account of Stenko Rafin, ſee Schmidt, Ruſ. Geſ. vol. II. p. 32. Motley's Hiſtory of Catharine, vol. I. p. 227.

§ S. R. G. VII. p. 505.

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Shamakee, capital of Shirvan, until, in 1711, that town was taken by the Leſgees, and their factory pillaged and deſtroyed.

Towards the latter end of Peter's reign, this commerce was again renewed on the following occaſion: that monarch having marched a conſiderable army into Perſia, took poſſeſſion of the provinces of Dageſtan, Shirvan, Ghilan, and Maſanderan, a tract of country which compriſes all the Eaſtern and Southern coaſts of the Caſpian; and theſe provinces were formally ceded to Ruſſia in 1723. Soon after this ceſſion, the emperor having obtained all the neceſſary information relating to the ports of that ſea, and the productions of the neighbouring countries, eſtabliſhed a Ruſſian company trading to the Caſpian: the low ſtate of which will ſufficiently appear from this circumſtance, that its whole capital conſiſted only of 400 ſhares, of the value of £30 each. The chief ſettlements were formed at Aſtracan and Kiſlar, from which places the whole traffic was carried on by ſea.

The poſſeſſion of theſe diſtant provinces proved ſo expenſive, and of ſuch little advantage to the Ruſſians, that the empreſs Anne was induced, in 1732 and 1735, to reſtore them to the ſophy* upon the following conditions: that the Ruſſian merchants ſhould have the liberty of trading to all the havens of the Caſpian without paying any duty; that they ſhould be allowed to build houſes and magazines wherever it was moſt convenient; that they ſhould be in no wiſe ſubject to the laws of the country; and that all goods ſaved from the wrecks of their veſſels ſhould be delivered to the Ruſſians †. The privileges of this company were confirmed by Anne and Elizabeth; but the commerce languiſhed and was inconſiderable until the reign of the preſent empreſs, who, in 1762, aboliſhed this excluſive right, and permitted all her ſubjects to trade to Perſia; prohibiting, on account of the numerous banditti who

* S. R. G. I. p. 154, &c. † Guldenſtaedt.

infeſt

infeſt the roads, the inland traffic from Kiſlar, and the other Caſpian ports to Shamakee, where the factory was formerly eſtabliſhed. Two Ruſſian conſuls reſide at Baku and Einzellee *. Theſe regulations, however productive of general advantage to the commerce, cannot prevent the contraband trade which is carried on at Shamakee, and the other inland towns of Perſia, by the Armenian merchants, who, from the knowledge of the country and the language, gain ready admiſſion, and underſell the Ruſſians.

Aſtracan, ſituated upon an iſland in one of the branches of the Volga, may be conſidered as the great ſtaple of the Caſpian commerce; and, by means of that river, is readily ſupplied with European merchandize from the ports of the Baltic †. Although Aſtracan is only in the 47th degree of latitude, yet the cold is extremely intenſe in winter; and for two months the Volga is generally frozen ſo hard as to be paſſed over by heavy-laden ſledges ‡. Large tracks of foreſt grow upon the banks of that river in the province of Caſan, and furniſh ſufficient oak and timber for the conſtruction of veſſels for the Caſpian ſea.

The Caſpian is about 680 miles in length, reckoning from Gurief to Medſhetiſar; and in no part more than 260 miles in breadth. It has no tide; and, on account of its frequent ſhoals, is navigable only by veſſels drawing from 9 to 10 feet water: it has ſtrong currents; and, like all inland ſeas, is ſubject to violent ſtorms §, which the Ruſſian veſſels, wretchedly conſtructed, weather with difficulty. Its waters are brackiſh. The fiſhery of the Caſpian deſerves to be mentioned, becauſe it is a nurſery for ſailors. The Uralian Coſſacs enjoy the right of fiſhing upon the coaſt 47 miles on each ſide of the river Ural; and the inhabitants of Aſtracan poſſeſs the

* Guldenſtaedt, p. 248.
† Hanway, p. 141.
‡ Gmelin, vol. II. p. 84.
§ Hanway, vol. I. p. 393.

excluſive

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exclusive privilege upon the remaining shores belonging to Russia. The roe of sturgeons and beluga supply large quantities of caviare; and the fish, which are chiefly salted and dried, form a considerable article of consumption in the Russian empire. The Caspian abounds with sea-dogs, which are hunted and caught in great numbers *.

We shall be able to ascertain with tolerable exactness the present state of the commerce in the Caspian sea, by considering the principal havens, and the imports and exports.

The coasts of the Caspian being in the possession of the Russians, Persians, and Tartars, the ports may be divided into,

I. Russian. II. Persian. III. Tartar.

I. The Russian ports and trading places upon the Caspian are, 1. Gurief; 2. Kislar.

1. Gurief is situated upon the mouth of the Yaik or Ural, at a little distance from a bay of the Caspian. It is a small, but strong fortress, which guards the frontiers of the Russian empire towards the territory of the Kirghees Tartars. The place contains scarcely an hundred houses; and, except the garrison, has no inhabitants but a few merchants from Astracan, who drive an inconsiderable trade with the neighbouring Tartars †. 2. The fortress of Kislar stands near the Eastern coast, and covers the frontiers towards the limits of Persia. Vessels bound for this place formerly entered the Southern branch of the Terek; but as the mouths of that river are now choaked up, the merchandize is landed in a small bay about the distance of 34 miles from the fortress. Kislar draws from Astracan the European commodities necessary for the Persian traffic, and also a large quantity of corn and provision for the Russian colonies upon the Terek, and for the inhabitants of the neighbouring chain of Mount Caucasus. Beside the goods

* Journ. St. Pet. p. 253; S. R. G. VII. p. 525. For a list of the fish in the Caspian, see Gmelin, vol. II. p. 246.

† Pallas Reise I. 424, &c.

which

which are diſpoſed of at Kiſlar, and ſent from thence to the Perſian ports, the inhabitants carry on a contraband trade to Shamakee, Derbent, and even Tiflis in Georgia, which is exceedingly precarious from the numerous banditti who pillage the caravans.

II. Before I enumerate the principal Perſian havens, it would be neceſſary to acquaint the reader to whom belong the provinces of Shirvan, Ghilan, Maſanderan, and Aſtrabad, in which countries the ports reſorted to by the Ruſſians are ſituated; if, in the preſent unſettled ſtate of Perſia, and the civil wars which continue to haraſs that divided empire, it were poſſible to aſcertain that point. In general, the above-mentioned provinces are governed by their own khans, who, though tributary to the ſophy, render themſelves occaſionally independent whenever a favourable opportunity offers: continually at variance, and frequently at war with each other, their governments are the ſeat of almoſt perpetual hoſtility, rapine, and devaſtation. Meanwhile, the trade flouriſhes or diminiſhes in proportion as the exactions of the ſovereigns are more or leſs frequent and exorbitant.

The Perſian havens are as follow:

1. Derbent is the worſt port in the Caſpian, if it may be called a port, where veſſels can ſeldom approach the ſhore, on account of ſands and ſhoals, but are generally obliged to lie at anchor at the diſtance of at leaſt three quarters of a mile: from this circumſtance, joined to the inconſiderable degree of commerce carried on with the inhabitants, it is at preſent but little frequented. Derbent *, which ſtands in the province of Shirvan,

* "This city of Derbent is an antient "towne, having an olde caſtle therein, ſituated "upon an hill called Caſtow, builded all of "free-ſtone, much after our building, the "walles very high and thicke, and was firſt "erected by king Alexander the Great, when "he warred againſt the Perſians and Medians, "and then hee made a wall of a woonderfull "height and thickneſſe, extending from the "ſame city to the Georgians, yea, unto the principal

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Shirvan, is a Perſian fortreſs, ſurrounded by high brick walls: the inhabitants are chiefly Perſians, Tartars, and a few Armenians. Two or three Ruſſian ſhips are annually bound for Derbent; they are uſually laden with oats and rye; and they carry iron, ſteel, and lead for the Leſgees and other Tartar nations, who inhabit the Eaſtern chain of the Caucaſus. The neighbourhood of Derbent produces ſome corn; but not ſufficient for the conſumption of the place. 2. Nieſovaia Priſtan, or Niezabad, muſt be mentioned, becauſe it was formerly the port moſt frequented by the Ruſſians; this place was chiefly viſited by the merchants of Shamakee, who then ſupplied the province of Shirvan with European commodities: near the harbour are ſeveral wretched villages. 3. Baku is eſteemed the moſt commodious haven in this ſea, as veſſels may there ride ſecurely at anchor in ſeven fathom water; but the number of ſhoals, iſlands, and ſand-banks, render the entrance in ſome places extremely difficult and dangerous, particularly to the Ruſſians, who are not very expert ſailors. Baku is a fortreſs ſurrounded with high brick walls; its inhabitants, like thoſe of Derbent, are Perſians, Tartars, and a few Armenian merchants. The principal articles of exportation which ſupport the trade of this place are naphta, and the fineſt rock ſalt, of both which there are mines on the eaſt ſide of the bay. The inhabitants cultivate ſaffron and the cotton tree, but not to any conſiderable advantage. The trade of Baku, though more valuable than that of Derbent, is ſtill inconſiderable, and chiefly carried on with Shamakee, from whence it draws raw ſilk and ſilken ſtuffs. A Ruſſian conſul is reſident at this place. In 1777, Baku * belonged to Melik-Mehmed, who was

" principal city thereof, named Tewfliſh; which " wall, though it be now raſed, or otherwiſe " decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, and " the wall was made to the intent that the in- " habitants of that country, then newly con- " quered by the ſaid Alexander, ſhould not " lightly flee, nor his enemies eaſily invade." Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 345.

* Gmelin, vol. III. p. 52, &c. Guldenſtaedt.

tributary

tributary to Feth Ali, khan of Kuba: the latter poſſeſſed the whole province of Shirvan, and was the moſt powerful prince, next to the khan of Ghilan, upon the coaſt of the Caſpian. Before we quit the province of Shirvan, it may be not improper to mention its capital, the inland town of Shamakee, which is only 66 miles from Baku, and ſupplies that port with raw ſilk and ſilken ſtuffs. It owed its former commercial importance to the ſilk which is cultivated in the neighbouring diſtrict; this rich production ſtill preſerves the town from ruin; though its traffic is greatly reduced by the exorbitant exactions of the khan of Kuba. Formerly the Ruſſians had a factory at this place; and it was alſo crowded with Turkiſh and Greek merchants; but at preſent there are only a few Armenian and Indian traders. The inhabitants manufacture ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, but far inferior to thoſe made at this place in the beginning of the preſent century. The ſilk of this province is exported into the interior part of Perſia, Turkey, Georgia, and Ruſſia. Shamakee ſtill ſupplies part of Georgia, and the inhabitants of the Eaſtern chain of Mount Caucaſus, with European commodities, principally by means of the traffic with Baku, and the contraband trade with the Armenians and Ruſſians *. As Sallian is now no longer reſorted to on account of the ſhoals and rocks, I haſten to, 4. Einzellee, which, though a wretched village, is the moſt frequented for the Perſian commerce: formerly the veſſels entered through the channel into a bay; but, as this bay is choaked up, they are obliged to lie at anchor in the road. Einzellee is ſituated on the ſouth-weſtern coaſt, a few miles north of Reſhd, capital of the province of Ghilan: it conſiſts of two parts, Old and New Einzellee; the former is inhabited by the Perſians and Armenians, under the juriſdiction of the ſophy; the latter, by the Ruſſian merchants, and thoſe Arme-

* Gmelin, vol. III. p. 60, &c.

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nians who are ſubject to the empreſs: a garriſon of thirty Ruſſian ſoldiers is there ſtationed under the command of the conſul. It contains a Ruſſian and Armenian church, and about 300 houſes, which are moſtly built with reed. The refuſe only of the Perſian and European commodities is expoſed to ſale at Einzellee; the great mart being at Reſhd, where the Ruſſians have erected booths, and to which place a conflux of merchants from Tauris, the principal cities of Perſia, Armenia, and even Turkey, reſort, in order to purchaſe the raw ſilk and manufactures of Ghilan. Hence the Ruſſians diſpoſe of their European commodities to conſiderable advantage; and obtain in return the productions of this rich province. The manufactures * and ſilk of Ghilan, which is eſteemed the beſt in Perſia, have been in ſuch repute for theſe laſt fifty years, that Reſhd is become one of the firſt commercial towns in this part of Aſia. The fineſt ſort is uſually white, and is chiefly ſent into the interior cities of Perſia, or ſold to the Turks. The inferior kind is yellow, and is chiefly diſpoſed of to the Ruſſians. There is ſuch a conſtant demand for the ſilk of Ghilan †, that the price riſes every year. Reſhd ſupplies the bordering provinces of Perſia, and the independent neighbouring ſtates as far as Georgia, with European merchandize, excepting the goods which are tranſported immediately from Aſtracan, through Kiſlar and Moſtok, to the neareſt parts of Georgia, and of the neighbouring mountains; and thoſe which are ſent from Shamakee, to the Leſgees Tartars, and other independent tribes ‡. 5. Farabat, and, 6. Medſhetiſar, are ſituated upon the ſouthern coaſt, in the province of Maſanderan; they are both ſmall villages, of which the latter is the moſt commercial, from its vicinity to Balfrufch, capital of the province, where the Ruſſians and Armenians carry their merchandize; the traffic, however,

* See, in Gmelin, vol. III. p. 415, a liſt of the manufactures of Ghilan.

† For an account of the ſilk of Ghilan, ſee Gmelin, vol. III. p. 412. Hanway, vol. II. p. 16. S. R. G. VII. p. 515.

‡ Gmelin, vol. III. p. 414.

is

is much less considerable than it was formerly, which circumstance is owing to the impositions of the khan of Masanderan. The chief productions of this country are silk, far inferior to that of Ghilan, and rice and cotton, of both which articles there is a large exportation. Merchants from Kaskan, Ispahan, Schiras, Khorasan, &c. resort to Balfrusch, and bring for sale the Persian and Indian commodities *. 7. The bay of Astrabad, where the Russians land and proceed to the capital of that name: the productions of this province, and its exports and imports, are nearly similar to those of Masanderan. The commerce of Astrabad is chiefly with Candahar.

III. The Tartar havens are, 1. The Bay of Balkan; and, 2. Mangushlak, both of which, but particularly the latter, afford a secure harbour. 1. The Russians frequent the islands in the bay of Balkan; inhabited chiefly by pirates of the race of Turkoman Tartars: these islands produce rice and cotton, and one of them, called Napthonia, abounds in naphta. This traffic might be increased to the advantage of Russia, as it would be far more commodious to trade with the Tartars of Khiva and Bucharia from these parts, than from Orenburgh, through the country of the warlike and independent Kirghees. 2. The commerce of Mangushlak is by far the most considerable: the neighbouring Tartars bring to this place the productions of their own country, and even of Bucharia, such as cotton, yarn, and stuffs, furs and skins, and rhubarb †.

The principal commodities exported from Astracan to the ports of the Caspian sea, are cloths, chiefly English, Dutch, French, and Silesian; vitriol, soap, allum, sugar, Russia leather, needles, coarse linen manufactured in Russia, velvets, glass ware, and looking-glasses, writing paper, a few furs and skins, a small quantity of tea, provisions, chiefly corn and butter, wine, brandy, wooden furniture, sea-horse teeth, also iron, brass, tin, lead, hardware, watches, &c. &c. In 1775, the value of the cloths exported amounted to £ 52,600; the cochineal to £ 45,600; and the indigo to £ 7,000.

* Gmelin, vol. III. p. 459. † Guldenstaedt, p. 265—267.

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Imports. Raw and manufactured ſilks, but chiefly the former, from the provinces of Shirvan and Ghilan; which article, in 1775, amounted to £ 43,800. Bucharian lamb-ſkins, rice, dried fruit, ſpices and drugs, ſaffron, ſalt, ſulphur, and naphta. The Indians and merchants of Khiva bring occaſionally to Aſtracan gold and ſilver in bars, gold-duſt, precious ſtones and pearls *.

The trade of the Caſpian ſea had conſiderably declined before the acceſſion of the preſent empreſs; but by the abolition of monopolies, and by various other uſeful regulations, it has lately increaſed to ſuch a degree, that within the ſpace of fifteen years the average ſum of the exports and imports has been nearly tripled, as will appear from comparing the following tables.

			Total exports and imports.
1760,	Exports	£ 36,100	£ 78,200
	Imports	42,100	
Balance againſt Ruſſia		6,000	
1768,	Exports	£ 87,700	£ 151,400
	Imports	63,700	
Balance in favour of Ruſſia		24,000	
1775,	Exports	£ 125,400	£ 189,520
	Imports	64,120	
Balance in favour of Ruſſia		61,280	
Traffic with Georgia and the natives of Caucaſus			£ 10,000
Total in 1775 — —			£ 199,520

The contraband trade is not included in this calculation †.

Commerce

* Such was the general ſtate of the Caſpian trade when I was in Ruſſia; but it will be rendered ſtill more ſecure and profitable to the Ruſſians, if it be true, as reported, that the empreſs has concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the preſent ſophy of Perſia, Aly Murad khan, whom ſhe aſſiſted againſt his competitors for the throne. According to this account, the troubles of Perſia have, in a great meaſure, ſubſided; the ſophy has ſent an embaſſador to Peterſburgh, to ratify the treaty of commerce; has encreaſed the privileges of the Ruſſian merchants, who have already begun to open a more extenſive commerce with the interior parts of Perſia, Armenia, and the adjacent diſtricts of Aſia. See Ham. Pol. Journ. for 1782, P. I.; for 1783, p. 195.

† The reader who wiſhes to trace the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the commerce upon.

CHAP. IV.

Commerce with the Bucharians and Chineſe.

Under the commerce with the Bucharians * I comprize that which the Ruſſians carry on with the Calmucs, and other Tartar nations beyond the frontiers of Siberia, becauſe the latter is of ſuch little importance as ſcarcely to deſerve a ſeparate article.

The Bucharians, who inhabit the ſouth-weſtern part of Independent Tartary, are a very commercial people: their caravans travel through the whole continent of Aſia †, and traffic with Thibet and China, India, Perſia, and Ruſſia. This empire contains ſeveral colonies of the Bucharians, who are ſettled in many large towns of the ſouthern provinces; and who maintain a conſtant communication with the merchants of their own country. Their principal marts are Tomſk, Kiacta, and Orenburgh; the latter of which is the moſt conſiderable, and chiefly trades with Kaſkar, Taſhkent, and Khiva ‡. Their caravans, in their way to theſe towns, are expoſed to pillage from the Kirgees Tartars, through whoſe country they are obliged to paſs. Their imports are gold and ſilver, chiefly in Perſian coins and Indian rupees, gold duſt §, precious ſtones, particularly rubies, lapis-lazuli, ſpun and raw cotton, cotton ſtuffs in great abundance, both Indian and Bucharian, half-ſilks, unprepared nitre, native ſal-ammoniac, lamb-ſkins, raw ſilk in ſmall quantities, and rhubarb, large

upon the Caſpian ſea, muſt conſult and compare Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. I. p. 324 to 431; Hanway's Britiſh Trade of the Caſpian Sea; Cooke's Travels; S. R. G. VII. 103—546; Gmelin's Reiſe, vol. III.; and Guldenſtaedt's Treatiſe mentioned above.

* Having before mentioned the commerce with the Bucharians upon the Eaſtern coaſts of the Caſpian, it is needleſs to enter upon any further detail of it in this place.

† S. R. G. VII. p. 7.

‡ Rytſkof Orenb. Top. vol. I. p. 263.

§ This gold-duſt is found in the ſand of the rivers of Bucharia. The procuring of this commodity was the principal inducement to the firſt expeditions of the Engliſh merchants over the Caſpian into Bucharia, which are related in Hackluyt's Collection. Peter the Great ſent ſeveral Ruſſian merchants into the country for the ſame purpoſe. See S. R. G. IV. p. 183, &c. Rytſkof, vol. I. p. 263. Ruſſia Illuſtrata, vol. II. p. 141.

herds

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herds of ſheep and horſes *. Exports: Cloth, Ruſſian leather, beads and trinkets, hard-ware, indigo, cochineal, &c.

The Chineſe trade is by far the moſt important part of its Aſiatic commerce, and is now carried on at Kiacta, ſituated upon the frontiers of the Chineſe and Ruſſian empires. But having in a former publication † given a circumſtantial account of this commerce, it will be ſufficient to obſerve in this place, that in 1777, the total ſum of importation and exportation, as entered at the cuſtom-houſe, amounted to £ 573,666, 15 s.; but if we include the contraband trade, which is very conſiderable, and make an allowance for the deficiencies of the above-mentioned year, which was not ſo favourable as the preceding ones, we may fairly eſtimate the groſs amount of the average trade to China, in exports and imports, at near £ 800,000 ſterling.

* Pallas Reiſe, vol. I. p. 232, &c. The ſheep and horſes are brought for ſale by the Kirgees Tartars. Mr. Pallas ſays, that above 60,000 ſheep, and 10,000 horſes, are yearly ſold at Orenburgh, p. 234.

† See an account of the tranſactions and commerce between Ruſſia and China, in Ruſſian Diſcoveries, from p. 197 to 248.

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CHAP. V.

On the commerce of the Black Sea.—*Havens.*—*Exports and imports.*—*Ports and territory ceded by the* Turks *to* Ruſſia.—Zaporogian *Coſſacs.*—*Abolition of their government.*—*Productions of the Southern provinces of* Ruſſia.—*Navigation of the* Don *and* Dnieper.—*Attempts of the* Ruſſians *to proſecute the commerce through the* Dardanelles *to the* Mediterranean.—*Frequent interruptions and precarious ſtate of that trade.*

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PETER the Great was the firſt ſovereign of this empire who attempted to open a commerce through the Sea of Azof and the Euxine, and to export, by that channel, the productions of Southern Ruſſia. By his victories over the Turks, the poſſeſſion of Azof, and the conſtruction of Taganroc, he ſeemed on the eve of realizing this favourite project; but all his vaſt ſchemes were baffled by the unſucceſsful campaign of 1711, which terminated in the peace of Pruth, a peace purchaſed by the ceſſion of Azof and Taganroc, and by relinquiſhing the commerce of the Euxine. Since that period the Turks have jealouſly excluded the Ruſſians from all ſhare in the navigation of their ſeas, until the preſent empreſs finiſhed a ſucceſsful war againſt the Porte by the glorious peace of 1774. By this peace Ruſſia obtained a free navigation in all the Turkiſh ſeas, a right of paſſing through the Dardanelles, all the commercial immunities granted to the moſt favoured nations in amity with the Porte, the poſſeſſion of Azof and Taganroc, the three fortreſſes of Kinburn, Kertſh, and Yenikalè, and a large diſtrict between the Bog and the Dnieper.

Many

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Many ſpeculations have been entertained concerning the extent and value of the traffic which Ruſſia is likely to eſtabliſh in the Black Sea, and the revolution which it may effect in the commerce of Europe, by transferring part of the Baltic trade to the ports of the Mediterranean. In conſequence of this change, it is aſſerted, the ſouthern provinces of this empire will find a vent to export their ſuperfluous productions; the Ruſſian veſſels will open a profitable trade with Crim Tartary, with the Auſtrian provinces at Kilia-Nova, with the Turks at Conſtantinople, with the Greeks in the Levant; the iron of Siberia, the corn, hemp, and flax of the Ukraine, and the contiguous provinces, will be ſent from the havens of the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, to ſupply the ports of the Mediterranean; and thus France and Spain will be furniſhed with naval ſtores by a cheaper and more expeditious navigation than through the Baltic and the Northern Ocean. As the completion of this great and extenſive project can only be the work of time, and depends on a variety of contingencies, we cannot pretend to form any abſolute deciſion upon the probability of its failure or ſucceſs; but a conſiderable light may be thrown on this intricate ſubject by an attention to the following objects of inquiry *.

I. The traffic upon the Turkiſh Seas before the peace, with an account of their havens and exports. II. The ports and territory ceded to Ruſſia, and the new towns ſince conſtructed by the empreſs. III. The productions of the Southern Ruſſian provinces, and the navigation of the rivers Don and Dnieper. IV. The progreſs hitherto made by the Ruſſians to eſtabliſh an intercourſe between the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, with the ports of the Mediterranean.

* In this inquiry I have principally followed Guldenſtaedt's Eſſay Von der Hafen am Azowſchen Schwartzen and Weiſſen Meere, in Journ. St. Pet. for 1776.

I. The

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I. The traffic upon the Turkiſh Seas previous to the peace of 1774, and their havens and exports. This traffic was chiefly carried on by the Greeks, Armenians, and Turks; and as the Ruſſians poſſeſſed no port, either upon the Sea of Azof or the Euxine, Tcherkaſk, capital of the Coſſacs of the Don, was the place where the productions of this empire and Turkey were reciprocally exchanged. The Greek and Armenian merchants ſailed to Taganroc, where they performed quarantine; and then proceeded with their merchandize to Tcherkaſk, having firſt paid the duty at Temernik, a ſmall village upon the Don, now the fortreſs of St. Demitri. Tcherkaſk was alſo the emporium of an inland commerce between the merchants of Kuban and Crim Tartary and the Ruſſians. The imports were chiefly Greek wines, raiſins, dried figs, almonds, oil, rice, ſaffron, painted linens and cottons. The exports, hides and leather, coarſe linen, hard ware, caviare, &c.* The Greek and Armenian merchants, in returning to Conſtantinople, ſupplied the ports of the Sea of Azof and the Euxine with Ruſſian and European commodities.

In order to have a general idea of the traffic in the Turkiſh Seas, we muſt take a curſory view of their havens, imports and exports.

Among the harbours of the Black Sea reſorted to by the Greek and Armenian merchants, the moſt frequented were thoſe of Crim Tartary, namely, Yenikalè, one of the fortreſſes lately ceded to Ruſſia, Balaklava, Koſlof, and Caffa, which merits a particular deſcription. Caffa and the whole peninſula, which were before under the dominion of the Turks, were, by an article in the late peace, declared independent; and ſubject to a khan, elected by the natives, but confirmed both by the empreſs and grand-ſignor: it is the capital of the Crimea; and the Tartars, who conſider it as a place of great celebrity

* See Tarif of the Imported and Exported Wares. Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XI. p. 373.

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and importance, distinguish it by the name of Half Constantinople *. The harbour, which is very large, is capable of containing several hundred merchant ships; and its inhabitants are the richest, and drive the most extensive trade in the Black Sea. The productions of Crim Tartary, exported from Caffa and the other havens of that peninsula, consist chiefly in corn, wine, wool, fine black and grey lamb-skins, and salt. The imports are fine and coarse linens, printed cottons, nankeen, Russian leather, fine cloths, velvets, taffeties, furs, ropes, paper, salted fish, and caviare, tobacco leaves, copper and tin, hardware, gold and silver threads, beads and corals, earthen wares, and a coarse sort of porcelain, glass ware †, &c. &c.

The port of Taman lies opposite to Yenikalè, at the extremity of the straits of Caffa, upon a small island in the mouth of the river Kuban: it is subject to the khan of Crim Tartary, and traffics with the Circassians from Mount Caucasus, the Cossacs dwelling near the rivers which fall into the Kuban, and the Tartars inhabiting the desert between the Kuban and the Don: the exports are honey, wax, salt, wool, skins of foxes, martens, sheep, &c.: the imports nearly similar to those at Caffa.

The ports of the Eastern and Southern coasts of the Black Sea are situated in the Turkish provinces of Mingrelia, Georgia, and Anatolia: the principal are Poti, where the merchants of Georgia resort; Trebizond; Cherson, which is distant only 60 miles from Tokat, at which town the caravans from Persia assemble and separate, in order to proceed by different routes to Smyrna and Constantinople; Sinope, the nearest port upon

* Nennen solche di Tartary nur *Jarim Stam-bul*. Kleeman's Reise von Wien nach Constantinopel. See a curious account of Caffa, in that work. The author observed there several ruins of the buildings which the Genoese constructed when Caffa was in their possession, particularly the remains of the antient citadel, of churches, of angels and saints grossly carved in stone, and several Latin inscriptions, p. 168, &c. He describes Crim Tartary as a very fruitful country.

† Guldenstaedt, p. 12—14.

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the Black Sea to Angora, the only place hitherto known that ſupplies the fine goats-hair, generally called camels-hair, from which the beſt camlets are manufactured, and which equal, if not ſurpaſs, thoſe of Bruſſels: this hair, ſpun into yarn, is chiefly purchaſed at Tocat by the merchants of the caravans in their way to Smyrna, from which port Europe is moſtly ſupplied with this commodity. The Greek and Armenian merchants draw from theſe parts honey, wax, ſkins of foxes, of martens, and of ſheep, raw and manufactured ſilk, both Perſian and Turkiſh, cotton, callicoes, rice, ſaffron, dried fruit, &c. They ſupply them in return with Ruſſian and other European productions. Tios or Tilios, where the Turks have a dock for repairing ſhips, and at which place ſails, cordage, anchors, and other naval ſtores, are advantageouſly diſpoſed of.

The ports on the Weſtern ſhore of the Black Sea, beſide Kinburn, are Varna in Bulgaria, which is diſtant about 100 miles from Adrianople; Kilia-Nova, at the mouth of the Danube in Wallachia; and Akkermen, upon the mouth of the Dnieſter, in Beſſarabia, and about 60 miles from Bender. Theſe ports furniſh wool, dried fruits, Hungarian and Moldavian wines, buffalo ſkins, &c. The traffic to Varna and Akkermen might be conſiderably increaſed by forming a more regular communication with Adrianople and Bender; and that of Kilia-Nova might be rendered highly important, by vending the productions of Auſtria and Hungary, if the navigation of the Danube was not obſtructed by the jealouſy of the Turks. The imports of thoſe havens conſiſt in European and Ruſſian productions, for the moſt part ſimilar to thoſe of Caffa.

Conſtantinople and Gallipoli are the principal havens in the ſea of Marmora: the Ruſſian imports are furs and ſkins, leather, ſail cloth, cordage, anchors, tar and pitch, ſteel and iron, ſalt fiſh, caviare, butter, ſea-horſe teeth, wax, tea, muſk, caſtor oil, colours, paper, coarſe cloth, linen, and corn: the

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exports to Ruſſia are raw and manufactured ſilk and cotton, muſlins, rich Turkiſh ſtuffs and carpets, wool and Angora-goats-hair, Grecian wines, oil, all kinds of European and Aſiatic fruit, lemons and oranges, tobacco and ſnuffs, ſpices, ſaffron, opium, and other ſpecies of drugs, pearls and precious ſtones, gold and ſilver *, &c.

II. The ports and territory ceded to Ruſſia, and the new towns ſince conſtructed by the empreſs. The ceded places are, 1. The diſtrict upon the Sea of Azof; 2. Kertſch and Yenikalè, in Crim Tartary; 3. The fortreſs of Kinburn; 4. The territory between the Dnieper and the Bog.

1. The diſtrict bordering upon the Sea of Azof compriſes, beſide a large tract of territory to the eaſt and weſt of Azof, the fortreſſes Azof, Taganroc, and Petrofſk. Azof is no longer of the ſame importance as it was in the reign of Peter the Great; the branch of the Don, upon the mouth of which it ſtands, being now ſo choaked with ſand as ſcarcely to admit the ſmalleſt veſſels. The merchandize therefore is uſually depoſited at Taganroc or Petrofſk; and the frigates and merchant-ſhips, which were formerly conſtructed at Azof, are now built either at St. Demitri or Roſtof, and paſs down the Don into the Sea of Azof, through another branch of that river. As the harbour of Taganroc contains, upon an average, only ſeven feet of water, the veſſels which land there muſt be conſtructed in ſuch a manner as to draw no more than five or ſix feet: the town has been rendered commodious by the conſtruction of ſeveral warehouſes and other buildings during the late war, and is eſteemed for the ſalubrity of the air. The fortreſs of Petrofſk, which ſtands at the mouth of the river Broda, and commands the Turkiſh frontiers, was alſo built during the late war. It is extremely advantageouſly ſituated, as forming a direct communication with the havens of Crim

* Guldenſtaedt, p. 21—25.

Tartary;

Tartary; and might eaſily be rendered more ſecure than that of Taganroc, from the ſuperior depth of water. By the poſſeſſion of theſe fortreſſes, the navigation of the Sea of Azof is perfectly ſecured. The frontiers of this ceded territory, to the weſt of that Sea, are guarded by a chain of ſmall forts, extending from Petrofſk to the Dnieper.

2. The fortreſſes of Kertſch and Yenikalè, ſituated upon the eaſtern coaſts of Crim Tartary, and near the northern entrance of the ſtraits of Caffa, are of the greateſt importance, by commanding the paſſage which forms the communication between the Sea of Azof and the Euxine.

3. Kinburn is the only port poſſeſſed by the Ruſſians on the coaſts of the Black Sea: it ſtands cloſe to the preſent frontiers, at the mouth of the Dnieper, oppoſite to the Turkiſh fortreſs Otchakof; the latter being a place of ſuperior ſtrength, muſt, while it continues in the hands of the Turks, obſtruct, in caſe of a rupture, the navigation of the Dnieper. Kinburn was intended for the principal depoſitory of the merchandize ſent from the provinces bordering upon the Dnieper; but as the harbour, on account of its quickſand, affords no ſecurity for anchorage, the new town of Kherſon is at preſent rendered the great emporium of this trade.

4. The poſſeſſion of the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper opens a ſecure communication between the Black Sea and thoſe rich and extenſive provinces through which the Dnieper takes its courſe. This important territory, ſo eſſential to the exiſtence of the new commerce, was chiefly inhabited by hordes of roving Tartars, and by the Zaporogian Coſſacs, who dwelled near the Dnieper, and by their piracies rendered its navigation extremely hazardous. The origin of theſe Coſſacs is thus traced by the Ruſſian hiſtorians. In the beginning of the 15th century, a tribe of the Coſſacs of the Ukraine, who inhabited the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper, were known

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with their warlike diſpoſition, rendered them a barbarous and unruly banditti*: accuſtomed to live by rapine and devaſtation, they pillaged the Ruſſian merchants who paſſed through their country; and interrupted the navigation of the Dnieper by continual piracies †. At the concluſion of the late Turkiſh war, the empreſs aboliſhed their form of government, deſtroyed their ſetcha, and finally diſſolved their formidable confederacy. By this ſalutary act of power, ſhe has ſecured the merchants trading in thoſe parts from the dread of perpetual depredations, and put an end to that ſyſtem of piracy which ſo greatly obſtructed the commerce carried on upon the Dnieper.

III. The Ruſſian countries which are moſt intereſted in this commerce, are thoſe that are contiguous to the Dnieper and the Don. This general deſcription comprizes the provinces of Smolenſko, Mohilef, Ukraine, New Ruſſia, Bielgorod, Voronetz, Ukraina-Slobodſkaia, and Azof: a large tract of territory which furniſhes in great abundance every ſpecies of grain, hemp, flax, hides, maſts, planks, honey, wax, tobacco, &c.

In theſe ceded diſtricts the empreſs has already raiſed ſeveral new towns, the principal whereof are Kherſon, Catharinenſlaf, and Marianopoli.

Kherſon is ſituated on the Dnieper, about ten miles below the mouth of the Ingulec, and is chiefly built with hewn ſtone. It is intended to be the principal mart for all the commodities of export and import; but if an extenſive trade ſhould take place in this quarter, the great depoſitory for the merchandize will be more conveniently fixed on ſome ſpot below the bar of the

* "Manſtein calls them a republic of "thieves and vagabonds, who ſubſiſt on "nothing but rapine both in peace and war. "The court of Ruſſia cannot hinder their "continual excurſions; nay, is even obliged "to keep meaſures with them, for fear of "their changing ſides." Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 19.

† The boats of theſe Zaporogian Coſſacs were rowed by 50 or 60 men, had no ſail, and generally carried two ſmall cannon. S. R. G. IX. p. 5.

Dnieper,

Dnieper, and about twelve miles ſouth of Kherſon. It contains a dock for the conſtruction of large veſſels; from which ſeveral men of war and frigates, as well as merchant ſhips, have been already launched. Catharinenſlaf, or the Glory of Catharine, is built near the ſpot where the ſmall river Kiltzin falls into the Samara, and is appointed to be the capital of the government of Azof; it is colonized by many Greeks and Armenians from Crim Tartary, and by others of thoſe nations who ſerved in the late war againſt the Turks. Another town, called Marianopoli, has been alſo raiſed upon the borders of the Sea of Azof, between the rivers Myus and Calmius. Theſe three towns, as well as the numerous villages which have ſuddenly reared their heads in a country formerly inhabited only by lawleſs banditti, or traverſed by roving hordes, are filled with Ruſſians, with Tartars reclaimed from their wandering life, and with numerous coloniſts, particularly Greeks and Armenians, who migrated from Crim Tartary, and the adjacent provinces of the Turkiſh empire.

The navigation of the Don and the Dnieper, which rivers form the communication between thoſe provinces and the Turkiſh Seas, remains to be conſidered.

The Don * takes its riſe from the ſmall lake of St. John, near Tula, in the government of Moſcow, and paſſing through part of the province of Voronetz, a ſmall portion of the Ukraina-Slobodſkaia, and the whole province of Azof, divides itſelf near Tcherkaſk into three ſtreams, and falls in theſe ſeparate branches into the Sea of Azof. The river has ſo many windings, is in many parts ſo ſhallow, and abounds with ſuch numerous ſhoals, as to be ſcarcely navigable, excepting in the ſpring, upon the melting of the ſnows; and its mouth is alſo ſo choaked up with ſand, that only flat-bottomed veſſels, excepting in the ſame ſeaſon, can paſs into the Sea of Azof. The

* S. R. G. IX. p. 11, 12.

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banks of the Don, and the rivulets which fall into it, are clothed with large tracts of foreſt, whoſe timber is floated down the ſtream to St. Demetri and Roſtof, where the frigates for the Sea of Azof are chiefly conſtructed. The navigation of the Don may poſſibly hereafter be rendered highly valuable, by conveying to the Black Sea the iron of Siberia, the Chineſe goods, and the Perſian merchandize; which latter commodities, as well as the products of India, formerly found their way into Europe through this ſame channel *.

Since the acquiſition of Ruſſian Lithuania, the ceſſion of the diſtrict between the Don and the Dnieper, and the total diſperſion of the Zaporogian Coſſacs, the Dnieper, from its ſource to its mouth, now flows through the Ruſſian dominions; and through this whole courſe, of above 800 miles, its navigation is only once interrupted by a ſeries of cataracts †, which begin below the mouth of the Samara, and continue for a ſpace of above 40 miles: they are not, however, ſo dangerous as they have been repreſented; for they may be paſſed in ſpring, without much hazard, even by loaded barks. In other parts of the year the goods are landed at Kemenſk, oppoſite the mouth of the Samara, and tranſported about 40 miles by land to Kitchkaſe, about ſix miles from the fortreſs of Alexandrovſk, where they are again embarked, and deſcend the ſtream without interruption to Kherſon ‡. If the trade ſhould increaſe to a great degree, the cataracts might, at a conſiderable expence, be rendered navigable at all ſeaſons of the year.

IV. The progreſs hitherto made by the Ruſſians to eſtabliſh an intercourſe between the ports of the Black Sea and thoſe of the Mediterranean.

* The iron of Siberia, and the merchandize of China, are ſometimes ſent by an inland navigation to the Volga: the Perſian commodities are conveyed acroſs the Caſpian to the ſame river; from thence they might be tranſported by a land-carriage of only 40 miles to the Don.

† Muller has deſcribed theſe cataracts. S. R. G. IV. p. 411, &c.

‡ See Muller. S. R. G. IX. p. 16; and Guldenſtaedt.

The

The empreſs, in order to encourage her ſubjects to engage in this branch of traffic, has leſſened the duties of import and export *, and has contributed towards forming a Ruſſian houſe, or company, trading to the Black Sea. Soon after the peace of 1774, four merchant-ſhips, fitted out for this purpoſe, ſailed from Peterſburgh, and not, as might have been expected, from the ports of the Black Sea: they were laden with iron, flax, hemp, hides, ſail-cloth, and coarſe linen, at the ſole expence of the empreſs, who granted all the profits ariſing from the ſale of their cargoes to the ſaid houſe. This plan, however, was not attended with the ſucceſs it ſeemed to promiſe; and its failure aroſe from the jealouſy of the Turks. The ſhips were, under ſpecious pretences, prevented from paſſing the Dardanelles; the cargoes were ſold in the Levant and the Mediterranean; and they returned to the Baltic without having effected the main object of the voyage. Before the Ruſſians could make any further attempts to open this channel of commerce, diſſenſions took place between the empreſs and the grand ſignior, concerning the independency of the Crimea, and the free election of a khan, which threatened an immediate war, and ſuſpended all commercial exertions in regard to the Black Sea, until a new pacification was concluded between the two rival powers, on the 21ſt of March 1779.

Since that period, beſide ſeveral Greek veſſels, which ſailed from the Sea of Azof and the Euxine under Ruſſian colours, and were allowed to paſs the Dardanelles, a Ruſſian ſhip, manned with ſeamen in the ſervice of government, and laden with ſalted beef, taking its departure, in 1780, from Kherſon, for the port of Toulon, was allowed to paſs the Dardanelles. Soon afterwards five others, freighted with iron, made ſucceſsful voyages to the Archipelago: alſo four ſmall veſſels, and a fifth of 400 tons juſt launched, laden with hemp and to-

* See a liſt of the duties of export and import, in Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XI. p. 373.

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bacco, were expected to ſail from Kherſon for France, in the month of November 1781.

Such, in 1781, was the infant ſtate of that commerce, which ſome authors have deſcribed as capable of producing an immediate revolution in the trade of Europe *: and in this, or in a ſtill more fluctuating ſtate, it will probably continue, as long as the Turks retain the dominion of their own ſeas. For that jealous people will either openly oppoſe, or at leaſt will clandeſtinely obſtruct, the progreſs of the Ruſſians in thoſe parts; and will never readily give a free paſſage through the Dardanelles to a powerful rival, though they conſented to it in the

* "Catharine II. va donc ouvrir une ancienne route du commerce *le plus vaſte & le plus riche*, qui ſe *ſoit fait ſur la terre.* Ses ports, dans la mer d'Azow & ſur la mer Noire, peuvent devenir le centre de tous les échanges du nord & du midi; & les provinces méridionales de ſon empire jouiront d'un débouché avantageux & facile, dont elles ont manqué juſqu'ici pour l'écoulement de leurs productions." Eſſai ſur le Com. de Ruſſ. p. 109.

"Concluons que, de quelque maniere que la Ruſſie exploite ſon commerce de la mer Noire, ſoit par elle-même, ſoit par le ſecours des étrangers, ſon avantage le plus ſolide & le plus réel doit conſiſter dans un écoulement facile & rapide de ſes productions méridionales. Ces productions ſont les ſuifs, les cires, les chanvres, le lin, les cordages, les tabacs, le fer & le cuivre. La plus grande partie ne fera plus le tour de l'Europe, pour parvenir en Eſpagne, en Italie, & dans les ports de la Mediterranée; et le petit nombre des autres formera de nouveaux objets de débit pour ces pays, qui n'ont pas eu juſqu'ici l'uſage de s'en fournir, comme le fer & le cuivre," p. 127.

All theſe vaſt projects are in a manner annihilated by the following reflection: "Au reſte, les beſoins & les facultés d'une nation étant naturellement bornés, le gouvernement Ruſſe devra mettre des limites à ſes communications par la mer Noire, afin qu'elles ne prejudicient point a celles de la Baltique. Ces deux commerces doivent ſe balancer, ſe combiner ſans ſe nuire, & ils doivent être dirigés de ſorte que la preéminence reſte toujours attachée au plus ancien," p. 127, 128.

Many perſons are of opinion, that the obſtacles to the riſing commerce of the Black Sea are by no means injurious to the intereſts of Ruſſia. For her commodities and productions being articles of neceſſity, not of luxury, no facility given to their exportation could add to their general conſumption; and the increaſe of exportation from the Black Sea would have diminiſhed that from St. Peterſburgh, and the other ports of the Baltic, and nearly in the ſame proportion. By the facility and cheapneſs of land-carriage, and the improvements of the inland navigation, the productions of the remoteſt provinces are readily ſent to the ports of the Baltic, without raiſing their price too high. And as the goods which Ruſſia produces are either peculiar to this empire, or ſuch as other nations muſt purchaſe, they cannot paſs through too many hands before they are exported: to diminiſh, therefore, by facilitating their exportation, the price of ſuch goods which ſhe already ſells cheaper than other nations, would be to incur a manifeſt loſs, and to gratify the foreign trader at her own expence.

humiliating

humiliating peace of 1774. Perhaps theſe claims, urged on one ſide, and evaded on the other, will engender perpetual diſſenſions, and will not be finally terminated but by a ſeries of obſtinate and bloody wars. Mean while the trade cannot for a conſiderable period be extenſive, which depends upon ſuch caſual circumſtances as the coalition and rupture of rival and neighbouring powers. CHAP. V.

The courſe of ſubſequent events can alone diſcover, whether the pacification, ſigned on the 9th of January 1784, will be more permanent than the former treaties; or whether the ſame cauſes will not continue to produce the ſame effects. In a word, the Ruſſian commerce in thoſe parts can ſcarcely be eſtabliſhed upon a firm baſis, until the empreſs acquires a fleet in the Black Sea ſuperior to that of her rival. And perhaps the completion of this great national object may be effected by the late acquiſition of Crim Tartary and the Kuban, rendered highly valuable by an additional extent of ſea-coaſt, and the important harbour of Caffa.

CHAP. VI.

Mines of Ruſſia *belonging to the crown and to individuals.—Gold and ſilver.—Copper and iron.—Average profits which government draws from the mines, founderies, and duties upon copper and iron.*

THE mines of the Ruſſian empire may be divided into, I. Thoſe which belong to the crown; and, II. Thoſe which are the property of individuals.

I. The

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I. The former comprize all the gold and ſilver, and a few copper and iron works.

1. The gold and ſilver mines are as follow. The moſt antient gold mine in the Ruſſian empire is that of Voetſk, near Olonetz, between the lake Onega and the White Sea. Its chief produce is a violet pyritical copper ore, mixed with quartz, and containing rich pieces of gold, but not in ſufficient quantity to defray its charges. From 1744 to 1776, this mine yielded only 57 pounds of gold, and about 9,000 pood * of copper; and as the expences amounted to £ 16,000 more than the profits, it was neglected until 1772, when it was again worked. Since that time it has furniſhed annually about 250 poods of copper, and about two or three pounds of gold-duſt which is waſhed from the mine, beſide accidental pieces that have been found and ſent to Peterſburgh as ſpecimens, and which may amount to five or ſix pounds more.

2. The next gold mines diſcovered in the empire were thoſe near Catharinenburg: the ore is very martial, commonly of a cubic form in a quartz matrix; and the gold is extracted by waſhing. The annual produce of pure gold never exceeded 200 pounds, and was commonly much leſs: in 1772 it was only 101 pounds.

3. The moſt important ſilver mines are thoſe of Kolyvan, between the rivers Oby and Irtiſh, near the mountains which form the frontiers of Siberia, and ſeparate that country from the Chineſe empire, or rather from the territory of the Calmucs dependent upon the Chineſe. Theſe mines were firſt diſcovered in 1728, by Akinfi Nikitich Demidof, and were for ſome years worked by him, for his own private emolument, as copper mines. It is ſuſpected, that he privately extracted the nobler metals, but prudently concealed the ſecret

* A pood = 40 Ruſſian or 36 Engliſh pounds. The pound uſed in this chapter is the Ruſſian, which is to the Engliſh as 9 to 10.

until

until 1774; when, in order to prevent its being divulged by other means, he made the diſcovery to the empreſs Elizabeth, who appropriated them to the crown *. Theſe mines, ſituated near Voſkreſenſk, and in the Smeyeſkaia Gora, or Mountain of Serpents, are known by the general appellation of Kolyvan, from a village of that name upon the rivulet Bielaia, in the diſtrict of Kuſnetz, where the ore was formerly ſmelted. But as the adjacent country is ſcantily provided with wood, new founderies have been conſtructed at Barnaul, Novopauloffſk, and Suſunſk, to the north eaſt of Kolyvan, in a diſtrict abounding with trees †.

Theſe mines, which may juſtly be ſtyled the Potoſi of the Ruſſians, have produced from 1749 to 1762 from 8,000 to 16,000 pounds of ſilver; from 1763 to 1769 from 20,000 to 32,000; and ſince that period to 1778 from 40,000 to 48,000. The ſilver contains upwards of three per cent. of gold, the ſeparation of which is made in the imperial laboratory within the fortreſs of Peterſburgh. The whole produce ever extracted from the mines amounted, in 1771, to 400,000 pounds of ſilver, with 12,720 of gold; and ſince 1771 we may calculate the annual produce at above 44,000 of ſilver, and about 1200 of gold.

The mines and founderies of Kolyvan employ nearly 40,000 coloniſts, beſide the peaſants in the diſtricts of Tomſk and Kuſnetz, who, in lieu of paying the poll-tax in money, cut wood, make charcoal, and tranſport the ore to the founderies. The expences, which were formerly ſupplied from the treaſury, and of courſe conſiderably diminiſhed the profit, have, ſince the year 1765, been abſolutely annihilated, and the whole produce of the mines in gold and ſilver is clear profit. In the ſame year a mint was eſtabliſhed at the foundery of Suſunſk,

* Pallas Reiſe, P. II. p. 582. † Ibid. p. 579.

for

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for the coinage of the copper ſupplied from the mines of Kolyvan, the greateſt part of which had been hitherto of no uſe. Pieces of one, two, five, and ten copecs*, are ſtruck and diſperſed over Siberia. Of this currency the ſum of £ 50,000 is annually coined, which is ſufficient for re-imburſing the poll-tax, paying the miners, tranſporting the ore, purchaſing the lead which muſt be brought from Nerſhinſk, and defraying the expence of ſending the gold and ſilver as far as Tobolſk. The ſilver which is ſmelted in the above-mentioned founderies, is conveyed upon large ſledges twice in the year: the firſt convoy ſets off in the beginning of the winter, and reaches Peterſburgh a little after Chriſtmas; the ſecond in the middle of winter, and arrives there towards ſpring.

4. The ſilver mines of Nerſhinſk, which were opened in 1704, are ſituated in Dauria, the ſouth eaſtermoſt part of Siberia, between the rivers Shilka and Argoon, and are very numerous. Their produce from their firſt opening to the year 1772 is as follows†:

	Pounds of ſilver.	
From 1704 to 1721	4,732	
1721 to 1731	1,498	
1731 to 1741	1,333	
1741 to 1751	15,657	
1751 to 1761	43,631	
1761 to 1771	126,247	
1771	16,733	
1772	16,200,	which contained 200 pounds of gold.
	226,031	

In 1767 they yielded 17,400 pounds; but the annual average produce may be eſtimated at 16,000. The ſilver contains, in 40,000 pounds, nearly 500 of gold, which is ſeparated at

* A ſmall coin nearly equal to ½ *d.*

† Buſ. Erd.—Beſ. Vol. I. p. 1126.

Peterſburgh.

Peterſburgh. The ores being generally very rich in lead, and extremely poor in ſilver, the latter is eaſily extracted. Many millions of poods of lead remain uſeleſs upon the ſpot, only about 14 or 18,000 being annually required for the ſeparation of the ſilver from the copper at the founderies of Kolyvan; the carriage into the inner parts of the empire being too expenſive; and the export to China being prohibited. The number of men employed in theſe mines and founderies are about 1900 free coloniſts, between 1000 and 1800 convicts, and 11,000 Ruſſian peaſants of the diſtrict of Nerſhinſk: 6000 of theſe latter are employed in cutting and carrying wood, making and tranſporting charcoal; while the reſt, who live at ſome diſtance from the mines, cultivate a certain portion of ground, and bring in winter the produce to the magazines of the founderies. The annual expences may generally be rated at £14,800. CHAP. VI.

5. Some mines yielding ſilver have been lately diſcovered in the diſtrict of Kraſnoyarſk near the Lena, between the rivers Yins and Yeniſei.

The gold of Catharinenburgh is obtained at the rate of 40 guineas per pound; and as when coined it produces £68 5 s. the profit is not very conſiderable. The ſilver and gold from Kolyvan is procured without any expence, as I have before mentioned. A pound of ſilver from Nerſhinſk is ſaid to coſt between 16 s. and £1; and as the ſame quantity of this metal, when coined, is equal to 22 roubles 75 copecs and ¼, or = about £4 10 s. ½ d. the profit is great. The gold extracted from this ſilver is obtained for £11 8 s. per pound.

6. The crown poſſeſſes at preſent but very few copper and iron works.

The iron works in the north part of the diſtrict of Olonetz produce annually between 8 or 10,000 poods of caſt iron for guns, bombs, and balls; and 15,000 of indifferent iron in bars and plates: thoſe of the Uralian mountains employ above

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1700 workmen, and 26,800 peaſants; and yielded, in 1772, 423,987 poods of iron in bars and plates, which were chiefly uſed for the army and navy: that of Kamenſk gave in the ſame year 93,000 poods of iron, which were forged into guns, and 8172 into bars.

Four copper founderies on the weſt ſide of the Uralian mountains, in the government of Orenburgh, and three in Permia, produced, in 1772, only 13,868 poods of copper. At Catharinenburgh the crown has eſtabliſhed a mint for coining the copper procured from the imperial and private founderies into that ſpecies of money which is current throughout Ruſſia, and which is tranſported by water to Moſcow, Peterſburgh, and other parts.

II. Private mines and founderies come next under conſideration. The greateſt part of thoſe mines that ſupply ſuch an immenſe quantity of iron and copper, are moſtly ſituated in the Uralian mountains, and the hills ſtretching from them, a few in the government of Moſcow excepted, whoſe produce is but ſmall.

The Uralian mountains contain 105 founderies, 56 of which are for iron, 37 for copper, and the remainder for both metals. The peaſants, part of whom belong to the proprietors, and part to the crown, employed in the mines and founderies, amount to 95,000. In 1772* theſe works yielded 130,169 poods of copper, and 4,558,718 of caſt iron. The duty paid to the crown from the private proprietors is 4 copecs, or nearly 2 *d.* for every pood of caſt iron, beſide 5 copecs upon every pood for exportation. With reſpect to the copper, the proprietors are obliged to ſell three quarters of the whole produce of the mines to the crown at Catharinenburgh, at the low rate of

* We muſt take this year as the average ſtandard, as being previous to the rebellion of Pugatchef, who deſtroyed ſeveral of the founderies; but moſt of them have been ſince reeſtabliſhed.

£1 2s. per pood*. The remainder they either ſell to the crown at the ſame place, at £1 14s. per pood; at Moſcow, for £2 2s.; or at Peterſburgh, for £2 4s.

At Catharinenburgh copper money to the value of £400,000 is annually coined. The crown receives a pood of this metal, upon an average, at £1 2s. 6d.; and iſſues it when ſtruck at £3 4s.

From theſe data government appears to gain annually from the mines, and duties upon iron, as follows:

Gain upon the copper coinage at Catharinenburgh	£257,625	0
44,000 pounds of ſilver, and 1,200 of gold, the annual produce from the mines of Kolyvan, when coined, yield — — —	282,164	4
16,320 pounds of ſilver, and 160 of gold, from the mines of Nerſhinſk — — —	71,194	8
Government iron works — —	32,529	16
Duty on 4,558,718 poods of caſt iron —	36,469	5
	£679,182	13

The iron and copper are tranſported by means of the Koſva, Tchuſſovaja, Bielaya, and Kama, into the Volga: ſome of the veſſels deſcend that river, in order to ſupply with iron the provinces ſituated along its banks; but far the greateſt numbers are towed up the ſtream to Niſhnèi-Novogorod, and Tver, and through the canal of Viſhnèi-Voloſhok to Peterſburgh. The veſſels, which ſet out immediately upon the breaking of the froſt in ſpring, commonly perform this navigation before the end of autumn; but they ſometimes are obliged to winter by the way.

* By an edict of the empreſs, dated July 1, 1780, the proprietors, inſtead of ſelling three quarters of the copper to the crown at £1 2s. per pood, are now only obliged to diſpoſe of half at that price: this new regulation muſt have ſomewhat reduced the profits of the copper coinage. See Journ. St. Pet. for 1780, p. 53.

CHAP. VII.

Deſcription of the canal of Viſhnèi-Voloſhok, *which unites the* Caſpian *and the* Baltic.—*Canal of* Ladoga.—*Project of uniting the* Don *and the* Volga.

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THERE is no kingdom, perhaps, on the globe wherein the inland navigation is carried through ſuch an extent of country as in Ruſſia; for it is poſſible to convey goods by water 4472 miles from the frontiers of China to Peterſburgh, with an interruption only of about 60 miles*; and from Aſtracan to the ſame capital through a tract of 1434 miles, without once landing them.

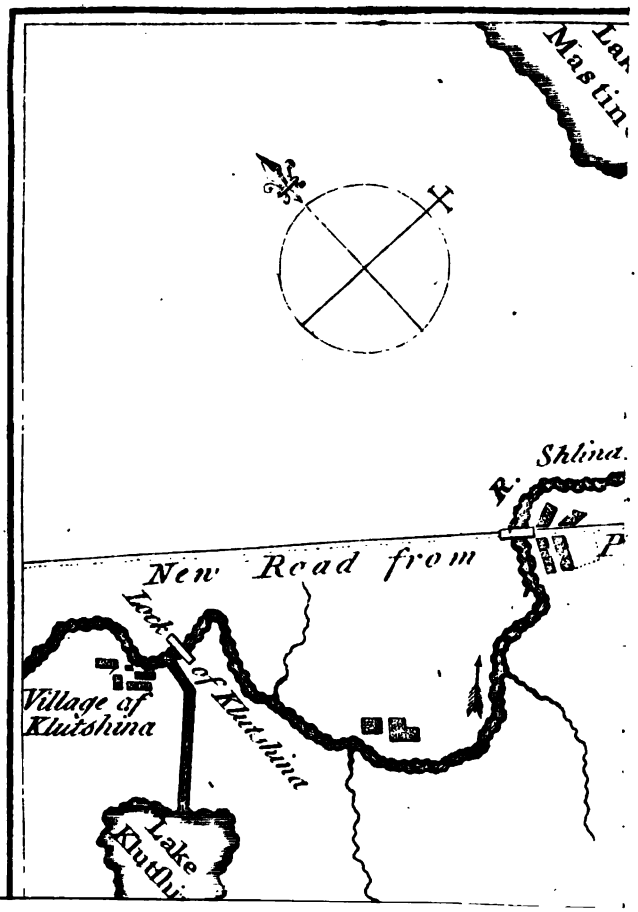
The water communication between Aſtracan and Peterſburgh, or between the Caſpian and the Baltic, is formed by means of the celebrated canal of Viſhnèi-Voloſhok, which I examined upon the ſpot, and a deſcription of which I reſerved for the preſent occaſion.

This great work, begun and completed under the reign of Peter the Great, has been ſo conſiderably improved by order of the preſent empreſs, that veſſels now reach Peterſburgh in leſs than half the time which they formerly employed.

By examining a map of Ruſſia, we find that the Tvertza joins the Volga at Tver; that the Shlina forms the lake Maſtino, which gives riſe to the Maſta: that the latter falls, after

* Having in a former publication (Ruſſian Diſcoveries, p. 245.) given a ſhort ſketch of the inland navigation from Tobolſk to the frontiers of China, I ſhall not repeat it here; but ſhall ſtate, in a few words, that from Tobolſk to the Volga. At Tobolſk the barks aſcend the Tobol, the Tura, and the Tigil, which riſes in the mountains ſeparating Siberia from Europe: from the Tigil the merchandize is tranſported acroſs a neck of land of about 52 miles to the Tchuſſovaia: there the merchants re-embark the goods, deſcend the Tchuſſovaia into the Kama, to its junction with the Volga a little above Caſan.

a courſe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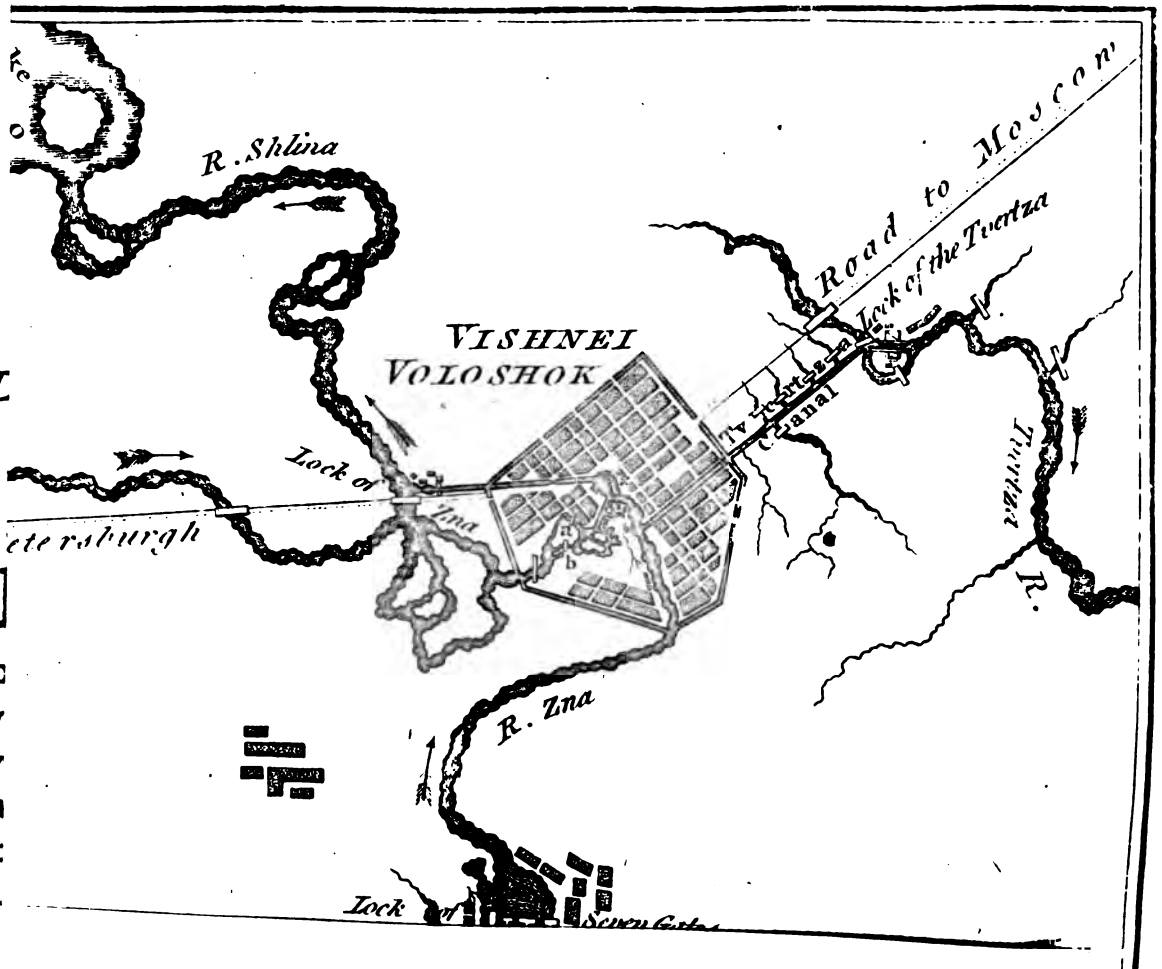
of Klutshina
Village of Klutshina
Lake Klutshi


R. Shlina
Road to Moscow
Lock of the Tvertza
VISHNEI
VOLOSHOK
Tvertza Canal
Lock of
Zna
Tvertza
R.
R. Zna
Lock of Seven Gates

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a courſe of about 234 miles, into the lake Ilmen, from which iſſues the river Volkof, and runs 130 miles to the lake Ladoga, which ſupplies the Neva: ſo that, in effect, the Shlina, the Maſta, the Volkof, and the Neva, may be conſidered as the ſame river, flowing into and through different lakes, and only changing its name at various intervals. By uniting, therefore, the Shlina which communicates with the Baltic, with the Tvertza which flows by the Volga into the Caſpian, is formed the junction of thoſe two ſeas. This junction is made by the canal of Viſhnèi-Voloſhok, where the Shlina is united to the Tvertza by the following canals and rivulets, for the relative ſituation of which I ſhall refer to the figures in the annexed plan. CHAP. VII.

Cloſe to Viſhnèi-Voloſhok, the Shlina is formed by the confluence of the two rivulets Shlina and Zna; near the latter are the ſources of the Tvertza. In order to join the Tvertza and the Zna, the following works were made under Peter the Great.

1. Near the village of Klutſhina a cut was dug to the ſmall lake of the ſame name; a ſecond to the lake of Gorodolub; and a third from thence to the Zna. 2. At the ſame village, juſt below the firſt cut, a lock of four gates was conſtructed acroſs the Shlina, in order to ſtop the courſe of that rivulet; and, by means of the ſaid cuts and lakes, to convey water to the Zna above Viſhnèi-Voloſhok. 3. But to keep this ſupply of water in reſerve, and to let as much in to the town as is judged neceſſary, a great lock of ſeven gates was built acroſs the Zna below the third cut. 4. The Zna and the Tvertza were united by a canal, beginning from the ſources of the latter; and at the end of the canal a lock was made. 5. The natural courſe of the Zna was ſhut up by two locks in the town (at *a* and *b*), one of which may alſo ſerve for a paſſage. 6. A canal was dug from the Zna to the Shlina, at the end of which is the lock of the Zna.

The

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The ſeveral canals are ſupplied with water, and the veſſels are navigated from the Tvertza into the canal of the Zna, by the following operation of the locks.

The locks of Klutſhina, thoſe of *a* and *b* in the town, and that of the Zna being ſhut, the lock of the Tvertza is opened, and the waters of the Zna and Shlina are conveyed through the canal of the Tvertza into that river, and the barks paſs into the Zna at Viſhnèi-Voloſhok. When a ſufficient number have been admitted, the lock of the Tvertza is ſhut; and the waters being raiſed to a certain level (which ſeldom takes more than two or three days), by means of the lock of ſeven gates, that of the Zna is opened; and the barks are gradually let down a ſmall fall, to the number of about twenty in an hour. At night the lock is ſhut. If on the following day there is ſufficient depth, the barks continue deſcending through the lock of the Zna; or, if not, they muſt remain for a day or two, until there is a ſufficient body of water collected. Having by theſe means all paſſed into the Shlina, they proceed, without interruption, through the lake Maſtino to the beginning of the Maſta, where a lock has been lately conſtructed, which holds the waters of this lake in reſerve. By this reſervoir the navigation is ſo greatly facilitated, that the lock of the Zna being ſhut, and that of the Tvertza open, the latter river, which was formerly almoſt dry during ſeveral weeks, is now generally navigable, even in the midſt of ſummer, within two days after the paſſage of the barks: in ſpring, the ſupply of water, from the melting of the ſnows, is ſo conſiderable, that the locks both of the Tvertza and of the Zna are open at the ſame time.

With reſpect to the navigation of the Maſta, ſeveral rivulets falling into it are confined by locks, which being opened ſucceſſively as the barks are paſſing, fill the river, and render the ſhallows navigable; and, being again cloſed, hold perpetual reſervoirs

reſervoirs of water for the ſame purpoſe: this operation is performed five or ſix times in the ſummer. By ſome other works lately conſtructed, a conſiderable addition of water has been obtained; and it is expected, that the Tvertza will become always navigable, and that the lock of the Maſta will only be ſhut for a ſhort time.

The boats employed on this occaſion are towed by ten horſes up the Tvertza to Viſhnèi-Voloſhok, between ten and twelve miles a day; from which place they are rowed as far as Novogorod. Each bark is provided with at leaſt ten men; thoſe which are laden with hemp require twenty-two. At Noſhino and Baſſatino they change pilots, and take in ten additional men to paſs the upper and ſmall cataracts. At Apezenſkoi Radok, which ſtands at the head of the great cataracts, they procure another pilot and two aſſiſtants; and, on account of the rapidity of the current, increaſe their complement generally to ſixty men. The fall of the river is 122½ yards perpendicular in twenty miles; and the ſtream is ſo violent, that the boats not unfrequently ſhoot along this ſpace within the hour: but they are ſometimes daſhed againſt the rocks, or overſet by accident: in the year 1778 above thirty were loſt. From the foot of the great cataracts, the pilot of Viſhnèi-Voloſhok ſteers the bark 120 miles further down ſeveral ſhoals, which however have lately been conſiderably reduced, and almoſt levelled. In ſpring the veſſels can be allowed to draw 2½ feet water; in ſummer only 26 inches. In autumn the navigation from Viſhnèi-Voloſhok to Peterſburgh is performed in little more than a month; in ſummer in three weeks; and in ſpring only a fortnight is required. In the year 1777, 3485 barks paſſed through the canal. The veſſels being ſteered down the Maſta, acroſs the lake Ilmen to Novogorod, deſcend the Volkof, and enter the Ladoga canal, a plan of which is annexed to that of Viſhnèi-Voloſhok. This canal was begun in 1718, by order of Peter I.; and was

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finiſhed during the reign of the empreſs Anne: it was carried at firſt only as far as the ſmall village of Kabona, to a rivulet of the ſame name, which falls into the lake to the eaſt of Schluſſelburgh; but now reaches, without interruption, from the Volkof to the Neva. Its length is 67 miles and an half; and its breadth 70 feet. Its mean depth of water in ſummer is ſeven, and in ſpring ten feet. It is ſupplied by the Volkof and eight rivulets; the latter, being received into reſervoirs, are admitted into the canal by means of flood-gates; and the ſuperfluous water is diſcharged through an equal number of openings on the oppoſite ſide. The barks enter through the ſluices of the Volkof, and go out through thoſe of Schluſſelburgh. In 1778, 4927 veſſels paſſed through the canal of Ladoga.

A ſcheme has been lately projected, to form a water communication between the Ladoga and Bielo Ozero to the Duna, in order to unite the White Sea and the Baltic, and to improve the inland commerce between Archangel and Peterſburgh. The only part of this plan yet finiſhed is a ſhort cut of about ſeven miles from the Volkof to the Sjas.

The grand project of uniting the Caſpian and the Baltic with the Black Sea, by the junction of the Don and the Volga, was planned by Peter the Great. Theſe two rivers approach each other within the diſtance of 40 miles in the province of Aſtracan; and the two rivulets, Iloſla and Camaſhinſka, the former whereof falls into the Don, and the latter into the Volga, are only ſeparated by an interval of about five miles. Could theſe two rivulets be made navigable, and united by a canal, the Black Sea would be joined with the Caſpian and the Baltic. With this view Peter I. ſent Perry *, an Engliſh engineer, to the ſpot: the canal was begun under his inſpection, and a cut was actually made the length of a mile and an half; but the ſcheme was dropped, from an idea that it was not practi-

* See Perry's State of Ruſſia.

cable.

cable. Being revived, however, by the preſent empreſs, profeſſor Lovitz was entruſted with the execution of it. Having taken a level of the ground between the Iloſla and the Camaſhinſka, he traced out the canal, and was preparing to begin the work, when, in 1774, he was wantonly murdered by the impoſtor Pugatchef. According to the plan of Lovitz, the direct diſtance between the two rivulets is only five miles; but the great difficulty would conſiſt in deepening their beds, and procuring a ſupply of water ſufficient to render them navigable. The Don, however, being only 40 miles from the Volga, and land-carriage in this country being extremely cheap and eaſy, it is imagined that the advantages reſulting from the projected canal would be ſcarcely equivalent to the expence of forming it. CHAP. VII.

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Divine ſervice in the Sclavonian *and* Greek *tongue performed by the archbiſhop of* Moſcow.—*Bleſſing of the waters.*—*Public feaſt given to the populace.*—*Its melancholy concluſion.*—*Deſcription of the vapour-baths.*—*Departure from* Peterſburgh.—*Journey through* Ruſſian Finland.—*Sledges.*—*Mode of travelling.*—Wiburgh.—Frederickſham.

THE reader, in the firſt part of the preſent chapter, will meet with accounts of various ceremonies and national cuſtoms, which will follow each other in an unconnected detail, but which were too curious to be omitted.

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During our ſtay at Peterſburgh, one Sunday morning, about nine o'clock, we, in company with Sir James Harris, had the honour of attending prince Potemkin to the archbiſhop of Moſcow, in order to be preſent at a Sclavonian and Greek ſervice. This learned prelate, whoſe name is Plato, received us with great politeneſs; and, at the cloſe of a ſhort converſation, conducted us into the church. Upon his entrance the choiriſters began a ſhort hymn*, which they finiſhed as he approached the ſhrine: having then ſaid a ſhort prayer, he placed himſelf upon a raiſed ſeat in the middle of the church †; and taking off his mandyas, or common garment, the attendant prieſts kiſſed his hand, while they delivered to him the different parts of the coſtly pontifical veſtments, which, in receiving, he raiſed to his lips ‡, before he inveſted himſelf with them: he alſo placed on his head a crown richly ornamented with pearls and precious ſtones. We were informed, that this dreſs is ſimilar to the imperial robe that was formerly worn by the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople, and which they permitted the ſupreme dignitaries of the church to put on at the time of divine ſervice; and the ſame attire ſtill continues to diſtinguiſh the hierarchy of the Greek church eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia from the lower orders. The archbiſhop being robed, repaired to the ſhrine within the great folding-doors, and ſoon afterwards began the celebration of divine worſhip. Part of the ſervice was performed in the Sclavonian tongue by the different prieſts, and part by the archbiſhop in the Greek language, which he pronounced according to the accent of the modern Greeks. In con-

* "The Lord's name is praiſed from the "riſing up of the ſun, to the going down of "the ſame." Pſalm cxiii. 3.

† The biſhops alone have the privilege of robing themſelves in the middle of the church: the common prieſts put on their eccleſiaſtical veſtments in the ſhrine.

‡ In order to kiſs the croſs, which is embroidered upon each part of the dreſs.

formity

formity to the rules of the church, no organ, or any other muſical inſtrument, was introduced; but the vocal harmony, which conſiſted in hymns, was exceedingly pleaſing. Lighted tapers and incenſe ſeemed no leſs eſſential parts of their worſhip than among the Roman Catholics. Towards the concluſion of the prayers, the archbiſhop and clergy retired into the ſhrine, to receive the communion. The folding-doors were immediately ſhut, and none of the laity * at that time partook of this rite; but we, as ſtrangers, were allowed to view what paſſed through a ſide-door that had been left open for that purpoſe. The communicants ſtood during the ceremony; and the wine was, according to uſual cuſtom, mixed with warm water; the bread, which was cut into ſmall pieces, was put into the wine, and the elements of both kinds were given at the ſame time in a ſpoon. CHAP. VIII.

The whole ſervice laſted about an hour: the archbiſhop, having pronounced the final benediction, again ſeated himſelf in the middle of the church, diveſted himſelf of his pontifical garments, and clothed himſelf in his common robe. We then followed him to his houſe, where we found a breakfaſt, conſiſting of an eel-pye, a ſterlet, red and pickled herrings, and various ſorts of *liqueurs* and wines. After enjoying for ſome time the intelligent and entertaining converſation of the archbiſhop, who ſpoke fluently the French tongue, we made our acknowledgments, and retired.

Before our departure from the metropolis, we had an opportunity of being preſent at another religious rite of a more public nature, the Bleſſing of the Waters; which was performed on the 6th of January, O. S. though not with its antient pomp and magnificence. This ceremony uſed to be held upon the Neva, upon which occaſion the ſovereign attended in perſon upon the ice, and all the regiments of guards were Jan. 17, N. S.

* The laity generally receive the ſacrament once or twice in the year.

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drawn out in great ſolemnity. Its pomp, though ſtill ſplendid, is now much diminiſhed. I ſhall here deſcribe the principal circumſtances which fell under my obſervation.

Upon the frozen ſurface of a ſmall canal, between the admiralty and the palace, was erected an octagon pavilion of wood, painted green, and ornamented with boughs of fir: it was open at the ſides, and crowned by a dome, ſupported by eight pillars. On the top was the figure of St. John with the croſs, and four paintings, repreſenting ſome of the miracles of our Saviour: in the inſide a carved image of the Holy Spirit, under the emblem of a dove, was ſuſpended, as is uſual in the ſanctuaries of the Greek churches. The floor of this edifice was carpeted, excepting a ſquare vacancy in the middle, in which an opening was cut in the ice, and a ladder let down into the water. The pavilion was incloſed by paliſadoes, adorned with boughs of fir, and the intermediate ſpace alſo covered with carpets. From one of the windows of the palace a ſcaffolding was erected, ornamented with red cloth, which reached to the extremity of the canal. At the time appointed, the empreſs appeared at the window of the palace; and the archbiſhop, who was to perform the benediction, paſſed at the head of a numerous proceſſion along the ſcaffolding into the octagon, round which were drawn up a few ſoldiers of each regiment quartered at Peterſburgh: after having pronounced a few prayers *, he deſcended the ladder, plunged a croſs into the water, and then ſprinkled the colours of each regiment. At the concluſion of this ceremony, the archbiſhop retired, and the people ruſhed in crowds into the octagon †, drank with eagerneſs the water, ſprinkled it upon

* The reader will find the ceremonies and prayers uſed on this occaſion in Dr. King's Rites of the Greek Church, p. 386.

† I was informed that ſome of the populace plunged into the water; and that others dipped their children into it; but as I was not myſelf witneſs to theſe circumſtances, I cannot vouch for their truth.

their

their clothes, and carried ſome of it away for the purpoſe of purifying their houſes. CHAP. VIII.

On the 6th of December we were witneſs to a very ſingular entertainment given to the public by a Ruſſian, who had acquired a large fortune by farming, during four years only, the right of vending ſpirituous liquors. Upon ſurrendering his contract, he gave, as a proof of his gratitude to the lower claſs of people, by whom he had enriched himſelf, a feaſt in the garden of the ſummer-palace, which was announced by hand-bills diſtributed throughout the city. As ſtrangers, deſirous of obſerving the national manners, we did not fail to be preſent at this carouſal, which commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon. Upon our firſt arrival, we walked round the gardens, and examined the preparations. A large ſemicircular table was covered with all kinds of proviſion, piled in different ſhapes, and in the greateſt profuſion: Large ſlices of bread and caviare, dried ſturgeon, carp, and other fiſh, were ranged to a great height, in the form of pent-houſes and pyramids, and garniſhed with craw-fiſh, onions, and pickles. In different parts of the garden were rows of caſks full of ſpirituous liquors, and ſtill larger veſſels of wine, beer, and quaſs. Among the decorations I obſerved the repreſentation of an immenſe whale in paſteboard, covered with cloth and gold and ſilver brocade, and filled in the inſide with bread, dried fiſh, and other proviſions.

All ſorts of games and diverſions were exhibited for the amuſement of the populace. At the extremity of the grounds was a large ſquare of ice well ſwept for the ſcaters; near which were two machines like the ſwinging vehicles at Bartholomew Fair. One of theſe machines conſiſted of two croſs-beams fixed horizontally to a pole in the center by means of a pivot: from the ends of the beams hung four ſledges, in which the people ſeated themſelves, and were turned round with

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with great velocity; the other had four wooden horſes ſuſpended from the beams, and the riders were whirled round in the like manner as their rivals in the ſledges. Beyond theſe were two ice-hills, ſimilar to thoſe which I have deſcribed on a former occaſion *, and for the ſame diverſion. Two poles, above twenty feet in height, were alſo erected, with colours flying; and at the top of each was placed a piece of money, as a prize for thoſe who could ſwarm up and ſeize it. The poles, being rubbed with oil, ſoon froze in this ſevere climate: many and tedious were the attempts of the various competitors in this ſlippery aſcent to fame. The ſcene was lively and gay; for above 40,000 perſons of both ſexes were aſſembled on the occaſion. Having thus far ſatisfied our curioſity, we found our way, not without great difficulty, through the crowd to a pavilion in the garden, where the maſter of the feaſt and ſeveral of the nobility were aſſembled, and were regaled with a cold collation, and various ſorts of wine.

It had been preconcerted, that, upon the firing of a rocket, the people were to drink a glaſs of ſpirituous liquor; and, upon the diſcharge of a ſecond, to begin the repaſt. But the impatience of the populace anticipated the neceſſity of the ſecond ſignal, and the whole multitude was ſoon and at once in motion. The whale was the chief object of contention: within the ſpace of a few minutes he was entirely diveſted of his gaudy trappings, which became the ſpoils of his ſucceſsful invaders. They had no ſooner ſtead off his drapery, and ſecured the fragments of rich brocade, than they rent him into a thouſand pieces, in order to ſeize the proviſions with which his inſide was ſtored. The remaining people, who were too numerous to be all engaged in contending about the whale, were employed in uncovering the pent-houſes, and pulling down the pyramids; in conveying with one hand provender

* See Vol. I. Book IV. Chap. III.

to

to their mouths, and with the other to their pockets. Others crowded round the caſks and hogſheads, and with great wooden ladles lapped inceſſantly wine, beer, and ſpirits. The confuſion and riot, which ſoon ſucceeded, is better conceived than deſcribed; and we thought it expedient to retire. The evening was cloſed with a ſuperb illumination of the gardens, and magnificent fire-works.

But the conſequences of this feaſt were indeed dreadful. The cold had ſuddenly increaſed with ſuch violence, that Fahrenheit's thermometer, which at mid-day ſtood only at 4, ſunk towards the cloſe of the evening to 15 below freezing point; conſequently many intoxicated perſons were frozen to death; not a few fell a ſacrifice to drunken quarrels; and others were robbed and murdered in the more retired parts of the city, as they were returning late to their homes. From a compariſon of the various reports, we had reaſon to conclude, that at leaſt 400 perſons loſt their lives upon this melancholy occaſion.

The Ruſſian baths have been deſcribed by every traveller who has given to the public any relation of this country. Inſtead of tranſcribing from the accounts of others, I ſhall relate what fell under my own immediate notice.

In one of the Ruſſian villages we entered a bathing-houſe, and examined it with as much attention as the extreme heat would permit. It was a wooden building of one room, with ſmall windows like thoſe of the common cottages. Within an old woman was employed in preparing the bath; and as the violent ſmoke and heat rendered it ſcarcely poſſible for us to ſtay in the room for the ſpace of a minute, we took our ſtation at the door, and obſerved the proceſs. She firſt made a fire under an arch of large granite ſtones about four feet in height, and when they were ſufficiently heated, ſhe ſprinkled them at different intervals with water, which immediately flew

off

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off in vapour. She then took from the fire, by means of two ſticks, ſeveral ſmall red-hot pebbles, and put them into pails and troughs of water, which acquired thereby different degrees of warmth. In about half an hour three men entered the bath, and, taking off their clothes, remained within, while the old woman continued to throw water upon the arch of ſtones, which heated the room to a prodigious degree. They then lay down upon a ſort of table, and, having lathered their bodies with ſoap, ſhe rubbed them lightly with a bundle of twigs in full foliage. On account of the exceſſive heat, we were driven from the door; ard ſoon afterwards the men, having their bodies quite ſuffuſed with a deep crimſon from the effects of the vapour, ruſhed out, and inſtantly plunged themſelves into the river.

Another bath which we entered near the convent of Yurief at Novogorod, being larger and more commodious, we were able to remain for ſome time ſpectators of the whole proceſs. It was a large wooden building, containing, like that juſt deſcribed, only one room, and was provided with ranges of broad benches, placed like ſteps one above the other, almoſt to the height of the cieling. Within were about twenty perſons undreſſed; ſome were lying upon the benches; ſome were ſitting, others ſtanding; ſome were waſhing their bodies with ſoap; others rubbing themſelves with ſmall branches of oak-leaves tied together like a rod; ſome were pouring hot water upon their heads, others cold water; a few, almoſt exhauſted by the heat, were ſtanding in the open air, or repeatedly plunging into the Volkof*.

I ſhall

* Travellers are too apt not to diſtinguiſh between the cuſtoms of the common people and thoſe of the nobles; often imputing to the latter what is true only of the former. The Abbé de Chappe, in his account of his Journey through Siberia, has in many inſtances been guilty of this abſurdity; and the reader is led to conclude from his narrative, that the nobles bathe promiſcuouſly in public like the common people; that they are equally addicted

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I ſhall add on this ſubject the following account communicated to me by an Engliſh gentleman at Peterſburgh, who was ordered to bathe for his health. "The bathing-room was "ſmall and low, and contained a heap of large ſtones piled "over a fire, and two broad benches, one near the ground, "and the other near the cieling. Small buckets of water be-"ing occaſionally thrown upon the heated ſtones, filled the "room with a hot and ſuffocating vapour; which, from its "tendency to aſcend, rendered the upper part much hotter "than the lower. Having taken off my clothes, I laid myſelf "down upon the higheſt bench, while the bathing woman "was preparing tubs of hot and cold water, and continued to "increaſe the vapour in the manner above mentioned. Having "dipped a branch of twigs into the hot water, ſhe repeatedly "ſprinkled, and then rubbed with it my whole body. In about "half an hour I removed to the lower bench, which I found "much cooler; when the bathing-woman lathered me from "head to foot with ſoap, ſcrubbed me with flannel for the "ſpace of ten minutes, and throwing ſeveral buckets of warm "water over me, till the ſoap was entirely waſhed off, ſhe "finally dried me with napkins. As I put on my clothes in a "room without a fire, I had an opportunity of remarking, "that the cold air had little effect on my body, though in ſo "heated a ſtate; for while I was dreſſing, I felt a glow of "warmth which continued during the whole night. This cir-

dicted to ſpirituous liquors; and that they are as rude and inelegant in their entertainments and behaviour; the very reverſe of which is the fact. The author of the Antidote to his Travels has not failed, with a glow of national patriotiſm, to cenſure ſuch indiſcriminate accounts. In no one inſtance has the Abbé been more erroneous than in his deſcription of the baths. After a ludicrous relation of them, he adds, "Theſe baths are in uſe all over Ruſſia; "every inhabitant of this vaſt tract of land, "from the ſovereign to the meaneſt ſubject, "bathes twice a week, and in the ſame man-"ner. Every individual, even of the ſmalleſt "fortune, has a private bath in his own houſe, "in which the father, mother, and children "ſometimes bathe all together." And again, "The baths of the rich differ only from thoſe "of the poor people in being more clean." But ſuch ſhameful miſrepreſentations ſcarcely deſerve to be mentioned, were it not to expoſe their falſity.

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"cumſtance convinced me, that, when the natives ruſh from "the vapour-baths into the river, or even roll in the ſnow, "their ſenſations are in no reſpect diſagreeable, nor the effects "in any degree unwholeſome."

Though the hardineſs of the Ruſſians has, with reaſon, been generally attributed to the ſudden extremes of heat and cold, which they experience on theſe occaſions, yet other cauſes are not wanting that may concur to this effect. The peaſants change their dreſs without the leaſt attention to the variation of the ſeaſons; on the ſame day they wear only their coarſe ſhirts and drawers, or are clad in the warmeſt clothing. They are totally unacquainted with the luxury of beds; ſleeping either upon the tops of their ſtoves, or on the bare floor, ſometimes in their clothes, and at other times almoſt naked. Their cottages alſo are rendered exceedingly hot, from the number of perſons crowded into a ſmall ſpace, and from the ſtoves, which are almoſt always heated, even in the midſt of ſummer; ſo that when they go out, it is like iſſuing from a warm bath into the open air. The children are not tenderly nurtured, but are equally inured from their earlieſt infancy to the moſt oppoſite extremes. We ſeldom, indeed, paſſed through a village, in which we did not obſerve ſeveral running about the ſtreets, and others, who were ſcarcely able to crawl, ſtanding or lying near the doors of the cottages, with no other covering than their ſhirts, even in rainy or froſty weather. Thus the natives are uſed to ſudden changes of heat and cold, and accuſtomed from their infancy to the hardieſt kind of life.

On the evening of the 3d of February 1779, we took our departure from Peterſburgh, and, travelling all night, arrived on the following day at Wiburgh. I took the following precautions to guard againſt the cold. I had on a ſuit of Bath-drugget lined with flannel; two pair of worſted ſtockings; ſlippers, over which I drew boots well ſecured with flannel and fur:

fur: theſe boots I generally wore in the carriage, but pulled off when I entered a houſe. If the weather had proved uncommonly ſevere, I was provided with a kind of ſheep-ſkin caſe, with the wool on the inſide, for each of my legs, which reached to my waiſt, and was large enough to incloſe my boots. I wrapped round my body a great coat of blue nankeen, lined with lamb-ſkin, and occaſionally added a large *peliſſe*, or fur robe. I had a bear's-ſkin muff; and my head was enveloped in a black velvet cap, quilted with ſilk and cotton, which covered my cheeks, was tied under my chin, and might, if neceſſary, be drawn over the face. Thus accoutred, I could venture to defy even the cold of Lapland, whither our courſe was directed.

Our train conſiſted of eight ſledges, including thoſe appropriated to the baggage, as, on account of the narrowneſs of the roads, each perſon had a ſeparate carriage. There are various kinds of ſledges uſed for travelling in this country: ſome are entirely cloſe; others quite open; thoſe which we employed were partly open, and partly covered. A ſledge of this ſort is ſhaped like a cradle; its tilt, which riſes from the hinder extremity, and projects to about two feet, was open in front, but provided with curtains, which might be drawn and tied together whenever the weather was ſevere *. The outſide was ſecured with matting and oil-ſkin; and the inſide with coarſe cloth. Within was a mattraſs, feather-bed, and coverlid, or quilt of coarſe cloth. In this travelling couch I ſometimes lay extended at full length; ſometimes ſat croſs-legged like a Turk; and at other times raiſed myſelf on a ſeat formed by two cuſhions. Each ſledge was drawn by two horſes, which, on account of the narrowneſs of the roads, were harneſſed one before the other. The uſual rate of travelling is from ſix to eight miles in the hour. The motion of the carriage over the

* The reader will ſee the form of a ſledge in the back-ground of the engraving of the Ruſſian peaſant, in vol. I.

BOOK VI.

beaten ſnow was ſo eaſy, as to be almoſt imperceptible; and I never performed any journey in a more commodious manner. Though we continued our route during the night, and there was no moon, yet an *Aurora Borealis*, and the whiteneſs of the ſnow, ſupplied an agreeable ſpecies of twilight. The road, or rather path, through which our route lay, was ſcarcely more than a yard in breadth, ſunk two or three feet beneath the level of the ſnow, and hardened by the repeated preſſure of the horſes and ſledges. When two carriages met in this narrow track, the horſes, which turned out of the way, ſunk into the ſoft untrodden ſnow as high as their girths.

Feb. 4. Upon our arrival at Wiburgh about noon, we were conducted, by the governor's recommendation, to the houſe of a merchant, who entertained us in the moſt hoſpitable manner.

Ruſſian Finland, which formerly belonged to the Swedes, was partly ceded to the Ruſſians by the peace of Nyſtadt in 1721, and partly at the treaty of Abo in 1743. This province retains moſt of its antient privileges, with ſome occaſional modifications, which have been neceſſarily introduced under the new government. The country produces, beſide paſture, rye, oats, and barley, but not ſufficient for the inhabitants. Wiburgh retains its own civil and criminal courts of juſtice: in penal caſes, not capital, the puniſhments preſcribed by the provincial judicature are inflicted; but whenever a criminal is condemned to death, the Ruſſian laws interpoſe, and, reprieving him from the ſentence of beheading or hanging, as enjoined by the Swediſh code, conſign him to the knoot and tranſportation to Siberia. In the governor's court, buſineſs is tranſacted in the Swediſh, German, and Ruſſian tongues: the peaſants talk only the Finniſh dialect; but the inhabitants of the towns underſtand alſo Swediſh, and many of them German. The Lutheran is the eſtabliſhed religion of the province; but the Greek worſhip has been lately introduced by the Ruſſians. The Lutheran clergy,

clergy, conſidering the cheapneſs of proviſions, and the ſmall progreſs which luxury has made in this country, enjoy ſalaries not inadequate to their ſtations, ſome of their benefices amounting to £200 per annum, and the loweſt to £120.

Wiburgh, the capital of Ruſſian Finland, is a fortified town, and contains about 9000 inhabitants; a few houſes are conſtructed with brick, but the greateſt part are of wood. The principal commerce of the province is carried on at this place. The merchant, in whoſe houſe we were lodged, informed me, that the exports, the greateſt part of which are purchaſed by the Engliſh, are planks, tallow, pitch, and tar; and the imports, which are moſtly ſupplied from France and Holland, wine, ſpices, and ſalt; that in 1778, 99 ſhips arrived there, of which 65 were Engliſh.

Feb. 5. Having received an invitation to dinner from the governor, we repaired to his houſe at one o'clock, and partook of an elegant repaſt, at the concluſion of which we returned to our lodgings; and having paid our warmeſt thanks (for he would accept no other acknowledgements) to our hoſpitable landlord, we quitted Wiburgh, and purſued our journey through the night. In our route we did not once experience the leaſt delay for want of horſes, the governor having, with that polite attention which marked his character, ſent previous orders, that relays ſhould be ready for us at every poſt. The country through which we paſſed was a ſucceſſion of hill and dale, abounding with foreſts of fir and beech, interſperſed with numerous lakes, and thickly overſpread with ſhattered fragments of granite, which looked like the wrecks of mountains. There was no moon, nor even the ſmalleſt gleam of an *Aurora Borealis*, yet the ſnow caſt a ſtrong light; and our train of ſledges made a very pictureſque appearance as they winded round the whitened hills, pierced into the thick foreſts, or extended in a ſtraight line along the frozen ſurface of the lakes. During our courſe, the

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the ſtill ſilence of the night was frequently relieved by the carols of our drivers, who ſang the moſt ſimple and pleaſing airs. In this progreſs I beguiled the length of the journey, either by liſtening to their ſongs echoed by the ſurrounding foreſts, by admiring the unuſual caſt of the nocturnal ſcenery, or by ſlumbering in my travelling couch as comfortably as in a bed. The weather was uncommonly warm for the ſeaſon of the year, the mercury in the thermometer ſcarcely deſcending at midnight more than three degrees below freezing point.

Feb. 6. We arrived about nine in the morning at Frederickſham, and took up our lodging at an inn, where we met with very comfortable accommodations.

Frederickſham, when in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes, was only a ſmall village, but has been fortified by the Ruſſians, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the diſtrict in Finland, which was ceded to them at the peace of Abo. The town is ſmall and regular: in the centre is a ſquare, from which the ſtreets extend at right angles. The houſes, excepting one of brick, are all conſtructed with wood, but in the neateſt manner. The fortifications are very ſtrong: the garriſon and ſeveral companies of ſoldiers, quartered in the neighbouring villages, amount to about 6000 troops. The inhabitants carry on a ſmall commerce with England and Holland; export planks and tallow; and import ſalt and tobacco.

The governor of Wiburgh having previouſly diſpatched a letter of recommendation in our favour to the commander of the garriſon of Frederickſham, the latter, accompanied with the officers of his corps, honoured us with a viſit immediately upon our arrival, and invited us to dinner. Theſe marks of attention and hoſpitality are always pleaſing to travellers in a foreign country, but were greatly enhanced in ſuch a ſeaſon of drearineſs. Our hoſt, an old German officer, who had ſeen much ſervice, and poſſeſſed all that liberal frankneſs generally

Scorodomof del. *Teitgel sculpsit.*

A FIN PEASANT felling GAME.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jun.ª 1784. by T. Cadell. in the Strand.

nerally conſpicuous in veterans, enlivened an excellent entertainment with the vivacity of his converſation. The floors of the apartments, inſtead of being covered with carpets, were, according to a cuſtom not unuſual in theſe parts, ſtrewed with leaves and ſmall twigs of pines and firs, which afford, when bruiſed, a pleaſant ſmell, and give a cleanly appearance to the rooms.

Feb. 7. From Frederickſham we continued our journey through a hilly country abounding with foreſts and lakes, and in about 34 miles arrived at the frontiers of this empire.

The peaſants of Finland differ widely from the Ruſſians in their look and dreſs: they had for the moſt part fair complexions, and many of them red hair: they ſhave their beards, wear their hair parted at the top, and hanging to a conſiderable length over their ſhoulders *. We could not avoid remarking, that they were in general more civilized than the Ruſſians; and that even in the ſmalleſt villages we were able to procure much better accommodations than we uſually met with in the largeſt towns which we had hitherto viſited in this empire. The inhabitants of this province enjoy conſiderable privileges, and profeſs a different religion: how far theſe circumſtances may render them more enlightened than the Ruſſians is a curious queſtion, which cannot be anſwered by us who continued in the country during ſo ſhort a time.

* The Ruſſians have generally dark complexions and hair: they alſo wear their beards, and cut their hair ſhort.

TRAVELS

INTO

SWEDEN.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Entrance into Swediſh Finland.—Louiſa.—Helſingfors.—Abo.—*Journey in ſledges over part of the frozen ſurface of the* Gulf of Bothnia.—*Iſle of* Aland.—*Paſſage by ſea to the coaſt of* Sweden.—*Journey to* Stockholm.

BOOK VII.

THE limits of Ruſſia and Sweden, as ſettled by the peace of Abo, are formed by the river Kymen, on the ſouth ſide whereof was a wooden houſe, a rampart of earth, and a ſmall battery. Being admitted through a wooden barrier, guarded by a Ruſſian ſoldier, we croſſed a bridge to a ſmall iſland, paſſed another bridge over a ſtream which was a branch of the Kymen; and went through a ſecond barrier, at which ſtood a Swediſh centinel. In quitting the Ruſſian dominions, our baggage was ſlightly ſearched; and in entering Swediſh Finland, the ſame ceremony was performed by the cuſtom-houſe officers of that diſtrict. Cloſe to the frontiers we changed horſes at Lilla-Abbors, and in leſs than an hour arrived at Louiſa.

Soon

CHAP. I.

Soon after our departure from Wiburgh, the weather changed from very near a thaw to a ſevere froſt, the mercury in the thermometer ſinking to 22 below freezing point. This ſudden alteration in the ſtate of the atmoſphere was in no wiſe diſagreeable: the warmth of our clothing enabled us to defy the moſt intenſe froſt; nor had I once occaſion to uſe all the coverings with which I had the precaution to provide myſelf. The face was the only part which I found difficult to ſecure againſt the attacks of the cold, and more particularly at night, when I was inclined to ſleep. In that ſtate I generally covered my cheeks and forehead with the flaps of my velvet cap, leaving only my noſe and mouth free for reſpiration; and over them I ſometimes held my muff, or placed my handkerchief, which was attended with this inconvenience: as the breath inſtantly congealed, the parts of the muff or handkerchief, in contact with my mouth, became in a ſhort time ſo clotted with icicles, that I was obliged repeatedly to change their poſition, in order to prevent an accumulation of the frozen particles.

Louiſa is an open town upon a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia: and is guarded towards the ſea by a ſmall fortreſs. The houſes are all of wood, and of two ſtories; they are painted with a red colour, and look much neater than thoſe of the common towns and villages in Ruſſia. Soon after our arrival we waited upon the governor, to obtain an order for poſt horſes, and to procure information with reſpect to our intended route to Stockholm. In ſummer, travellers, in paſſing from Peterſburgh to the capital of Sweden, commonly go by land to Abo: there they take ſhip, and, ſteering through the numerous iſlands which riſe in that part of the Gulf of Bothnia to the eaſtern ſhore of Aland, they croſs that iſland to its weſtern coaſt, where they again embark, and proceed directly through a more open ſea to Sweden. In winter, the paſſage acroſs the

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Gulf is not always practicable; for the channels between the numberleſs iſlands are moſtly frozen, ſo as not to admit veſſels, yet ſeldom ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport carriages; and, when that happens, the remaining part of the open gulf, from Aland to the coaſt of Sweden, which is not ſprinkled with iſlands, is generally ſo embarraſſed with floating maſſes of ice, as to render the navigation extremely dangerous. The uſual way, therefore, in winter, and which we intended to have purſued, lies round the Gulf of Bothnia, through Torneo in Swediſh Lapland. We had anticipated the ſatisfaction we ſhould receive from paſſing a few days at Torneo, a place rendered remarkable for the meaſurement of a degree by the celebrated Maupertuis; from making an excurſion into Lapland beyond the Arctic Circle; from obſerving the manners and cuſtoms of the natives; and from riding in ſledges drawn by rein-deer. But, alas! our curioſity was deſtined not to be gratified. Upon conſulting the governor of Louiſa, he informed us, that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to proceed into Lapland; for if a general thaw ſhould take place, which ſeemed very likely to happen, we ſhould not be able to continue our route in ſledges; and as we could not procure any carriages with wheels to convey us to Stockholm, we ſhould be obliged to proceed by ſea, which in the ſpring of the year is a very dangerous and uncertain navigation. He added alſo, that the paſſage acroſs the Gulf of Bothnia was at this time fortunately practicable, as the channels between the ſmall iſlands were ſufficiently frozen to bear ſledges, and the other part of the Gulf was not obſtructed with floating maſſes of ice. And when the governor perceived that, notwithſtanding the favourable opportunity of croſſing the Gulf of Bothnia, and the dangers which would neceſſarily attend our journey by land, we ſeemed eager to purſue our expedition to Lapland, he preſſed his advice with the moſt forcible reaſons; and would not deſiſt until he had

even

even extorted a promiſe that we would proceed directly to Abo. The gentleman to whom we were indebted for this friendly remonſtrance, was a ſenſible well-informed old man, of Scotch extraction, and had ſerved during ſeveral years in France in the Royal Swediſh regiment. During a long converſation which we held with him, "You have probably," he ſaid, "conceived "a bad opinion of Finland, from the regions which you have "already traverſed, which are the moſt deſolate parts of the "province; but I aſſure you, that a few miles from the ſea-"coaſt it is a very agreeable country, fertile in paſture, rye, oats, "and barley. From the abundance of rivers and lakes, ſome "of which are of conſiderable length, an inland navigation "might eaſily be formed at little expence, and facilitate a com-"munication between the different diſtricts." CHAP. I.

Feb. 9. In purſuance of his advice, inſtead of continuing our route towards Lapland, we made our way to Abo. We ſet off at eight in the evening, and were lighted during the whole night by a beautiful *Aurora Borealis:* the thermometer was ſcarcely below freezing point. Our road lay near the ſhore of the Gulf of Bothnia, through a hilly, rocky, and woody country. I obſerved the ground thickly ſtrewed with detached maſſes of granite, as if broken by ſome violent convulſion. We frequently ſaw large flights of grouſe, black cocks, and ptarmigans. In theſe parts the large ſpecies of grouſe, called the cock of the wood, a bird almoſt equal in ſize to a ſmall turkey, is not uncommon; the moor-fowl and ptarmigans are very plentiful; but the black game is ſo abundant, that we ſeldom ſat down to dinner, even at the commoneſt inns, without being regaled with a brace of thoſe delicious birds. Having paſſed ſeveral large lakes, with which the country abounds, and croſſed the frozen ſurface of a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia, we arrived on the enſuing morning at Helſingfors, which ſtands in a very romantic ſituation, upon a riſing ſhore, near ſeveral

BOOK VII.

rocks and huge fragments of granite. Within a ſmall diſtance of Helſingfors, and cloſe to the Gulf, the Swedes were conſtructing a fortreſs, which, when finiſhed, will be the ſtrongeſt in theſe parts. The harbour is the moſt commodious in Finland.

Agreeably to an invitation from the governor of Helſingfors, to whom we applied for further information reſpecting our paſſage acroſs the Gulf of Bothnia, we repaired in the evening to a ball: the gentlemen and ladies all wore the new Swediſh dreſs*; and amuſed themſelves chiefly with minuets and Engliſh country-dances. The company were very polite and attentive to us, and ſeveral accoſted us in French.

Feb. 11. We quitted Helſingfors on the morning, and arrived at Abo, which is diſtant about 150 miles, on the evening of the 12th, through a tract of country that ſeemed better peopled than the other parts of Finland which we had hitherto traverſed; and which was diverſified with a beautiful mixture of hill and dale.

Abo, the capital of Swediſh Finland, lies upon the point where the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland unite: the town, which is not ill built, contains ſeveral brick houſes, but the generality are of wood painted red. The inhabitants export linen, corn, and planks. We had ſcarcely arrived, when the burgomaſter of the town obligingly waited upon us, and on the following morning conducted us to the univerſity, which was founded in 1640 by Chriſtina, and endowed with the ſame privileges as that of Upſala. It contained at that time about 300 ſtudents. The collection in the library amounted to 3000 volumes, a catalogue of which was publiſhed in 1655, and a ſecond edition in 1685†. The books were removed in 1713 to Stockholm when the Ruſſians had poſſeſſion of the town; and were again reſtored to the univerſity upon the peace of Nyſtadt.

* See the deſcription and engravings of theſe dreſſes in the next chapter II.

† Arckenholtz Memoires de Chriſtine, Tom. II. p. 309.

There

There is alſo a ſchool at Abo, which was founded by Guſtavus Adolphus, for 300 ſcholars.'

Feb. 13. About 40 miles from Abo we arrived upon the Gulf of Bothnia, and paſſed over the frozen ſurface along a track marked with two rows of ſmall trees and boughs placed upright in the ice as a direction for travellers; we croſſed occaſionally ſeveral ſmall iſlands and rocks, ſeparated from each other by ſtraits from fifty yards to four or five miles in breadth. At midnight we ſtopped upon the iſland Variſala till break of day, as well from the dread of large holes in the ice which render travelling by night extremely hazardous; as becauſe our danger would have been extreme, if we had wandered from the path, and been loſt upon the wide expanſe of ice, which had nearly happened to colonel Floyd, as he thus deſcribes in his journal. "A cowardly driver overturned me into the ſnow, but the fall "was gentle. Night came on, at firſt very much overcaſt, but "afterwards illumined by an *Aurora Borealis*, which was, how-"ever, not in ſtreaks like thoſe uſually in England, but a con-"tinued glare of red light. We arrived at length upon the Gulf, "croſſed a ſheet of ice many miles in length, and ſome ſmall "rocky iſlands, upon one of which my driver ſuddenly turned "into the yard of a peaſant's cottage, and ſtopped. I ſoon per-"ceived that he had loſt his way: inquiry being in vain on my "part, as I could not ſpeak the language, I encouraged him "by ſigns to endeavour to regain the track; he complied, but "with ſuch ill humour, that he drove againſt a rock, and again "overſet me, though fortunately without any bad conſequence; "he then paſſed by a narrow way through a wood, and ſoon ar-"rived at the edge of the iſland. I liſtened eagerly for the "ſound of the other ſledges, but to no purpoſe; then, anxiouſly "looking around me, I deſcried at ſome diſtance the boughs "which mark the road over the ice, and, inſtantly pointing it "out, we purſued the path, and after ſeveral miles overtook my "companions,

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"companions, determined never again to loſe ſight of the laſt "ſledge. In croſſing, however, another iſland, the ſledge which "immediately preceded mine ſuddenly ſtopped: we had again "loſt the way, but ſoon recovered it, and joined the party."

Upon Variſala we found a comfortable village; the inhabitants were Fins, and ſpoke only the Finniſh tongue.

Feb. 14. We ſet out early: the weather was hazy and unpromiſing, and a ſtrong breeze began to freſhen. The poſt was about 18 miles in length: we paſſed many ſmall iſlands and rocks; ſome covered with underwood, and ſprinkled with villages; others were nothing but bare granite, without a ſingle habitation or tree. In a few places the ice of the Gulf was a ſmooth ſheet; in others it was roughly frozen in waves and large maſſes. The vaſt extended plain of ice, broken in abrupt ridges, the boundleſs and dreary track marked only by a line of trees and boughs, and the rugged rocks ſtarting up on every ſide, afforded one of the moſt deſolate ſcenes imaginable.

We changed horſes at Brando, an iſland which contained ſix or ſeven villages, a church, ſome arable land, and ſmall woods. About three we arrived upon the iſland Cumlin, 36 miles from Variſala; and as the next poſt was above thirty miles, we prudently took up our quarters in a peaſant's cottage, rather than again encounter the hazards of a journey by night. The peaſants were well clothed; the men wore long cloth coats lined with ſheep-ſkin; the women a ſtriped kind of woollen ſtuff, of mixed colours, chiefly green, white, and red: they ſeemed very honeſt; and our ſervants had no occaſion to employ the ſame vigilance in watching the luggage as was requiſite in Ruſſia*. The cottages were built like thoſe in Ruſſia, with whole trees piled one upon the other, and mortaiſed and tenanted at each extremity; the timbers of ſeveral were ſawed on the outſide in the form of planks. They generally contain two or three apart-

* See Vol. I. p. 227.

ments,

ments, ſmall, but neat and clean; have all brick chimnies, and a ſemicircular fire-place high and narrow, in which the wood is placed upright, and by means of birch-bark inſtantaneouſly kindled. The villagers poſſeſſed many conveniences of life, which we did not meet with in Ruſſia, particularly beds, and a greater variety of houſehold furniture.

While our dinner was preparing, we ſtrolled to a windmill ſituated on an eminence, from whence we commanded a full view of the iſland, which ſeemed a huge pile of rocks of red and grey granite. Near the village we obſerved three or four fields which had been ſown with rye, and at a little diſtance a ſmall wood of firs and birch; in the other parts we could diſcover nothing but juniper and moſs. Beſide the hut in which we were lodged, it contained a church and a few ſcattered cottages. The inhabitants of Cumlin ſpoke the Swediſh language. The ſevere froſt of the preceding day was ſucceeded by a ſudden thaw, accompanied with rain and ſleet; and in the evening a violent hurricane came on; we heard on all ſides the cracking of the ice ſounding like the exploſions of thunder, and which alarmed us with the dread of being detained in ſo dreary a ſpot: for if, as we had reaſon to apprehend, the ice had been broken up, it could not have been paſſed in ſledges; and a continuance of the thaw for a fortnight at leaſt would have been requiſite before any communication by water could have been formed with the continent or neighbouring iſlands. The wind increaſing to a moſt violent degree towards midnight, and the noiſe from the burſting of the ice redoubling, we imagined that a conſiderable delay was unavoidable; and began to inquire whether the inhabitants were furniſhed with ſufficient proviſions to ſupply our wants and their own. We were happy to find that four cows, a few hogs, and poultry, and a large ſtore of hard bread, which they bake twice in the year, were more than ſufficient to remove all apprehenſions of famine during a much

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much longer period than we were likely to remain upon the iſland. Fortunately, however, we did not put theſe reſources to the teſt: towards morning the wind ſubſided, and the rents in the ice not appearing dangerous, we were able to continue our route at ſun-riſe. It was a moſt delightful day; in the morning the mercury in the thermometer ſtood at two degrees above freezing point, and at noon roſe to five; the ſun ſhone with ſuch brightneſs, and the weather was ſo clear and warm, that we might almoſt have imagined it to have been ſummer, if we had not been undeceived by the frozen maſs around us. On the preceding day the whole ſcenery was uniformly enveloped with ſnow, which having been melted, the ſurface of the Gulf became a pure expanſe of ice: the diſtance to the next poſt was about 35 miles, and much leſs diverſified with iſlands than the parts which we had paſſed previous to our arrival at Cumlin. In one place we traverſed a level ſheet of ice, at leaſt ten miles in length, unbroken with a ſingle rock or iſland; but as the late ſtorm had produced ſeveral apertures, and as the thaw greatly increaſed, we went on with caution, and were preceded by an inhabitant of Cumlin for our guide, who carried a hatchet and plumbing iron: with the former he occaſionally cut the ice, and with the latter he meaſured its thickneſs, in order to aſcertain whether it was ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport our ſledges. In ſome places he made a conſiderable circuit to avoid an aperture; often called out to the drivers to keep at ſome diſtance from each other; and repeatedly warned them to follow the preciſe track which he purſued. In this manner he conducted us in about eight hours, and without the leaſt accident, to the Iſle of Aland.

Aland, which gives to this cluſter of iſlands the general appellation of the Iſles of Aland, is about 40 miles in length, and from 12 to 16 in breadth: it contains many villages, and about 50,000 inhabitants; they ſpeak the Swediſh language, but are included

included in the government of Finland, both as to ſpiritual and temporal affairs. The baſis of the ſoil ſeemed to be granite, of the ſame nature with the ſhores of Finland, and of the numerous iſlands which we had lately traverſed; and the whole aſſemblage of them looked like a ridge of rocks, which had been once joined to each other and to the continent, but undermined and ſeparated by the ſea. CHAP. I.

We changed horſes at Varyat, Scarpats, Harolſby, Enkerlu, and Trebenka. Between Scarpats and Harolſby we deſcended into a broader and more cultivated plain than we had obſerved ſince we had quitted Finland: it contained arable and paſture land, a lake, and a river. In the midſt of this plain ſtand, upon an inſular rock of red granite, the ruins of an antient palace, called Caſtelholm, which, as it is remarkable in the hiſtory of Sweden, we ſtopped to examine. It commands a pleaſing, though bounded proſpect of two ſmall lakes, whoſe banks riſe into gentle eminences ſkirted with wood. The caſtle is partly built with red granite of a very beautiful colour and grain, and partly with brick. To this ſolitary rock, Eric XIV. ſon and ſucceſſor of Guſtavus Vaſa, was, in 1571, confined by his brother John III. The dungeon in which he was impriſoned ſtill bears the name of the apartment of Eric. In order to gain acceſs to it, we crawled through an arch upon our hands and knees, on account of the heaps of ſtones and bricks which obſtructed the paſſage: we then came into the ſhell of a large apartment, from whence we entered a ſmall room, and having aſcended a ladder of nine or ten ſteps, many of which were broken, and which from its antiquity was probably the very ladder that exiſted in the days of the royal priſoner, we paſſed through a trap door into the apartment of Eric. It is about 20 feet long and 11 broad; low and vaulted; and has only one ſmall opening to admit the light, which is ſcarcely more than two inches in breadth.

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I ſhall have occaſion in another place to mention the ſufferings and cataſtrophe of this very unfortunate ſovereign.

Having gratified our curioſity at Caſtelholm, we continued our route during the night: the ſnow being all melted by the thaw, our journey was tedious and diſagreeable; our ſledges were ſlowly dragged over the rocky and ſandy roads, ſo that we did not, before five in the morning, reach the place of embarkation upon the weſtern ſhore of the iſland. The wind blowing directly contrary, we took up our lodging at the poſt-houſe, and retired reluctantly to reſt; but were awakened about ten, with the agreeable news that it was ſhifted, and that we might be able to croſs the Gulf. The only decked veſſel which this place afforded being ice-bound, we had no other reſource but two open boats, manned with a pilot, five or ſix fiſhermen, and about ten peaſants; but, as the weather was fine, we ordered our baggage on board, and embarked at mid-day. The diſtance to the oppoſite coaſt is 49 miles. The firſt part of this paſſage was interſperſed with ſeveral ſmall rocky iſlands, one of which appeared inhabited; but from the extremity of the laſt iſland, which is about 35 miles from the continent of Sweden, the ſea is entirely open: from that point we had a fine breeze, which carried us at the rate of ſeven knots in the hour; and we were within ſix miles of the coaſt about ſun-ſet, with the proſpect of a ſpeedy diſembarkation; but ſoon afterwards the breeze ſlackened, and was followed by a calm, which laſted about half an hour; when the wind roſe in the oppoſite quarter, and blew directly from ſhore. In this ſituation the night overtook us; the gale freſhened, the ſea ran high, the coaſt was rocky and full of breakers, our veſſel a crazy open fiſhing boat, and the greateſt part of our crew wholly unexperienced. We in vain endeavoured by tacking and rowing to reach the ſhore; and we began to be ſeriouſly alarmed, leſt we ſhould not be able to weather the ſtorm: in this ſtate of anxiety we continued until

until midnight, the gale hourly increaſing; when at length by a fortunate tack and inceſſant rowing, we got under the lee of a high coaſt: we inſtantly hauled down the ſails, and rowed for a conſiderable time, though ſtill without being able, on account of the breakers, to find a proper place for landing. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, we at laſt drove the boat upon ſhore, and diſembarking, after much pains, upon a ſhelving hill of ice, we crawled upon our hands and knees, and gained the land, though with much difficulty. We here eſcaped a danger, which at the time we did not apprehend, as we were afterwards informed that theſe ſhelves of ice are frequently full of large holes, into which had we fallen we muſt inevitably have periſhed. Having providentially eſcaped theſe and other perils, we procured a guide from an adjacent cottage, and proceeded to Griſlehaven, about the diſtance of three miles: we walked through woody and rugged ways, half melted ice, ſometimes above our ancles in water, repeatedly falling down, but exceedingly happy that we were upon land: for we heard the wind blowing very boiſterouſly, and the breakers roaring with increaſing violence. About three in the morning we arrived at the inn; and at five, the other bark, containing our ſervants and baggage, landed with ſtill greater difficulty than we had experienced, and after having narrowly eſcaped being wrecked upon the rocks: the ſailors were ſo terrified that they cried; and our courier was inceſſantly employed in croſſing himſelf, and exclaiming, "*Domine, non ſum dignus mori.*" "Lord, "I am not worthy to die."

Feb. 18. As the ſnow had totally diſappeared, the dragging of our ſledges over the bare ground was a work of ſuch difficulty and labour, that, notwithſtanding we began our journey about ten in the morning, and travelled till duſk, we were ſcarcely able to reach the village of Staby, which was diſtant only 20 miles from Griſlehaven, although half the route lay

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over large lakes and flooded marſhes, where we ſtill found the ice ſufficiently ſtrong. The experience of this day's journey convinced us to what a wretched ſituation we ſhould have been reduced, if we had purſued our courſe towards Lapland; and reminded us how much we were indebted to the ſalutary remonſtrances of the governor of Louiſa.

We paſſed the night at Staby; and, as we found it impracticable to proceed any longer in ſledges, continued our journey the next morning in open carts, the only carriages we were able to procure. In this manner we journeyed to Stockholm; where, on account of various delays, we did not arrive until the following evening.

The diſtance from Griſſehaven, the place of our diſembarkation, to Stockholm, is above eighty miles; yet the country was ſo thinly peopled, that we did nor paſs through one town. The villages were few and ſmall, but very pictureſque, being moſtly ſituated upon the points of the craggy rocks, and frequently overhanging a lake. Many ſtraggling cottages and houſes were pleaſantly ſcattered over the face of the country, which was in general hilly, rocky, and covered with foreſts, corn, and paſture. After the dreary ſcenes which we had long been accuſtomed to, the herbage, juſt recovered from the ſnow under which it had been buried during the whole winter, was a grateful object; and it was remarkable, that both the graſs and blades of young corn had contracted a yellowiſh hue, and appeared as if they had been parched by a burning ſun. As we approached the capital, the country was extremely wild and rocky, and ſtill more thinly inhabited: I ſcarcely ever obſerved a more deſolate, yet more pictureſque, region than the environs of Stockholm. We entered that city on the evening of the 20th of February; and immediately drove to an inn in the center of the town, where we met with excellent apartments, and every accommodation we could deſire, to alleviate the fatigues of our late journey.

CHAP. II.

Deſcription of Stockholm.—*Preſentation to the king.*—*Court.*—*New* Swediſh *dreſs.*—*Public ſuppers.*—*Royal family.*—*Tombs and characters of* Magnus Ladiſlas, Charles Canutſon, Guſtavus Adolphus, Charles XI. *and* XII.—*Royal Academy of Sciences.*—*Its tranſactions.*—*Schools.*—*Converſation with a* Laplander *on the general ſtate of* Lapland.—*Similarity between the* Hungarian *and* Lapland *languages.*

THE foundation of Stockholm * is, by the beſt Swediſh writers, generally attributed to Birger Jarl, regent of the kingdom about the middle of the 13th century during the minority of his ſon Waldemar, who had been raiſed to the throne by the ſtates of the kingdom; but it was not before the laſt century that the royal reſidence was transferred from Upſala to this city. CHAP. II.

During the courſe of my travels, I have ſeen no town with whoſe ſituation I was ſo much ſtruck as with that of Stockholm, for its ſingular and romantic ſcenery. This capital, which is very long and irregular, occupies, beſide two peninſulas, ſeven ſmall rocky iſlands, ſcattered in the Mæler, in the ſtreams which iſſue from that lake, and in a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia. A variety of contraſted and enchanting views are formed by numberleſs rocks of granite riſing boldly from the ſurface of the water, partly bare and craggy, partly dotted with houſes, or feathered with wood. The harbour is an inlet of the Baltic:

* The reader who is fond of ſuch inquiries, may conſult Dalins Geſchichte von Sweden, Vol. II. p. 178, upon the derivation of the appellation of Stockholm, where he will find how many abſurd etymologies may be given to the word Stock.

the

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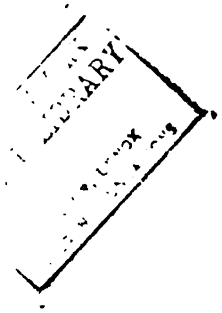
the water is clear as chryſtal, and of ſuch depth that ſhips of the largeſt burthen can approach the quay, which is of conſiderable breadth, and lined with ſpacious buildings and warehouſes. At the extremity of the harbour ſeveral ſtreets riſe one above another in the form of an amphitheatre; and the palace, a magnificent building, crowns the ſummit. Towards the ſea, about two or three miles from the town, the harbour is contracted into a narrow ſtrait, and, winding among high rocks, diſappears from the ſight; and the proſpect is terminated by diſtant hills, overſpread with foreſt. It is far beyond the power of words, or of the pencil, to delineate theſe ſingular views. The central iſland, from which the city derives its name, and the Ritterholm, are the handſomeſt parts of the town. Excepting in the ſuburbs, where the houſes are of wood painted red, the generality of the buildings are of ſtone, or brick ſtuccoed white. The royal palace, which ſtands in the center of Stockholm, and upon the higheſt ſpot of ground, was begun by Charles XI.: it is a large quadrangular ſtone edifice, and the ſtyle of architecture is both elegant and magnificent.

Feb. 23. At ſeven in the evening we accompanied the Engliſh miniſter, Sir Thomas Wroughton, to court, to have the honour of being preſented to Guſtavus III. All the company in the drawing-room, the foreign miniſters and ourſelves excepted, wore the national habit lately introduced into this country by his preſent Majeſty. The dreſs of the men reſembles the old Spaniſh, and conſiſts of a ſhort coat, or rather jacket, a waiſtcoat, a cloak, a hat with a feather *à la Henry IV.* a ſaſh round the waiſt, a ſword, large and full breeches, and roſes in the ſhoes: the cloak is of black cloth edged with red ſattin; the coat or jacket, and breeches, are alſo black, ornamented with red ſtripes and buttons; the waiſtcoat, the ſaſh, the pinks at the knees, and roſes for the ſhoes, are of red ſattin. The dreſs of the ladies is a black ſilk robe with ſlit ſleeves puffed with white gauze,

C. Ruotte fecit.

A SWEDISH GENTLEMAN in the COURT DRESS.

Published according to Act of Parliament, June 1st 1784, by T. Cadell, in the Strand.



A SWEDISH LADY in the COURT DRESS.

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gauze, coloured ſaſh and ribbands. This is the uſual court apparel. On ſolemn feſtivals the men wear white cloth or ſattin, lined and ſtriped with red ſattin; the women white ſilk or ſattin, with coloured ribbands and ſaſh. The men, who have not been preſented at court, are dreſſed almoſt entirely in black, without any red lining and ornaments; and the women of the ſame deſcription muſt not appear with the white gauze ſleeves. In other reſpects, their attire is ſimilar to that juſt deſcribed.

About half paſt ſeven, the king and queen entered the drawing-room, both in the national habit. His majeſty paſſed gradually from one end of the apartment to the other, addreſſed himſelf to different perſons with great vivacity; and ſaluted, according to the etiquette of the court, every ſenator's lady. Being preſented to the king and queen, his majeſty did us the honour to converſe with each of us for a conſiderable time, with great condeſcenſion and affability. At the concluſion of this ceremony they withdrew into an adjacent apartment, and were followed by great part of the company. The king played at *trente et quarante* with about twenty perſons; and the queen ſat down to *ombre*. About nine, their majeſties quitted play, and, repairing to another apartment, ſupped in public: the princeſs Sophia Albertina was the only perſon who ſat down to table with them, that honour being on theſe occaſions confined to the royal family. Oppoſite to their majeſties, at a ſmall diſtance from the lower end of the table, were ranges of taboarets or ſtools for ſenators' and ambaſſadors' wives, no other ladies being permitted to ſit, ſo that none below thoſe ranks ever make their appearance at theſe entertainments.

The ſtricteſt adherence to form is obſerved in this court: while many ſovereigns of Europe are endeavouring to retrench the ceremonies attendant on royalty, Guſtavus III. has introduced a degree of pomp and etiquette ſimilar to that uſed at Verſailles, and hitherto unknown in this country. The king appears

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pears to poſſeſs too enlarged an underſtanding to be, in this inſtance, a ſervile imitator of the French; it is therefore more probable, that his motive for this conduct is in ſome meaſure political, as the increaſe of royal prerogative may have rendered it expedient to throw an additional ſplendour round the majeſty of the throne. During ſupper the king talked almoſt inceſſantly with the Swediſh nobility, and the foreign miniſters and gentlemen who ſtood near his perſon.

On the following Tueſday, at the ſame ceremony of a drawing-room and a public ſupper, his majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me above half an hour upon various points of the Swediſh hiſtory. He delighted me with many lively remarks and judicious reflections upon the different characters of the kings of Sweden: and particularly expatiated with rapture upon the eminent qualities of Guſtavus Vaſa and Guſtavus Adolphus, who ſeemed the favourite objects of his admiration. Among other topics he mentioned the propoſal made by Eric XIV. to eſpouſe our Elizabeth, and the ſplendid embaſſy of that monarch's brother John to London, for the purpoſe of demanding her in marriage; adding, that this tranſaction had eſcaped the notice of many of the Engliſh hiſtorians, and that even Hume, who in general pays greater attention to foreign affairs, had touched on it only in a very curſory manner: he concluded by obſerving, that Celſius, in his excellent Life of Eric XIV.*, had given a very curious and circumſtantial account of John's embaſſy, and of the whole correſpondence between Eric and Elizabeth.

As our ſtay at Stockholm was very ſhort, I had no further opportunity of enjoying thoſe agreeable and inſtructive converſations with which I might have been indulged by his ma-

* The original of this excellent work is written in Swediſh; there is a French tranſlation which I read with great pleaſure, particularly the part to which the king alluded. See Hiſtoire d'Eric XIV. par Olof Celſius.

jeſty's

Ch.r Ruotte Sculp. London

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jeſty's uncommon condeſcenſion. Guſtavus III. was born on the 24th of January 1746; in 1771 aſcended the throne upon the demiſe of his father Adolphus Frederic; and in the courſe of the following year effected the revolution which conſiderably extended the regal authority. By his queen, Sophia Magdalena, daughter of Frederic V. late king of Denmark, he has iſſue Guſtavus Adolphus, prince royal of Sweden, and Charles Guſtavus, ſince deceaſed. The other members of the royal family are his majeſty's brothers, prince Charles duke of Sudermanland, who eſpouſed Hedwige princeſs of Lubec, and prince Frederic Adolphus duke of Eaſt-Gothland; and a ſiſter, the princeſs Sophia Albertina. CHAP. II.

The queen dowager, to whom we had the honour of being preſented at her palace of Frederickſhof, and who is ſince dead, was Louiſa Ulrica, ſiſter to the king of Pruſſia; a princeſs who reſembled her brother, as well in the features of her countenance, as in thoſe eminent abilities which characterize the houſe of Brandenburgh. An unfortunate miſunderſtanding had for ſome time taken place between her and his Swediſh majeſty: it was chiefly occaſioned by the ambitious views of the queen dowager, who, accuſtomed to rule the cabinet with abſolute authority in the reign of her huſband, expected to retain the ſame influence during that of her ſon; but as the monarch, who had emancipated himſelf from the ſhackles of an ariſtocracy, had too much ſpirit to be governed by a woman, the diſappointment of her views drew from her frequent expoſtulations and bitter remonſtrances, which, joined to circumſtances of too delicate a nature to be publicly mentioned, terminated at length in an open rupture. Her majeſty died at Stockholm in the month of July 1782.

Agreeably to my uſual attention to tombs and monuments, I did not omit paying a viſit to the ſepulchres of the kings of Sweden, whoſe remains are interred in the church of Ritter-

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holm. The firſt of theſe monarchs is Magnus Ladeſlas, ſon of Birger Jarl, who, having forced his brother to abdicate, aſcended the throne of Sweden in 1274, and died in 1290, with the character of a wiſe and prudent monarch; although he entailed upon his kingdom a long ſeries of civil feuds and commotions, by dividing it into different fiefs, and beſtowing them upon his three ſons. His aſhes are covered by a tomb of ſtone, which ſtands before the altar; and near it is, the ſepulchre of Charles Canutſon, who was elected king when the Swedes firſt broke the union of Calmar. In his conteſt for the crown he found ſuch powerful rivals in the kings of Denmark, that, from the time of his firſt aſcending the throne to his death, Sweden was rent into two violent parties, which, as they alternately prevailed, Charles was one moment a king, and the next an exile; and his depoſitions and reſtorations were ſo frequent, that it remains to be queſtioned, whether, during the æra of his reign, he was not oftener a titular, than a real ſovereign. He was, however, in full poſſeſſion of the regal authority, when he died at Stockholm in 1470 *.

The next ſovereign, though after a long interval, whoſe remains are depoſited in this church, is Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe eminent civil and military virtues raiſed Sweden to the higheſt degree of renown; and who was one of thoſe few princes that never engaged in war but upon the juſteſt grounds. The greateſt commander of an age, which abounded in great generals, he ſtood up an advocate for liberty and toleration, againſt tyranny, perſecution, and bigotry; and laid the firſt foundation of that equal balance of power which was afterwards ſettled by the peace of Weſtphalia. In 1632 he finiſhed his glorious career at the battle of Lutzen, in the 38th year of his age: being amongſt the foremoſt of the combatants, he received a ball in

* The ſucceeding ſovereigns of the Houſe of Vaſa, excepting Charles IX. are interred at Upſala. See Chapter VI.

his

his left arm, but ſtill kept the field till another pierced him through the body. Many of the Swedes aſſert, and ſtill believe, that this great monarch was treacherouſly killed by the duke of Saxe Lauenburgh, who fought by his ſide. Upon examining, however, the proofs advanced in favour of this aſſertion, they amount merely to vague conjectures and uncertain traditions; and no ſubſtantial evidence has been ever produced which might tend to criminate the duke: it is more probable, indeed, that a general, who was remarkable for his courage, and who raſhly expoſed his perſon on all occaſions, ſhould receive his death from the enemy, than from one of his own aſſociates; unleſs the contrary ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon the moſt undoubted facts. CHAP. II.

A few years ago, prince Henry of Pruſſia, being at Stockholm, deſcended into the vault, and opened the coffin which contains the remains of Guſtavus. A Swediſh nobleman, who accompanied the prince into the vault, aſſured me, that the body was in a ſtate of complete preſervation; that the countenance ſtill retained the moſt perfect reſemblance to his pictures and coins; and particularly, that the whiſkers and ſhort pointed beard, which he wore, according to the faſhion of the times in which he lived, were diſtinctly viſible. A common obſerver is ſtruck with a reverential awe on beholding only the repreſentation of a deceaſed hero remarkable for his great virtues; what then muſt have been the ſenſations of prince Henry in contemplating the real remains of the great Guſtavus, whom he admires and emulates!

In Guſtavus Adolphus ended the male line of the Houſe of Vaſa: ſince his time all the monarchs of the female branch are interred in this church, excepting his daughter Chriſtina *, who exhibits a ſtriking example, that though it becomes all ſovereigns to protect the arts and ſciences, yet that they deſerve cenſure if their literary purſuits interfere with the more neceſ-

* She was buried at Rome.

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fary occupations of government. In Chriſtina we ſee a princeſs diſcrediting her great endowments by a vain parade and affectation of ſingularity; apoſtatizing to a religion which ſhe affected to ridicule and deſpiſe; while upon the throne deſirous of a private ſtation, and after ſhe had attained it by a voluntary ſacrifice of her authority, inceſſantly repining, and anxious to recover, upon the moſt humiliating conditions, that crown which ſhe had ſo capriciouſly reſigned.

Charles Guſtavus, in whoſe favour ſhe abdicated, and who is buried in a ſmall chapel of the church, was ſon of Caſimir, prince palatine of the Rhine, and of Catharine, ſiſter of Guſtavus Adolphus. His conduct towards Chriſtina was a maſter-piece of policy: he propoſed to eſpouſe her, yet hoped that ſhe would not accept his propoſals; openly remonſtrated againſt her abdication, yet ſecretly contrived to fortify her reſolutions; and appeared leaſt eager for the crown in the moment when he was moſt ambitious to wear it. Bred in the military ſchool of Germany, he inherited the warlike, rather than the civil virtues of his uncle Guſtavus Adolphus; and was one of thoſe great, but reſtleſs ſpirits, who eſteem war as the ſole occupation worthy of a monarch; and who, while they are adding to their own laurels, diſregard the miſeries and diſtreſſes of their ſubjects. Under his adminiſtration, Sweden acquired an high degree of renown; and nothing leſs than the appearance of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets in the Baltic could have ſtopped the progreſs of his arms; have interpoſed to ſave Denmark; or again reduced the balance of the Northern powers to its proper equilibrium. Arreſted in the midſt of his career by a premature death, he expired at Gotheborg, on the 23d of February 1660, after a ſhort reign of only ſix years.

"Il n'avoit," writes the hiſtorian of Denmark, "que trente-"ſix ans, et ſes dernières années avoient été auſſi occupées, ou "plutôt auſſi agitées, que les précédentes avoient été tran-"quilles et oïſives. Quand on conſidére tout ce que ce prince

"avoit

" avoit fait pendant ce court période de ſa vie; ſa paſſion, CHAP. II.
" ſes talents pour la guerre, ſon activité, ſon ambition ſans
" bornes, le reſpect et la terreur qu'il avoit inſpirés au de-
" dans et au dehors de ſes etats, on ne peut s'empêcher de
" regarder ſa mort prématurée, comme un de ces événemens
" auxquels étoit attaché le ſort d'une grande partie de l'Eu-
" rope: Et pour ne parler que de la Suéde, àquel degré de
" gloire et de miſére ne l'eut-il pas ſans doute portée, s'il eut
" fourni la carriére que la nature accorde à la plupart des
" hommes, mais que le ciel dans ſa pitié refuſe d'ordinaire
" aux conquerans. Quelques revers, et la vue d'une fin pro-
" chaine, avoient donc éclairé Charles Guſtave ſur la vanité de
" tous ſes ambitieux deſſeins: en recommandant a ſes ſucceſ-
" ſeurs de faire promptement la paix, il donnoit une grande
" leçon à ſes pareils; et c'eſt là ſans doute le trait de ſon
" hiſtoire le plus precieux aux yeux de la raiſon et de l'huma-
" nité *."

His ſon and ſucceſſor Charles XI. whoſe ſepulchre is contiguous to that of his father, has been reprobated by many foreign hiſtorians as an odious tyrant; but his character, if inſpected without prejudice, ſo far from deſerving that imputation, will in many inſtances merit our reſpect and eſteem. An unfavourable idea of his deſpotic principles has been formed

* Mallet Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, vol. III. p. 432. " At his death he was only ſix and " thirty years of age, and the laſt years of his " life were as agitated as the preceding part " had been tranquil. When we contemplate all " the actions which this prince performed " during the ſhort period of his exiſtence; his " talents for war, his activity, his boundleſs " ambition, the reſpect and terror which he " impreſſed equally upon his ſubjects and his " enemies, we muſt conſider his death as an " event that could not but affect the intereſt of " the greateſt part of Europe: and with re- " ſpect to Sweden, to what a degree of glory and " wretchedneſs would he not have carried her, " if he had attained that period of life which " nature generally grants to the greateſt part " of mankind, but which heaven, in its compaſ- " ſion, moſt commonly refuſes to conquerors. " A reverſe of fortune, and the approach of " death, had fully expoſed to him the vanity " of his ambitious deſigns. In recommending " an immediate peace to his ſucceſſor, he af- " forded a moſt ſtriking leſſon to other ſove- " reigns; and this perhaps is the moſt exem- " plary particular of his hiſtory in the conſi- " deration of reaſon and humanity."

from

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from his reſumption of many crown lands, which reduced ſeveral families to poverty; and from his mode of liquidating the public debts, by raiſing the nominal worth of the coin without increaſing its real value. Although it cannot be denied that ſome of theſe meaſures were oppreſſive and violent; yet when we conſider the exhauſted ſtate of the finances derived from the boundleſs profuſion of Chriſtina *; the ruinous wars of Charles Guſtavus, and the diſorders of a long minority; we cannot but aſſent to the opinion of the moſt unprejudiced Swedes, that, though the reform introduced by Charles was in ſome inſtances prejudicial to individuals, yet upon the whole it was ſalutary to the country; and that nothing leſs than the moſt violent meaſures could have extricated his ſubjects from the deplorable and exhauſted ſtate to which they were reduced. In one point of view Charles merited and gained the love and eſteem of his people: notwithſtanding his natural ardour for military glory, he invariably perſiſted in pacific meaſures †; and while he preſerved his own country from the horrors of war, mediated the peace of Europe. To Charles XI. may be aſcribed, what Boileau falſely attributed to Louis XIV. that he was his own miniſter ‡; and what could not have been ſaid of the French monarch without flattery, would not have been adu-

* The principal nobles, during the minority of Charles XI. took advantage of a weak government to appropriate the few crown lands which Chriſtina had not alienated.

† "His peaceable conduct may perhaps "more juſtly be aſcribed to the ſtate of his affairs, than his own nature, which more "powerfully inclines him to the fatigue of a "camp, than the eaſe of a court; and ſuits "better with a martial familiarity, than the "ſhews of grandeur, and the ſolemnities of "ſtate." Biſhop Robinſon's Account of Sweden.

"His majeſty's," ſays Robinſon, "moſt "diligent inſpection into all the affairs of his "kingdom, beſides that it makes all his mini-"ſters more circumſpect, hath gained him a "great ſtock of experience. The ſmalleſt mat-"ters are not below his notice; and nothing "of any moment is concluded before he hath "been conſulted: this is the employment of "all his time, ſcarce any hour of the day paſſ-"ing from five in the morning, when he con-"ſtantly riſes, in which buſineſs of one nature "or other is not before him."

‡ Et qui ſeul, ſans miniſtre, à l'example des dieux,
Soutiens tout par Toi-meme, & vois tout par tes yeux.
Boileau, Diſcours au Roi.

lation,

lation, if the poet had applied it to the Swediſh king. Charles was chaſte, temperate, œconomical, vigilant, and active; a patron of letters; ſevere, yet not implacable; prone to anger, but eaſily ſoftened. If we conſider the interior adminiſtration of affairs, Charles XI. was one of the wiſeſt monarchs who ever ſat upon the throne of this kingdom. To him Sweden ſtands indebted for many excellent regulations which ſtill ſubſiſt. In a word, he was what Philip of Macedon was to Alexander, the precurſor of his ſon's greatneſs, and the founder of his victories: for without the army which he had diſciplined and improved, and the treaſure which he had collected, Charles XII. could never have withſtood the combined forces of all the Northern powers; nor could he have puſhed his conqueſts with that celerity which aſtoniſhed and confounded all Europe. Charles XI. was born on the 25th of November 1655, and died on the 24th of April 1697, aged 42; lamenting, it is ſaid, upon his death-bed, as the only reproach to his memory, the natural violence of his temper *, which he had not ſufficiently corrected.

The tomb of Charles XII. is a raiſed ſepulchre of dark marble; it has no other inſcription than his name: over it are laid in caſt bronze a club and lion's ſkin, which mark more forcibly than any words

——" his unconquerable will
" And courage never to ſubmit or yield †."

It would be needleſs to dwell upon a character ſo well known as that of Charles XII. whoſe ambition was madneſs, and whoſe valour was ferocity. I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to one anecdote atteſted by the moſt reſpectable authority ‡.

* Schloetzer's Brieſwechſel, vol. I. p. 147.
† Milton.
‡ I had the honour of receiving this anecdote from the king of Poland, who had it from his father count Poniatowſki.

Among

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Among many converſations with his friend count Poniatowſki, the latter recollected one, in which Charles, after various reflections upon his brilliant ſucceſſes, which he modeſtly attributed rather to his good fortune than to his good conduct, expreſſed an intention of marrying; and planned for himſelf a life of tranquillity in his own kingdom, when he would pay greater attention to the interior adminiſtration of affairs, and endeavour to promote the real intereſts of his ſubjects. This anecdote, which is unknown to all his biographers, will ſhow, that even his ſavage ſpirit, that ſeemed to breathe nothing but war, was not always inſenſible to more peaceful comforts, and to the pleaſing proſpect of domeſtic happineſs. Whether this project was merely an idea of the moment, or ſeriouſly intended to be carried into execution, cannot now be aſcertained; but he certainly had removed its accompliſhment to a diſtant period; for, at the time of his ſudden death, he was expecting with impatience the concluſion of a treaty with Peter the Great; not to reſtore peace to his diſtracted country, but, in alliance with Ruſſia and Spain, to dethrone the king of Poland, to ſeat the pretender upon the throne of Great-Britain, and to rekindle in Europe a general war. Charles XII. was killed at the ſiege of Fredricſhall on the 30th of November 1718, in the 36th year of his age; and it remains to this day uncertain whether he was ſhot by a ball from the enemy's batteries, or fell by the hands of an aſſaſſin *.

The remaining ſovereigns who lie interred in this church, are Ulrica Eleonora, ſiſter of Charles XII. who aſcended the throne of Sweden only to reſign it to her huſband Frederic I. that monarch, and the late king Adolphus Frederic, were mere pageants of royalty, who wielded a ſceptre without power; and whoſe hiſtory contains little more than the æra of their ſucceſſion, and the time of their death.

* See the next chapter.

Beſide

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Beſide the ſovereigns of Sweden, this church contains the aſhes of Banier, a general, who no leſs deſerves mention than the moſt illuſtrious monarch, if we eſtimate his deſerts by the ſervice which he rendered to his country.

John Banier, of an illuſtrious Swediſh family, was born in 1601; and, receiving a very excellent education, made ſo great proficiency in literature, that Guſtavus Adolphus uſed to call him his learned general. Whilſt a boy, he attracted by his magnanimity the notice of that monarch, who pronounced him formed for great events, and placed him in the army; where he ſoon ſignalized himſelf in ſo particular a manner, that, under twenty years of age, he was employed by him in many critical enterprizes, which required no leſs dexterity than bravery. After the death of Guſtavus he ſupported, as commander in chief, the luſtre of the Swediſh arms by a ſeries of victories, which raiſed his military character higher than that of any general of the age. He ſuſtained this reputation undiminiſhed until his death, which carried him off at Halberſtadt on the 10th of May 1641, in the 40th year of his age. Banier was not inſenſible of the glory which he had acquired by his great actions, but uſually ſpoke of them with great modeſty. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that he never formed any expedition, nor hazarded an action, without the moſt reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. He was equally feared and beloved by the ſoldiers, and always inſpired them with the moſt unbounded confidence. At the head of his troops he acted ſolely from himſelf, and without dependence; and would rather have reſigned the command, than have been directed in his military operations by the orders of the cabinet. "Why do ye "think," he would ſay to his confidents, "that Gallas and Pi-"colomini cannot be ſucceſsful againſt me, but becauſe they "dare not act without the conſent of the Imperial miniſtry." He had the abſolute diſpoſal of all commiſſions, and eſtabliſhed

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in general a regular order of promotion: he was humane to the vanquiſhed enemy, extremely cautious not wantonly to expoſe his troops to action; and blamed thoſe generals who in ſieges ſacrifice the lives of their men in order to raiſe their own military character. But though he was thus ſparing of his ſoldiers' blood, he was no leſs liberal of his own; being himſelf the braveſt perſon in his army, and too frequently ſeeking danger with a degree of raſhneſs ſcarcely pardonable in a general, but which he inherited from his maſter in the art of war, the great Guſtavus.

In our viſits to the Swediſh nobility, we found the ſame politeneſs and hoſpitality as among the Poles and Ruſſians, although much leſs magnificence and expence in their houſes, retinue, and entertainments, which ariſes from a circumſtance that muſt give pleaſure to every friend of humanity. The poſſeſſion of land not being in this country, as in Poland and Ruſſia, appropriated to any particular deſcription of men, property is more equally diffuſed; and ſuch vaſt accumulations of wealth or extent of domains do not center in the hands of a few grandees.

During our continuance at Stockholm, one day excepted, in which it ſnowed, we enjoyed as fine ſpring weather as I ever experienced in England. This favourable ſtate of the atmoſphere is exceedingly uncommon at ſo early a ſeaſon in this Northern climate*; where frequently the ſnow remains upon the ground until the month of April; it was to us peculiarly agreeable, as it enabled us to make a few excurſions into the adjacent country, which, although in many parts deſolate and barren, is always rudely romantic; and frequently exhibits, amidſt a magnificent aſſemblage of rocks, lakes, and foreſt, agreeable ſpots of corn and paſture, numerous villages, and farm-houſes.

* Stockholm is ſituated in 59 degrees 20 minutes of northern latitude.

The

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The Academy of Sciences at Stockholm owes its inſtitution to ſix perſons of diſtinguiſhed learning, amongſt whom was the celebrated Linnæus: they originally met on the 2d of June 1739, formed a private ſociety, in which ſome diſſertations were read, and in the latter end of the ſame year their firſt publication made its appearance. As the meetings continued and the members encreaſed, the ſociety attracted the notice of the king, and was, on the 31ſt of March 1741, incorporated under the name of the Royal Swediſh Academy. Not receiving any penſion from the crown, it is only under the protection of the king, being directed, like our Royal Society, by its own members. It has now a large fund, which has chiefly ariſen from legacies and other donations; but a profeſſor of experimental philoſophy, and two ſecretaries, are ſtill the only perſons who receive any ſalaries. Each of the members reſident at Stockholm becomes preſident by rotation, and continues in office during three months. There are two ſpecies of members, native and foreign; the election of the former is held in April, and of the latter in July: no money is paid at the time of admiſſion. The diſſertations read at each meeting are collected and publiſhed four times in the year; they are written in the Swediſh language, and printed in octavo, and the annual publications make a volume. The firſt forty volumes, which were finiſhed in 1779, are called the Old Tranſactions; for in the following year the title was changed into that of New Tranſactions. The king is ſometimes preſent at the ordinary meetings, and particularly at the annual aſſembly in April for the election of members. Any perſon who ſends a treatiſe which is thought worthy of being printed, receives the tranſactions for that quarter *gratis*, and a ſilver medal, which is not eſteemed for its value, being worth only three ſhillings, but for its rarity and the honour conveyed by it. All the papers relating to agriculture are put forth ſeparately under the title of *Oeconomica acta*;

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of theſe, three volumes have been already publiſhed in 1775, 1777, 1779. Annual premiums, in money and gold medals, principally for the encouragement of agriculture and inland trade, are alſo diſtributed by the academy. The fund for theſe prizes is ſupplied from private donations.

Sweden contains the three univerſities of Upſala, Lund, and Abo; and twelve ſeminaries for the education of youth, called *Gymnaſia*, of which ſix were founded by Chriſtina. In every large town there is alſo a ſchool maintained at the expence of the crown, in which boys generally continue until they have attained the age of eleven, when they are ſent to the *Gymnaſia*, and from thence, at about ſixteen, to one of the univerſities. In the *Gymnaſia*, and many of the greater ſchools, the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages are taught. The biſhops inſpect theſe ſeminaries and ſchools in their reſpective dioceſes, in which they are bound to reſide.

Before my departure from Stockholm I was introduced to a native of Lapland, who had received his education in the univerſity of Upſala, and was a perſon of conſiderable knowledge: his name is Oehrling; he was born in the village of Arieploy, which is ſituated to the weſt of the Gulf of Finland. He was at that time employed in compiling a Lapland, Swediſh, and Latin Dictionary, which was publiſhed at Stockholm in 1780; a work highly uſeful, and extremely curious, to all perſons verſed in the ſtudy of languages*. Mr. Oehrling ſpoke the Latin and French tongues with great fluency: I had the ſatisfaction of converſing with him, and received from him the following information relative to Lapland and its inhabitants.

The Laplanders call themſelves Salme-Same, and Samen-Almatjeh. Their country they denominate Same-Landa, or Same-aednam; the Swedes ſtyle it Lapland or Lappmarken, and

* Lexicon Lapponicum cum Interpretatione Vocabulorum Sueco-Latina et Indice Suecano Lapponico, illuſtratum Præfatione Latino-Suecana Johannis Ihre, nec non auctum Grammatica Lapponica a Dom. Erico Lindahl, et Johanne Oehrling.

the

the inhabitants Lappar. The natives of thoſe diſtricts under the dominion of Sweden and Denmark are Lutherans; while many of thoſe who are ſubject to Ruſſia are ſtill Pagans. Swediſh Lapland contains about eight churches, which in ſome parts lie at ſo great a diſtance from each other, that a native is frequently obliged to travel three days in order to attend divine ſervice. Lapland, in general, is a vaſt region, but very thinly peopled. Near the Gulf the country is compoſed chiefly of granite rock, or is ſtrewed over with detached maſſes of that ſtone. The whole face of the inland is overſpread with immenſe tracks of foreſt, conſiſting chiefly of firs, larch, and ſmall beech, interſperſed with numerous lakes which abound with fiſh. It yields paſture, and affords ſome corn, chiefly rye and buck-wheat; and is capable of producing a greater quantity, if more of the natives could be induced to leave their wandering way of life, and cultivate the ground. The winter is very long and tedious, laſting nearly nine months: the ſnow frequently begins to fall towards the latter end of Auguſt, and remains upon the ground till the middle of May. The people are partly ſettled, and in part wild and roving: the latter live in tents made with coarſe cloth; the former are fixed in ſmall villages near the lakes, and chiefly follow fiſhing. They build their cottages ſomewhat in the ſhape of a cone, by placing a circle of large trees or poles aſlant in the earth, and cloſe to each other, ſo that their tops meet, and form a ſmall vent for the iſſue of the ſmoke: they cover the ground within with branches of trees. In ſummer their clothes are made of coarſe cloth; in winter of the ſkins of rein deer *. In ſpring, their food conſiſts principally

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* In the Flora Lapponica Linnæus ſays, "Perhaps the curious reader will wonder how "the people in Lapland, during the terrible "cold that reigns there in winter, can preſerve "their lives; ſince almoſt all birds, and even "ſome wild beaſts, deſert it at that time. The "Laplander, not only in the day, but through "the whole winter nights, is obliged to wander about in the woods with his herds of "rein-deer. For the rein-deer never come "under cover, nor eat any kind of fodder, but "a particular kind of *liverwort*. On this account

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principally of the eggs of water-fowl, which are extremely plentiful in thoſe parts; in ſummer and autumn, of the birds themſelves, and of various others of the partridge-tribe *; and in winter of the milk and fleſh of the rein-deer, and dried fiſh:

" count the herdſmen are under a neceſſity of " living continually in the woods, in order to " take care of their cattle, leſt they ſhould be " devoured by wild beaſts. The Laplander " eaſily does without more light, as the ſnow " reflects the rays that come from the ſtars, " and as the *Aurora Borealis* illuminates the air " every night with a great variety of figures. " No part of our body is more eaſily deſtroyed " by cold than the extremities of the limbs, " which are moſt remote from the ſun of this " microcoſm, the heart. The kibes that hap- " pen to our hands and feet, ſo common in " the northern parts of Sweden, prove this. " In Lapland you will never ſee ſuch a thing, " although, were we to judge by the ſituation " of the country, we ſhould imagine juſt the " contrary, eſpecially as the people wear no " ſtockings, as we do, not only ſingle, but " double and triple. The Laplander guards " himſelf againſt the cold in the following " manner. He wears breeches made of rein- " deer ſkins with the hair on, reaching down " to his heels, and ſhoes made of the ſame ma- " terials, the hairy part turned outwards. He " puts into his ſhoes *ſlender eared broad leaved " cyperus graſs, carex veſicaria, Spec. Pl.* (or the " Bladder Carex), that is cut in ſummer and " dried. This he firſt combs, and rubs in his " hands, and then places it in ſuch a manner, " that it not only covers his feet quite round, " but his legs alſo; and being thus guarded, " he is quite ſecured againſt the intenſe cold. " With this graſs they ſtuff their gloves like- " wiſe, in order to preſerve their hands. As " this graſs keeps off the cold in winter, ſo in " ſummer it hinders the feet from ſweating, " and at the ſame time preſerves them from " being annoyed by ſtriking againſt ſtones, " &c. for their ſhoes are very thin, being made, " not of tanned leather, but the raw hide." Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 137, 138.

* " About autumn, when the lakes of Lap- " land begin to freeze, the water-fowl, which " are found there in great abundance, migrate " towards the South; and upon the firſt open- " ing of the ſpring, they return in large flocks " to their prior habitations, where they find a " plentiful ſubſiſtence from the grubs of the " gnats. Theſe grubs too ſerve for the food " of the *tetraones* or partridge tribe, thouſands " whereof, and even myriads, are daily taken, " and ſent to Stockholm. Theſe birds are " caught in ſuch large quantities by the Lap- " landers, as to ſupply them with their ordi- " nary proviſion in autumn, as the eggs of the " water-fowl are their ſupport in ſpring." Holberg.

" Thoſe who have not ſeen it, will ſcarce be- " lieve what numbers of water-fowl are to be " met with upon this river, to which the lake " gives its name; and my watermen would " every now and then put in to ſhore, to look for " the eggs of wild ducks and geeſe amongſt the " reeds, which grow here and there upon the " river ſide, or in the little iſlands which in ſe- " veral places are formed in the middle of the " river, and that after the manner of the Lap- " landers, who get vaſt quantities of theſe " eggs, and of the wild fowl too, when in ſea- " ſon, as the old ones in winter, and the goſ- " lings and young ducks in ſummer, which " they have ſeveral ways of killing; but the " moſt common, and what they are the moſt " expert at, is the ſhooting them with their " arrows, as they do their land ones; and in- " deed the Laplanders are ſuch excellent " archers, and their prey is ſo very plenty, " that ſhould one of them go out a ſhooting " for two hours, and not bring home a load of " game, he would certainly conclude that ſome " enchanter who bore him a grudge had, out " of mere ſpite, ſpoiled his ſport." Motraye's Travels, vol. II. p. 301.

bread,

bread, which till very lately was totally unknown to them, now makes a part of their uſual diet. In winter, they journey in ſmall ſledges made in the form of boats drawn by rein-deer. Thoſe animals will travel almoſt the whole day without food, and only occaſionally moiſten their mouths with the ſnow: they do not, however, draw the ſledge with ſuch ſwiftneſs as is generally imagined, their common pace being at the rate of about four miles in the hour*. In ſummer they feed upon graſſes and alpine plants, in winter upon the *Lichen rangiferinus* †, or rein-deer lichen, and its varieties, which are ſo abundant as in many parts almoſt totally to cover the ground for the ſpace of ſeveral miles ‡, and which the ſagacious animal diſcovers under the ſnow by the peculiar acuteneſs of its ſmell. I was farther informed by Mr. Oehrling, that the Laplanders, before their converſion to Chriſtianity, which was not till lately introduced amongſt them, poſſeſſed no books or manuſcripts; though they knew many traditional hiſtories and ſongs of antient heroes and princes, who once reigned over them; but in-

* "Moſt of the rein-deer uſed for draught "are caſtrated when very young, and are "larger and fatter than the bucks: In the "winter the Laplanders drive their caſtrated "deer in their ſledges: they harneſs them by "a rope faſtened to a collar, and carried be-"tween their legs; and direct them by means "of a bridle faſtened to their horns. Each "deer can draw the weight of one perſon, but "rarely more. If he is preſſed, he will travel "ten or twelve Swediſh miles (70 or 84 Eng-"liſh miles), but by ſuch hard driving is ge-"nerally deſtroyed. It, however, frequently "happens, that he will perſevere in his journey "50 miles without intermiſſion, and without "taking any refreſhment. He is weak in the "back, being fatigued with the weight even of "a ſaddle: for which reaſon the Laplanders, "whenever they travel in ſummer, and ſledges "cannot be uſed, lay acroſs the animal's back "a pole, upon which they faſten a ſmall bur-"den." See Holberg's Account of the Cervus Tarandus in Amœnit. Academ. Vol. I. p. 169.

† For the œconomical and ſcientific deſcription of this Lichen, the reader is referred to Lightfoot's Flora Scotica, vol. II. p. 877. Hagen's Tentamen Hiſtoriæ Lichenum, P. cxxvi. and particularly to Linnæi Flora Lapponica, P. 332. from whoſe accurate and comprehenſive account ſubſequent authors have principally derived their information.

‡ "Nullum vegetabile in totâ Lapponiâ "tantâ in copiâ reperitur ac hæc Lichenis ſpe-"cies, et quidem primario in ſylvis, ubi campi "ſteriles arenoſi vel glareoſi, paucis pinis con-"ſiti; ibi enim non modo videbis campos per "ſpatium unius horæ, ſed ſæpe duorum tri-"umve milliarium, nivis inſtar albos, ſolo fere "hocce Lichene obductas. Sic natura ſeptentrionis quaſi inclinat in albedinem, frigoris "amaſiam." Flora Lappon.

volved

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volved in great uncertainty, and mixed with the moſt fabulous accounts. They have now a tranſlation of the New Teſtament in their language; and many of the natives are able to read and write. Upon my queſtioning him about the Lapland tongue, he anſwered with ſome diffidence, "that though he "imagined we are in general too apt to form an haſty opinion "of two languages being derived from the ſame ſtock, becauſe "a few words in both are ſimilar, when perhaps the idiom and "conſtruction are totally oppoſite; nevertheleſs, there appeared "to him ſufficient reaſons for concluding that the Finniſh and "Lapland tongues were dialects only of one and the ſame ori-"ginal." But what was moſt remarkable, he was of opinion, that the Lapland idiom had an undoubted affinity with the Hungarian; for Sainovits, a learned Jeſuit, and a native of Hungary, who had accompanied the celebrated aſtronomer, Father Hell, into Lapland, to obſerve the Tranſit of Venus, has demonſtrated * that the Hungarian and Lapland idioms are the ſame: and he himſelf hath likewiſe publiſhed a treatiſe † upon the ſame ſubject. I regretted that time would not permit the learned Laplander to enter into a detail of all the reaſons which had induced him to adopt this hypotheſis; but we may conclude, that ſtrong probability lies on this ſide of the queſtion, when we find two natives, of Hungary, and of Lapland, both men of letters, and both well verſed in their own dialects, affirming it from their own conviction, without any intercourſe or colluſion. Having both treatiſes in my poſſeſſion, which are extremely rare, I ſhall compriſe, in a ſhort compaſs, the arguments which ſeem to prove the ſimilarity of the two languages.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed that a Laplander entering Hungary, or an Hungarian travelling into Lapland, would be immedi-

* Johannis Sainovits, &c. Demonſtratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem eſſe.

† Diſſertatio Academica de convenientiâ Linguæ Hungaricæ cum Lapponicâ.

ately

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ately underſtood by the natives: for though the inhabitants of theſe two countries ſhould be unqueſtionably allowed to be branches from the ſame * ſtock; yet, as the ſeparation from that original took place at a time when they had no alphabet, it muſt follow, from the gradual change which all languages neceſſarily undergo in the lapſe of time, and by the adoption of words from the neighbouring nations, that each people could never have retained ſeparately *all* the primitive characteriſtics of their original tongue; it is ſufficient, if, in the general mode of pronunciation, in the ſimilarity of many words, and in the grammatical ſtructure of the phraſes, both nations retain a ſtrong degree of reſemblance; and thus much appears to be the caſe in the Hungarian and Lapland idioms.

In the firſt place, the pronunciation of the Lapland tongue is ſo extremely peculiar and difficult, that a Swede or Dane, unleſs educated from their infancy in the country, can never attain it; whereas Sainovits was able to catch the genuine accent without the leaſt difficulty, although, before his arrival in the country, he had not the leaſt acquaintance with their language; the articulation in many reſpects being ſo perfectly familiar to him, that, to uſe his own expreſſion, "while "he heard them converſing, he thought he was in his own "country †." The next proof of their affinity reſts upon the ſimilarity of particular words plainly proceeding from the ſame ſtock. Of theſe Sainovits has given a vocabulary, comprizing 150 common to both, and whoſe reſemblance cannot be doubted. As theſe expreſſions fell under his obſervation during a ſhort reſidence in the country, it is probable that, if

* No perſon in the leaſt converſant in the ſtudy of languages preſumes to doubt that the Engliſh, German, Dutch, Swediſh, and Daniſh are all derived from the antient Gothic or Teutonic, and yet theſe different nations do not underſtand each other.

† "Interea, quamvis Lapponibus voces "enuntiandi modus ſingularis prorſus ſit, mihi "tamen ita familiaris accidit, ut, dum ipſos "ſermocinantes audirem, in Patria, inter Un-"garos me verſari crederem," p. 14.

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he had continued there a longer time, he would have diſcovered many more. The two idioms are further demonſtrated to be the ſame from a ſurprizing agreement in the declenſion of nouns, in the compariſon of adjectives, in a peculiar uſe of numerals, pronouns, affixes, ſuffixes, and prepoſitions, in the mode of conjugating verbs, and in the auxiliary verbs; for in all theſe circumſtances the two people differ as much from the nations bordering upon both, as they are analogous to each other; "So that we may venture to conclude," adds Oehrling, "that the German does not approach nearer to the "Swediſh, or the Chaldean to the Hebrew, than the Lapland "to the Hungarian."

From theſe premiſes the ſame ingenious author concludes, "that the Laplanders are undoubtedly deſcended from the "Huns, although the preciſe time in which they ſeparated "from the other branches of that numerous nation cannot be "aſcertained." He ventures, however, to conjecture, that ſome of thoſe people penetrated into theſe regions long before the Huns, under Attila and his ſucceſſors, occupied Pannonia, ſince called from them Hungary; that they probably inhabited the ſouthern parts of Sweden, and being driven towards the north by the Goths under Oden, retired to the almoſt impervious mountains and inclement cold of Lapland, where they were no longer purſued by their invaders. Being ſettled in thoſe parts, their language, by a perpetual intercourſe with the Swedes and Norwegians, became gradually intermixed with foreign words, and ſplit into different dialects; ſtill retaining, however, evident traces of the original ſpoken by the Huns*, of whom they were a branch.

* The Huns, before they penetrated into Hungary, inhabited the inland parts of Siberia, and from thoſe quarters they probably paſſed through European Ruſſia, Livonia, Eſthonia, Finland, and Sweden. In Livonia and Eſthonia a language ſimilar to the Finniſh ſtill exiſts, as well as among ſeveral tribes of Siberia, an idiom which has great affinity with the Hungarian, ſtill prevails.

CHAP. III.

Arſenal of Stockholm.—*Clothes and hat worn by* Charles XII. *when he was killed at the ſiege of* Frederickſhall.—*Inquiry into the circumſtances and occaſion of his death.*

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THE arſenal of Stockholm contains an immenſe number of ſtandards and trophies, taken chiefly from the Imperialiſts, Poles, Ruſſians, and Danes. Many of theſe ſtandards were ſupplied by Guſtavus Adolphus, Banier, Torſtenſon, and Wrangel, by Charles Guſtavus, but principally by Charles XII. whoſe military atchievements proved the ruin of his country; nor could I avoid remarking, that while this collection proudly diſplayed the trophies of Narva, the Ruſſians poſſeſs Narva itſelf, with all Livonia, and other provinces diſmembered from Sweden.

Among other curioſities, I obſerved the ſkin of the horſe ſtuffed which carried Guſtavus Adolphus at the battle of Lutzen, where he received his death; a boat made by Peter the Great at Sardam in Holland, and taken by a Swediſh veſſel as it was conveying by ſea to Peterſburgh; and, what particularly attracted my notice, the clothes and hat worn by Charles XII. when he was ſhot in the trenches before Frederickſhall. As many various reports have been ſpread relative to the death of that monarch, and as proofs that he was aſſaſſinated have been attempted to be drawn from the ſtate of thoſe clothes, and particularly of his hat, I examined them with peculiar attention.

The coat is a plain blue uniform, like that of a common ſoldier; the ſtockings are ſown to the breeches: his boots are

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thick and large; his gloves are of white leather, ſtiff-topped, and reaching almoſt to the elbow: the right-hand glove is conſiderably ſtained with blood, the left only ſprinkled with a few drops; part of a buff belt, which he wore round his waiſt, is alſo bloody*. I mention theſe circumſtances, becauſe it renders probable what has been aſſerted, that upon receiving the ſhot he inſtantly applied his right-hand to the wound in his temple, and then to his ſword. The hat bears the appearance of having been ſlightly grazed by the ball in that part which immediately covered his temple. I was informed, by a perſon who has had frequent opportunities of obſerving it, that the original mark was at firſt very indiſtinct, but has been ſo handled and rent by thoſe who have continually examined it, as to have been conſiderably enlarged. As the ſhot, therefore, did not pierce through, but only grazed the hat, the ſize of the ball, upon which ſo much has been made to depend, cannot be aſcertained from this circumſtance. It follows therefore from this ſimple deſcription, which I noted down upon the ſpot, that, from any appearances either in the clothes or hat, the ſlighteſt inference cannot be deduced in regard to the ſo much agitated queſtion, Whether Charles XII. fell by a ball from the Daniſh batteries, or by the hand of an aſſaſſin. I ſhall ſubjoin to this account an inquiry into the particulars of his death; in the courſe of which ſome new lights may, perhaps, be thrown upon this curious ſubject;

* This circumſtance has given riſe to an argument in favour of his being aſſaſſinated: for, ſay the advocates on this ſide of the queſtion, if, upon receiving the ſhot, he inſtantly touched the wound, and then graſped his ſword, it ſeems to imply that he muſt have ſeen the perſon who diſcharged the piece at him, and put himſelf into an attitude of defence. And it is certain, from the account of Philgren, who ſaw the body, that he had abſolutely drawn the ſword half out of the ſcabbard, and that the hilt was ſo tightly graſped by the right-hand as not to be removed without difficulty. But ſurely, if the king really ſaw the perſon who diſcharged the piece, and meant to defend himſelf, he would firſt have graſped the ſword before he had received the ſhot; and if he firſt touched the wound, and then graſped the hilt of the ſword, it was a mere inſtantaneous impulſe, and muſt have been ſo ſudden as to have no reference to an attempt of defending himſelf.

and

and ſome anecdotes introduced probably unknown to the Engliſh reader. CHAP. III.

On the 30th of November 1718, Charles XII. viſited his trenches at the ſiege of Frederickſhall in Norway; advanced as far as a baſtion, which he mounted; and, leaning his arm upon the parapet, ſeemed to examine the progreſs of the works. The Daniſh batteries were playing upon the trenches, and continued a conſtant fire with great and ſmall ſhot, to which the king expoſed himſelf, as uſual, without the leaſt caution; in that attitude he received a ball in his temple, fell upon the parapet, and inſtantly expired. There were with him two French officers, Maigret, the engineer, who conducted the ſiege, and Siquier, his aid-de-camp. Behind, at ſome diſtance, were, amongſt others, count Schwerin, who commanded the trenches; count Poſſè, captain of the guards; and Culbert, an aid-de-camp. According to Voltaire *, the two Frenchmen, ſeeing the king fall, and hearing him utter at the ſame time a deep ſigh, approached and found him dead. Motraye † relates, that Maigret had ineffectually endeavoured to diſſuade his majeſty from remaining in ſo dangerous a place, and that, having conſulted with Schwerin and Culbert, he returned to draw him away by ſtratagem; finding him leaning upon the parapet, he ſuppoſed him to be aſleep; but perceiving that he continued motionleſs, an alarm was given to the officers, who came with a light, and diſcerned that he was dead. Nordberg's account correſponds in general with that given by Motraye. It being determined to conceal the fatal accident, Siquier, who was devoted to the prince of Heſſe, took off the king's hat, covered the head with his own wig and hat; and wrapping the body in a grey cloak, ordered it

* Voltaire, who was probably informed of theſe circumſtances from Siquier himſelf. See Hiſt. de Charles XII. p. 341.

† Voyages de Motraye, Vol. II. p. 396. Nordberg's Hiſt. de Charles XII. p. 358.

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to be tranſported to his quarters as that of an officer, who was juſt killed. Siquier himſelf flew without delay to the prince of Heſſe, "who was quartered at Torpum, about the diſtance "of three quarters* of a mile. The prince was at ſupper," writes a page who was preſent†, "with ſome generals and "officers. Siquier, without being announced, approached and "whiſpered the prince; the latter did the ſame to the perſon "who ſat next to him; and the whiſper being circulated "round the company in the ſame manner, the prince retired "from table, and gave immediate orders for poſt-horſes." "I followed," adds the ſame perſon, "the officers to the place "where the king was killed. The prince ordered the gene- "rals and officers who were preſent to place the body in a "litter prepared to convey it to the head quarters. One and "twenty ſoldiers ſtanding around with wax tapers in their "hands, we obſerved that the king, in the agonies of death, "had drawn his ſword half out of the ſcabbard, and that the "hilt was ſo tightly graſped by the right-hand, as not to be "diſengaged without difficulty. The body was no ſooner "removed than the prince held a council with the officers, "when it was determined to raiſe the ſiege, and to diſpatch "field-marſhal Ducker to Sandſborg, in order to prevent any "one from paſſing to the enemy, and ſpreading the report "of the king's death: but this precaution was too late, as "that very night a Swediſh lieutenant, accompanied by a "drummer, went over the Glomma to the enemy, and ac- "quainted them with the king's death."

From theſe circumſtances we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the king was aſſaſſinated, but rather that he received his wound

* Probably of a Swediſh mile, which is equal to about 6¼ Engliſh miles.

† This account is taken from the narrative of Philgren, a page to the prince of Heſſe, who was that day in waiting. See Von Karls XII. Tode & in Schloetzer's Briefwechſel, vol. I. p. 230.

from

from one of the Daniſh batteries. Let us then examine the reaſons which have induced many perſons to aſſert that he was killed by treachery; and that Frederic prince of Heſſe, who had eſpouſed his youngeſt ſiſter Ulrica Eleonora and was ſoon afterwards raiſed to the throne, was not wholly unſuſpected of being concerned in his death. CHAP. III.

The duke of Holſtein, ſon of Hedwige eldeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. was the undoubted heir to the crown, and would, according to the opinion of his miniſter Baſſevitz, have ſucceeded, if he had immediately ſhown himſelf to the troops.

"The duke was in the camp. Charles had brought him "to the army in that ſevere campaign in order to form him "to war. Upon the firſt news of the king's death, the young "prince retired to his tent overwhelmed with affliction. The "generals who were attached to him, in vain demanded ad-"mittance. Duker conjured his favourite Roepſtorf, that he "would perſuade him to appear before the troops, and offered "to proclaim him upon the ſpot. Roepſtorf gained admit-"tance to his maſter, but ſoon returned with an anſwer, that "he was too much affected to hold converſation with any "one. 'If he will not act,' ſays Duker, 'affairs muſt go as 'they can.' "This delay was the ſafety of the Swediſh liberty. "For how would the nation have dared to propoſe the ſup-"preſſion of abſolute authority, in oppoſition to a king who "had been proclaimed by the army, and was already in poſ-"ſeſſion of all the prerogatives enjoyed by his predeceſſor*?" Another † account informs us, "that ſeveral of the Swediſh "generals tendered the crown to the duke, upon the condition "of renouncing abſolute power; but that he refuſed to be "bound by any reſtrictions."

* Memoires de Baſſevitz in Buſching, H. M. IX. p. 321.

† Schloetzer's Briefeweechſel, vol. I. p. 151.

The

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The conduct of the prince of Heſſe was far more politic. Having diſpoſed of the king's body, he iſſued immediate orders to arreſt baron Gortz *, as if already in poſſeſſion of ſovereign authority; and diſpatched Siquier to his conſort Ulrica Eleonora at Stockholm. That princeſs was no ſooner informed of her brother's death, than ſhe ſummoned the ſenate, with whom ſhe had for ſome time entertained a ſecret correſpondence; and agreeing to renounce all right to the crown by hereditary ſucceſſion, and to ſubſcribe to the limitation of regal power, ſhe was ſoon afterwards elected queen; but reſigned, in 1721, the crown to her huſband.

The account of the king's death, publiſhed by order of the court ſoon after the event, enters into no details, but attributes it to a ball ſhot from a falconet †. Motraye affirms ‡,

* The arreſt of Baron Gortz was attended with many curious circumſtances, which are related by Philgren, who accompanied the officers that arreſted him; but the account is too long to be inſerted in this work. See Gortzen's Gefangenemmung in Schloetzer, vol. I. p. 231 to 243.

The real cauſe of the Baron's impriſonment and execution was his attachment to the duke of Holſtein, which neither Frederic nor Ulrica Eleonora could forgive; to their revenge, and to the cabals of a party, he fell a ſacrifice. Poſterity, however, has done juſtice to the integrity of this great, but turbulent ſtateſman; and particularly the preſent king of Sweden has paid a tribute of praiſe to his memory, in the following letter to his daughter Madame D'Eyben. See Schloetzer Theil. XL. p. 109. "Madame la Baronne D'Eyben. La me-"moire de l'illuſtre et malheureux Baron de "Gortz eſt trop reſpectée de moi, pour que "je n'aye été trés ſenſiblement touché d'ap-"prendre, qu'il exiſtoit encore un de ces en-"fans, que la tirannie et l'injuſtice atroce de "la princeſs Ulrique Eleonore, et de ceux qui "preſidérent à la diéte de 1719, rendirent or-"phelins. Son ſang innocent a trop long-"temps crié vengeance. La Suede a pendant "50 ans de malheurs, de devaſtations et de "troubles paié cherement le tribut, que la co-"lére divine a exigé pour le crime, commis "contre un grand homme innocent, pour que "je ſouhaite ardemment, en qualité de *pre-"mier citoyen de ma patrie*, reparer au nom "de cette même patrie, l'injuſtice que nos "ancétres ont commis. A ce titre, que je "regarde comme le plus beau de tous ceux, "que la Providence a bien voulu aſſembler ſur "ma tête, s'ajoute encore celui de ma maiſon, "pour laquelle il a été un ſacrifice. Vous de-"vés donc bien juger, Madame, combien je "ſuis porté de vous faire rendre la juſtice, "que vous reclamés en qualité d'heritiére et "de fille de feu Baron de Gortz, &c. &c. ce "28 d. Ottobre, 1773."

† A ball of a falconet uſually weighs one pound and ½ at leaſt.

‡ Large de quatre doigts. Motraye.—Un trou dans lequel ou pouvoit enfoncer trois doigts. Voltaire.—Une balle l'avoit atteint à la temple droite avec tant de violence, qu'elle étoit reſſortie au deſſus de la temple gauche. Nordberg.

that

that this relation was probably true, becauſe the wound was large enough to admit four fingers; and Voltaire, who received his information from Siquier, aſſerts, that it was made by a ball of half a pound weight, and large enough to contain three fingers; and they both agree, that from the violence of the ſhot the left eye was forced in, and the right diſlodged from its ſocket. In contradiction, however, to theſe authorities, two perſons who had ſeen the body, poſitively affirm, that the wound was too ſmall to have been occaſioned by a ſhot from a falconet or half falconet.

Count Liewen, in a converſation with Mr. Wraxall, thus expreſſed himſelf upon the ſubject:

" There are now very few men alive who can ſpeak with ſo much cer-
" tainty as myſelf. I was in the camp before Frederickſhall, and had the
" honour to ſerve the king in quality of page on that night when he was
" killed. I have no doubt that he was aſſaſſinated. The night was ex-
" tremely dark, and it was almoſt an impoſſibility that a ball from the fort
" could enter his head at the diſtance, and on the ſpot where he ſtood. I
" ſaw the king's body, and am certain the wound in his temple was made by
" a piſtol bullet. Who gave it, is unknown: Siker was ſuſpected, becauſe
" he was not with his majeſty previous to the blow, but appeared a moment
" after. Thoſe," added he, " who are uſed to military affairs, know the
" report and noiſe which a cannon-ball makes; but the report of the ſhot
" which deſtroyed the king was that of a piece cloſe at hand, and totally dif-
" ferent. I do not believe the prince of Heſſe was concerned, or privy to it
" in any degree; but the belief that he was put to death by a private hand
" was general in the army at that time *."

The next evidence is captain Carlſberg, who aſſiſted in conveying the body from the trenches: this officer died at Gotheborg about a month before I arrived at that town; and in repeated converſations with ſeveral Engliſh merchants, from whom I received the anecdote, conſtantly aſſerted that the wound was given by a muſket or piſtol. In anſwer to theſe

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 141.

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assertions, may it not be asked, Whether count Liewen and captain Carlsberg had any opportunity of examining the wound with that attention necessary to form a decisive opinion? and if they did, whether the size of gun-shot wounds does not exceedingly vary according to the velocity of the ball, and the place which it strikes?

But should we even allow, that the piece from which the king received his death was not larger than a musket, the next circumstance for inquiry is, Whether a musket-shot could have reached him from the ramparts of Frederickshall, or from any of the adjoining batteries? That this is probable, will appear from consulting the plan of Frederickshall in Motraye, who had visited the place; for the parapet on which the king was leaning is only 180 yards from the ramparts, and about 800 from the battery, from which he conjectures that he was killed. As a random musket-bullet will often take effect at 800, or even 1000 yards, the king might have been struck in this manner, and still more probably by small or grape-shot discharged from a cannon.

Many persons have been suspected of being concerned in the supposed assassination: Siquier principally, because he was near Charles at the time of his death, covered the body from inspection, immediately carried the news to the prince of Hesse, and, by hastening to Stockholm, secured the crown to the princess Ulrica Eleonora. His conduct in these instances, however, affords no positive evidence either against himself or Frederic; for both would have acted in the same manner from common policy, whether the Swedish monarch was killed by accident, or by their treachery. Unfortunately, however, Siquier himself, in 1722, being at Stockholm, in a delirium, occasioned by a fever, opened the window of his apartment, and exclaimed, that he had murdered Charles XII.; but no one gave any credit to the confession of a person who was then

then in a ſtate of inſanity. Suſpicions alſo fell upon Maigret the engineer, merely becauſe he was preſent in the trenches; and alſo upon General Renſhold, who is ſaid to have employed the murderer: but this report had no foundation, and ſeems to have chiefly ariſen from his activity in ſupporting the party of the ſenate for limiting the ſovereign authority, and in placing Ulrica Eleonora upon the throne.

It is evident from a paſſage in Bruce's Memoirs *, that a belief of the king's aſſaſſination was generally received.

"As I was dining," he ſays, "at an ordinary one day, with ſeveral of my "acquaintance, there happened to be at the table a Swediſh colonel, and a "lieutenant-colonel, who was born dumb, but, notwithſtanding that misfor-"tune, had been a great favourite with the late king of Sweden. While we "were at dinner, the governor's aid-de-camp came in, and, addreſſing him-"ſelf to the Swediſh colonel, ordered him, in the emperor's name, to leave "Riga immediately, otherwiſe he would be proceeded againſt as a traitor. "The Swede immediately getting up from the table, quitted the room pale "and trembling. On our enquiring into the reaſon of this ſudden order to "the colonel, we were informed that he was ſuſpected of having ſhot the late "king of Sweden in the trenches before Frederickſhall. It ſeems that ſome "of the company had, by ſigns, made the dumb lieutenant-colonel under-"ſtand the affair, on which he ran after him with his ſword drawn, and, but "for the interpoſition of the aid-de-camp and ſome others with him, he would "certainly have killed the colonel, who was ſafely conducted over the river "Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland, and was followed by his ſer-"vants and baggage. It was obſerved, that while he reſided in Riga, large "remittances had come to him from Stockholm, which made it generally "ſuſpected that he had been highly bribed to commit the regicide. The "colonel made haſte to get into Poland, intending to paſs through that king-"dom into Turkey, where he was well acquainted, having attended the king "of Sweden all the time that prince reſided in Bender; but as he was no "more heard of, it was generally thought he had been murdered in Po-"land."

* P. 366.

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Bruce does not mention the name of this colonel; but his account ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to corroborate the opinion of many perſons in Sweden, that if the king was treacherouſly put to death, it is highly probable that the murder was committed by a Swede. At a diet, which met in September 1772, ſoon after the revolution, a nobleman, whoſe name was Ingham, uſed theſe myſterious expreſſions: "The liberty which "has been ſo much extolled, always carried to exceſs, and to "which we have ſo long been enſlaved, perhaps at its com"mencement did not occaſion any real bleſſings. It is a con"jecture which excites horror, an *opprobrium* from which I "wiſh we could entirely exculpate ourſelves, namely, that the "life of our Northern hero Charles XII.—But I tremble; he "was upon the point of recovering the loſſes of the ſtate. Po"ſterity will dare to expatiate upon this much-to-be-lamented "event." It appears from theſe words, as if the ſpeaker conceived that the partizans for a limited monarchy had occaſioned the death of Charles, in order to eſtabliſh a new form of government; and he alluded to the following anecdote.

A Swediſh officer, whoſe name is Cronſtedt, is ſaid to have owned, upon his death-bed, to his confeſſor Tolſtadius, that he was concerned in the murder of Charles XII.; and the confeſſor afterwards drew up an account of this declaration, which was delivered to the king and ſenate, and is now preſerved in the archives. I could not learn the particulars of this account; but was informed in general, that Cronſtedt * affirmed he only loaded the piece, and that Shernroſe, who died lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, was the perſon who

* It may not be improper to mention in this place, that Cronſtedt is ſaid to have been out of his ſenſes before he died; and if ſo, his confeſſion deſerves no more credit than that of Siquier. Another madman likewiſe acknowledged himſelf to be the king's aſſaſſin. Fabricius, who is mentioned as a great favourite of Charles XII. died in England in a delirium; and he aſſured Miller, the celebrated botaniſt, with whom he was intimately acquainted, that he aſſaſſinated the Swediſh monarch. I received this anecdote from a gentleman who had it from Mr. Miller himſelf.

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fired it, ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance behind the king; and it is likewiſe aſſerted, that Shernroſe, in his laſt illneſs, acknowledged his guilt. The queen-dowager of Sweden, whoſe curioſity was excited by all theſe reports, deſcended a few years ago into the vault which contains the body of Charles. Upon examining the wounds, one whereof was in the back of his head, and the other in the left temple, ſhe found that the latter was the greater; whence it was concluded, that the ball went in behind and came out before, from the well-known effect of gun-ſhot wounds, whoſe entering orifice is always the ſmalleſt. I may likewiſe venture to add, that her majeſty, after weighing all the circumſtances on both ſides, was of opinion that the king was aſſaſſinated. CHAP. III.

It appeared probable to ſome perſons, from ſeveral particulars in the confeſſion of Cronſtedt, that he had been employed by Frederic I. and it is ſtill believed by many at Stockholm, that Frederic, upon the approach of death, raved about Charles XII. and expreſſed great remorſe and compunction on his account.

In mentioning theſe anecdotes, I beg leave to requeſt that they may be conſidered merely as reports, upon which other perſons, who ſhall have an opportunity of obtaining more preciſe information, may build their inquiries; as my intention was to throw together all the intelligence I could collect concerning the death of Charles XII.; in order to enable the reader to draw the concluſion which ſhall ſeem the moſt probable.

Upon reviewing the principal circumſtances in this myſterious affair, if we are convinced that the king's wound was that of a muſket or piſtol ball, and yet that he was not in a ſituation to be reached by ſuch a ſhot from the enemy's batteries; and that though the belief of his being unfairly put to death was general in the army, yet no inquiry was made; if

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we imagine the evidence of Liewen and Carlſberg are to be abſolutely relied upon, and particularly the aſſertion of the former, that the report of the piece which deſtroyed the king was that of a piſtol; if we can ſuppoſe the confeſſion of Cronſtedt and Shernroſe to be genuine; the remorſe of Frederic to be ſincere and well atteſted; if we think the opinion of the queen-dowager ſufficient to convince our judgment; we muſt neceſſarily conclude that Charles XII. was aſſaſſinated. On the contrary, if we believe that the wound was ſo large, that it muſt have been occaſioned by a ball from a falconet, or half falconet; or if not, that the king was liable to be reached by a muſket-ball; if we ſee no glaring contradictions between the account publiſhed by the court, and the relations made by thoſe who were in the trenches at the time when he fell; or if we think that the latter perſons may have been miſtaken in ſome material circumſtances; if we can reconcile the conduct of Frederic as being merely dictated by policy, and ſuch as would have been adopted by any perſon in the ſame ſituation, though he were not acceſſory to the murder: if to theſe conſiderations we add the natural propenſity of mankind to attribute the death of extraordinary perſonages to extraordinary cauſes; that thoſe who have once framed an hypotheſis will imperceptibly warp all events in its ſupport; and that until poſitive proofs, not merely drawn from flying reports and uncertain anecdotes, are eſtabliſhed, we ought undoubtedly to lean to the ſide of candour and humanity, we ought not to credit ſurmiſes ſo injurious to characters otherwiſe without reproach; and we are bound to conclude that Charles XII. fell by the hand of the enemy, and not by treachery. And this opinion was likewiſe ſupported by the high authority of count Poniatowſki*, the confidential friend of Charles XII.

* As I had the honour of being informed by the preſent king of Poland.

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CHAP. IV.

Changes in the form of the Swediſh *government.—Inquiry into the nature of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed at the Revolution of* 1772.*—The king a limited, and not an abſolute monarch.—Diet compoſed of the king and ſtates.—I. Houſe of nobles.—II. Of the clergy.—III. Of citizens.—IV. Of peaſants.—Mode of enacting laws.*

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THE form of the Swediſh government has frequently varied. Before the acceſſion of the houſe of Vaſa in the perſon of Guſtavus I. it was a monarchy wholly elective, and laboured under all the evils which are inſeparable from that moſt defective ſpecies of ſovereignty. By the Union of Calmar, which took place in 1397, it was ſtipulated, that the ſame monarch was to rule over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and to be choſen by the deputies from the ſtates of thoſe three kingdoms aſſembled at Calmar. Throughout the whole period in which theſe regulations ſubſiſted, Sweden was a mere tributary kingdom to the ſovereigns of Denmark; or, in its temporary exertions to ſhake off that yoke, drew on itſelf all the horrors of foreign invaſion and inteſtine diſcord.

From this ſtate of alternate oppreſſion and anarchy it was reſcued by Guſtavus Vaſa, on whom the gratitude of the Swedes conferred the dominion of that country which he had delivered: they even renounced in his favour the right of electing their kings, and declared the crown hereditary in his male iſſue. The form of government eſtabliſhed at his acceſſion, though in appearance of a mixed nature, and though it lodged the ſupremacy in the aſſembly of the ſtates, yet entruſted very extenſive prerogatives to the king. Theſe powers, tranſmitted

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tranſmitted to his immediate poſterity with little diminution, were augmented under Guſtavus Adolphus; and at the ſame time the right of ſucceſſion was extended to the female line. But, during the minority of his daughter Chriſtina, the government underwent an alteration unfavourable to regal authority: the privileges of the ſenate, or council of ſtate, being enlarged, gave the aſcendancy to the ariſtocratical party, or order of nobles; and this power was, by continual encroachments, carried to ſuch an exorbitant height, as juſtly to excite the fears and indignation of the three other orders of the clergy, citizens, and peaſants. At length, Charles XI. artfully availing himſelf of this diſſatisfaction, obtained from the ſtates a formal ceſſion of abſolute ſovereignty, which he quietly devolved upon his ſon Charles XII. Upon the deceaſe of the latter, his nephew, Charles Frederic duke of Holſtein, ſon of his eldeſt ſiſter Hedwige, ought, by the law of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by Charles XI. to have aſcended the throne. But the Swedes, in breach of that regulation, excluded the duke of Holſtein, and conferred the crown upon Ulrica Eleonora, the youngeſt ſiſter of Charles XII.; who, poſſeſſing no title but what was derived from the appointment of the nation, purchaſed her election by a ſurrender of abſolute authority, and by ratifying all the limitations of prerogative which the ſtates impoſed; and her huſband Frederic I. in whoſe favour ſhe reſigned the crown, ſecured their concurrence by ſimilar ſtipulations.

The new form of government eſtabliſhed at this juncture, conſiſted of fifty-one articles, all tending to abridge the powers of the crown, and rendered the Swediſh ſovereign the moſt limited monarch in Europe. It was ſettled, that the ſupreme legiſlative authority ſhould reſide abſolutely and ſolely in the ſtates of the realm aſſembled in diet, which, whether convened by the king or not, muſt regularly aſſemble every three years, and

and could only be diſſolved by their own conſent. During the receſs of the diet, the executive power reſided in the king and ſenate; but as the king was bound in all affairs to abide by the opinion of the majority; and as he poſſeſſed only two votes, and the caſting voice in caſe of equal ſuffrages, he was almoſt entirely ſubordinate to that body, and could be conſidered in no other light than its preſident *. At the ſame time the ſenate itſelf ultimately depended upon the ſtates, as its members, though nominally appointed for life, yet were in a great meaſure choſen by the ſtates †, were amenable before that aſſembly, and liable to be removed from their office in caſe of real or pretended malverſation. Thus the ſupreme authority reſided in a tumultuous aſſembly, compoſed of the four orders, into which many nobles without property, the meaneſt tradeſmen, and the loweſt peaſants, were admitted; moſt of whom were of courſe ſubject to all the corruption and influence to which needy and ignorant repreſentatives are

* Mr. Sheridan, in his Hiſtory of the late Revolution, &c. has thus delineated the exorbitant authority veſted in the ſtates, p. 145. "While the ſtates were aſſembled, they were, "in fact, poſſeſſed of the whole ſupreme power. "The authority of the king and ſenate was "then ſuſpended, &c.—In ſhort, the ſtates "were veſted with the ſame powers, inde- "pendent of the king and ſenate, that in Eng- "land the two houſes of parliament poſſeſs in "conjunction with the king.

"The legiſlative power they reſerved wholly "to themſelves. The king and ſenate, having "no ſhare whatever in it, did not even poſſeſs "a negative on thoſe reſolutions of the diet, "which directly attacked the regal and ſena- "torial rights.—The following powers were "likewiſe veſted in the ſtates alone. Thoſe of "declaring war, or making peace. That of al- "tering the ſtandard of the coin, &c.

"The executive power, during the ſitting of "the diet, may be ſaid to have been, in a great "meaſure, lodged in a certain number of per- "ſons ſelected from the three orders of the "nobles, clergy, and burghers, who conſti- "tuted what was denominated the ſecret com- "mittee, &c. With regard to the judicial "power, the ſtates aſſumed to themſelves "a right of exerciſing that, alſo, whenever "they thought proper, by taking at pleaſure "cauſes out of the ordinary courts of juſtice, "to try them before a temporary tribunal "erected by themſelves, and compoſed of their "own members. Nothing could be more for- "midable than the power of this court, or "more ſubverſive of liberty; as, in reality, "it united within itſelf at once the legiſlative, "judicial, and executive powers; and it was "to decide principally in caſes of treaſon. "What rendered this extraordinary juriſdic- "tion moſt prepoſterous was, its being gene- "rally at the ſame time both judge and "party."

† All vacancies in the ſtate were filled by the king from three candidates nominated by the ſtates.

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neceſſarily expoſed. Although all ſtatutes were ſigned by the king, and the ordinances of the ſenate iſſued in his name, yet in neither caſe did he poſſeſs a negative: and in order to obviate the poſſibility of his attempting to exerciſe that power, it was enacted, in the diet of 1756, that "in all affairs, without exception, which had hitherto required the ſign manual, "his majeſty's name might be affixed by a ſtamp, whenever "he ſhould have declined his ſignature at the firſt or ſecond "requeſt of the ſenate." In conſequence of this reſolution, the royal ſignature was actually engraved, and applied to the ordinary diſpatches of government under the direction of the ſenate *. In a word, the king enjoyed little more than the mere name of royalty. He was only the oſtenſible inſtrument in the hands of one of the two great parties who at that time divided and governed the kingdom, as either obtained the ſuperior influence in the diet.

We cannot but remark upon this ſubject, that the Swedes, who, during the reigns of Charles XI. and XII. had ſo reluctantly ſubmitted to the deſpotiſm of their ſovereigns, knew not how to uſe their liberty: they intemperately ran into the contrary extreme; and, in order to diſable the king from recovering arbitrary power, they even deſpoiled him of thoſe juſt and neceſſary prerogatives, which in a monarchical conſtitution can alone form a barrier againſt ariſtocratical uſurpation and popular factions; as if they were ignorant of any medium between abſolute dominion and anarchy, or between licentiouſneſs and ſervitude.

The groſs defects in this new form of government occaſioned conſtant ſtruggles between the kings of Sweden and their ſubjects, on one ſide to increaſe, on the other to depreſs the royal prerogative, until his preſent majeſty effected the revolution of 1772. It is needleſs to enter into any detail of this

* Sheridan, p. 188. Cantzler, p. 71.

extraordinary

extraordinary event, as Mr. Sheridan, who, at the period in queſtion, was ſecretary to the Britiſh envoy at Stockholm, has given to the world a moſt ample and accurate detail of the whole tranſaction *. Perſons of the moſt oppoſite parties in Sweden all unanimouſly concur in commending the fidelity of Mr. Sheridan's hiſtory, and in preferring it to the numerous narratives of that important event; and the king has frequently acknowledged its general authenticity. The ingenious author has developed with the utmoſt preciſion and truth the dreadful abuſes occaſioned by the ſyſtem of government eſtabliſhed in 1720; and has traced, with a maſterly hand, the judicious and ſpirited conduct of his preſent majeſty. But in this account of the new government, admirable as it is, he has unfortunately advanced a capital miſtake, which, as it has fallen from a perſon of ſuch reſpectable authority, and ſeems generally prevalent in all foreign countries, deſerves a particular diſcuſſion. I allude to his aſſertion, that the king of Sweden is "no leſs "abſolute at Stockholm, than the French monarch at Ver- "ſailles, and the Grand Signor at Conſtantinople †;" whereas his Swediſh majeſty, though now poſſeſſed of very great prerogatives, is yet in many important inſtances a limited monarch, as will be aſcertained by a review of the preſent conſtitution.

The whole executive power is virtually veſted in the king: for though it is ſaid to be entruſted to him conjointly with the ſenate, yet as his majeſty appoints and removes all the members of that council, and in the adminiſtration of affairs aſks only their advice, without being bound to follow it, he is abſolute maſter of the ſenate ‡. The king has the command of the

* A Hiſtory of the late Revolution in Sweden, &c. by Charles Francis Sheridan, Eſq.

† P. 301.

‡ Article 4th. In ſome few inſtances, however, namely, in the negotiations of peace, truces, and alliances, the king is bound to follow the opinion of the ſenators, in caſe they are unanimous; but as it is ſcarcely poſſible that

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the army and navy, and fills up all commiſſions; he likewiſe nominates to all civil offices *. He has the ſole power of convening and diſſolving the ſtates, and is not obliged to aſſemble them at any ſtated period †; he has rendered the taxes perpetual, enjoys a fixed revenue, and has the entire diſpoſal of the public money.

Such are the prerogatives which his Swediſh majeſty has annexed to his crown; but however enormous they may appear, eſpecially when compared with the ſlender degree of authority poſſeſſed by the throne before that period, yet they by no means, I apprehend, amount to deſpotiſm. The two great features, which eſſentially diſtinguiſh an arbitrary from a limited monarch, are the uncontrouled right of enacting and repealing laws, and the impoſition of taxes without conſent of the ſubject; neither of which are exerciſed by the king of Sweden. With reſpect to the former, the legiſlative authority reſides jointly in him and in the ſtates ‡; and it is expreſsly decreed, in the 40th article, "that the king ſhall have no power "to make new laws, without the knowledge and aſſent of the "ſtates; nor abrogate an old one received formerly ‖." Concerning the impoſition of taxes, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that the king ſhall not levy any money without the conſent of the ſtates, excepting in the caſe of actual invaſion §; and at the concluſion

that ſeventeen ſenators, appointed, and removable, by his majeſty, ſhould be unanimous in their oppoſition to him, we may fairly allow the king to have the command of the ſenate. Art. 6th.

In the high courts of juſtice, indeed, conſiſting of ſeven ſenators, to which a final appeal lies from all the inferior courts, the king has only two voices, and a caſting vote, if the opinions are equal. But yet, in this inſtance, as he nominates and removes at his pleaſure their judges, he muſt have the entire diſpoſal of their ſuffrages. Art. 8th. See the articles of the new form of government in the Appendix to this volume.

* Art. 6; alſo 22, 25, and 31.

† Art. 38.

‡ Mr. Sheridan is wrong, in ſaying that the ſtates were to deliberate upon nothing but what the king thought proper to lay before them, they having a right, as well to propoſe laws, as to negative thoſe propoſed by the king. See Art. 42.

‖ Art. 48.

§ Mr. Sheridan, upon this article, ſays, "By a third, though his majeſty did not openly

cluſion of the war he ſhall be obliged to ſummon them, and the new taxes ſhall be aboliſhed. In addition alſo to theſe two important reſtrictions, he cannot declare war, nor alter the coin, without their concurrence; and, if called upon by them when convened, is obliged to account for the expenditure of the public money*.

Though the king is ſubject to theſe material limitations, yet as his ordinary revenue is perpetual, and the meeting of the ſtates depends ſolely upon his pleaſure, it may be urged, that he may govern without controul ſo long as he requires no additional ſubſidies. But ſurely this mode of ruling does not amount to abſolute authority. For, as he cannot enact laws, declare war, or levy taxes, without the conſent of the diet, emergencies muſt occur which may render it neceſſary to convene that aſſembly, when the latter may redreſs grievances, or repair any breaches in the conſtitution.

In fact, his preſent majeſty, though neither preſſed by foreign war, nor by any material exigency, did, within ſix years from the time of his obtaining an exemption from the neceſſity of convening the ſtates, conceive it expedient to ſummon them; and experienced that oppoſition which characterizes the repreſentatives of a free people. In the houſe of nobles, for inſtance, a memorial was laid upon the table, wherein it was ſaid, that there were no fixed laws; that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1772 had been for ſome time obſerved; but that lately many of the king's friends had appealed to that of

" openly claim a power of impoſing taxes on " all occaſions, yet ſuch as already ſubſiſted " were to be perpetual, and in caſe of invaſion " or *preſſing neceſſity*, the king might impoſe " ſome taxes *till* the ſtates could be aſſembled. " But his majeſty was to be the judge of this " neceſſity; and we have ſeen that the meeting of the ſtates depended wholly on his will " and pleaſure." P. 307.

Now there are no ſuch words as *preſſing neceſſity* in the new articles of government, but the exerciſe of this power is ſtrictly confined to the caſe of actual invaſion: the words are, " Yet that unhappy caſe excepted, when " the kingdom ſhould be attacked by an " army."

* Articles 44. 48. 50.

1616,

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1616, as the proper model by which the adminiſtration was to regulate its proceedings: which conſtitution was to be conſidered as at preſent ſubſiſting? Other propoſitions very offenſive to the royal ear were diſcuſſed in this memorial; and it was intended to have been formally recited at the next meeting; but, to prevent this meaſure, the king ſummoned the ſtates to the palace, and diſſolved them. His majeſty, in his ſpeech delivered on that occaſion, declared himſelf chagrined at the complaints unjuſtly levelled againſt his conduct; and added, that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1772 ſhould always be regarded by him as the true conſtitution; that he never wiſhed to deviate from it in the ſlighteſt degree; and that, as many perſons had endeavoured to create a miſunderſtanding between him and the ſtates, he had on that account adopted the reſolution of diſſolving them: a ſtyle of harangue that would not have been adopted by an abſolute king.

In a word, whether the preſent form of government be likely to laſt, or whether it may not be as ſuddenly overturned as it was introduced by a new revolution; whether it may not, in proceſs of time, degenerate into an arbitrary monarchy, or relapſe into its priſtine anarchy; are not here the objects of inquiry: the queſtion relates ſolely to the nature of the conſtitution as it ſubſiſts at preſent; which the more accurately we examine, the leſs ſcrupulouſly ſhall we decide, that the king of Sweden is a limited, and not a deſpotic ſovereign.

The diet, in which reſides the ſupreme legiſlative authority, is compoſed of the king, whoſe prerogatives have been already related, and the ſtates, which are convened at the ſole will of the crown, and conſiſt of the four houſes, I. Of Nobles; II. Of the Clergy; III. Of Citizens; and, IV. Of Peaſants.

I. The firſt Houſe is that of the Nobles.

They are divided into counts, barons, and untitled nobility. A family once ennobled continues ſo from generation to generation,

ration, as well in the direct line as in its various collateral branches *; and all poſſeſs the ſame general privileges, which conſiſt principally in the capacity of being ſenators, chamberlains, or of holding other civil employments about the king's perſon and court, and in an exemption from the poll-tax. The power of creating new nobility is veſted in the king; but the number is limited. In a diet held under Adolphus Frederic, it was enacted, that no additional ones ſhould be appointed until the families of this order were reduced to 1200; and at the revolution of 1772 his preſent majeſty obtained the right of adding 150. The head of each noble family in the direct line is by birth a member of this houſe, and repreſents, in his perſon, all the younger part of that line, as well as the collateral branches. If he happens to be a ſenator, he is incapacitated by his office from a place in the diet, but enjoys the power of transferring his ſeat to another noble. Any repreſentative,

* The reader will excuſe the length of the following quotation, as well in conſideration of the juſtneſs of the remarks, and its application to the ſubject in the text, as becauſe it is almoſt the only place where the difference between the Engliſh and foreign nobility is preciſely and clearly aſcertained.

"England is the only country in Europe "where the diſtinction, for inſtance of noble "and not noble, is carried no farther than the "nature of the government requires it ſhould; "becauſe there the nobility do not, as ſuch, "form a diſtinct claſs from the reſt of the na- "tion. As it is only the head of each noble "family, who is there entitled to the honours "and privileges of the peerage, it is not the "man who can count a long train of titled "anceſtors, but the hereditary legiſlator who "is himſelf noble. The younger branches of "theſe families, as they have no ſhare in the "legiſlature, are but little, if, by courteſy, at "all diſtinguiſhed from their fellow-ſubjects; "with whom they and their deſcendants aſſi- "milate, and are ſoon, if I may ſo expreſs my- "ſelf, melted down into the general maſs of "the people. Hence theſe become a ſort of "link between the nobility and the common- "ers; a link that, connecting their intereſts, "prevents all diviſion between theſe two or- "ders in their capacity of members of the "ſame ſociety, and which forms of that ſo- "ciety a continued chain, no part of which "can be touched without affecting, by an al- "moſt electrical communication, all the reſt. "In other countries, where thoſe who have "been once ennobled tranſmit the honours "and privileges of nobility to all their poſte- "rity alike, there is no link to connect the "nobles to the reſt of the nation; on the con- "trary, a line is drawn between them to per- "petuity; a line which cuts, as it were, the "chain of ſociety in two, the ſevered ends of "which appear rather to repel than attract "each other. There, conſequently, that con- "junction of views and intereſts cannot take "place in the nation at large, to which I have "ſaid a free conſtitution muſt, in a great de- "gree, owe its ſafety." Sheridan, p. 143.

who

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who declines attending, may appoint a ſubſtitute, provided he nominates a perſon of his own family*. As there are about 1200 noble families, if each head attended, the members preſent in the houſe would amount to that number; but there being no neceſſity for aſſiſting at the diet, the repreſentatives vary. In the late reign, when their votes were of greater conſequence than they are under the preſent form of government, they uſually amounted to 500 or 600; and on a remarkable occaſion, when Adolphus Frederic intimated a deſign of abdicating the throne, above 1000 took their ſeats. In the late diet of 1778 only 300 made their appearance †.

II. The ſecond Houſe is that of the Clergy ‡.

The repreſentatives of this order conſiſt of the fourteen biſhops, and a certain number of eccleſiaſtics choſen in the following manner: The king's writ being iſſued to the conſiſtory, or eccleſiaſtical court of each dioceſe, the latter diſpatch a cir-

* Formerly each head had the power of tranſferring his ſeat to any one noble; but as this privilege gave riſe to a ſcandalous traffic of ſelling ſeats (ſee Sheridan, p. 159), the houſe paſſed a decree, prohibiting any repreſentative from appointing a noble of another family to be his ſubſtitute, to the prejudice of his own family in all its collateral branches, any of whom might, in preference to an alien, claim a right of aſſiſting at a diet, if the chief declined attending.

† The governors of the provinces and the colonels of each regiment attend the ſittings of the diet, in order to deliver in their reports; but they have no vote, excepting when they take their ſeats, as is uſually the caſe, as repreſentatives in their own right, or by the transfer of the heads of noble families. Theſe circumſtances have induced ſome authors erroneouſly to aſſert that the governors and colonels are, from their offices, entitled to ſeats and votes in the houſe of nobles.

‡ The Lutheran is the eſtabliſhed religion of Sweden. The members are biſhops, *domproſts* or deans, *proſts* or archdeacons, *paſtors* or rectors, and *comminiſters* or perpetual curates. There are fourteen dioceſes; the archbiſhopric of Upſala, and the biſhoprics of Eindkioping, Skara, Strængnœs, Wœſteros, Wexio, Abo, Lund, Borgo, Gotheborg, Calmar, Carlſtadt, Hermoſand, and Wiſby or Gothland. The revenues of Upſala and Wœſteros amount to about £1000 per annum; and thoſe of the loweſt biſhoprics to £300. The biſhops are bound to reſidence, excepting at the meeting of the diet. The chapters of Upſala, Lund, and Abo, which are univerſities, are compoſed of the biſhops, deans, who are always *primarii profeſſores* of divinity, and the other profeſſors in the ſeveral branches of literature; in thoſe dioceſes in which there are *gymnaſia*, they conſiſt of the biſhop, dean, and the *rectores gymnaſii*, or profeſſors. In the dioceſe of Wiſby or Gothland, the chapter is formed by the biſhop and the neighbouring rectors.—There are alſo three ſuperintendents, who rank as biſhops, but do not ſit in the houſe: the firſt chaplain to the king; the rector of St. Nicholas at Stockholm; and the firſt chaplain of the navy.

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cular letter to the archdeacon of a diſtrict having the right of election; and he communicates the ſummons to the clergymen of his ſeveral pariſhes. Every perſon poſſeſſing a benefice, and every upper and under maſter of the royal ſchools, is an elector, and may be a candidate to repreſent that diſtrict*. The electors meet at ſome place towards the center of the archdeaconry; and the perſon who has the greateſt number of votes is choſen repreſentative. The biſhops are obliged to defray their own expences at the ſittings of the diet, though they uſually receive, in the larger dioceſes, 15*s.* per day; and in the ſmaller 10*s.*: but the others muſt be paid by their conſtituents about 5*s.* or 6*s.* per day. The number of the repreſentatives is uncertain, becauſe each archdeaconry has the privilege of ſending one member, or of joining with another in the choice of one: they have been ſeldom leſs than 50, and have never exceeded 80.

III. The third Houſe is that of the Citizens.

Sweden contains 104 towns which enjoy the privilege of ſending members to the diet. Every citizen of theſe towns engaged in trade and commerce, being a freeman, and paying taxes to the town, is at the age of 21 an elector †; and every citizen, even the loweſt menial tradeſman, who has been a freeman during ſeven years, or an alderman during three, and who has attained the age of 24, is qualified to be a repreſentative. Summons from the crown being iſſued by the governors of the provinces, the latter tranſmit them to the mayor and aldermen of each town having the right of appointing

* The *comminiſters*, or perpetual curates, chuſe alſo one repreſentative from the comminiſters of each dioceſe.

† The right of voting depends, in different places, on different qualifications. In ſome places it is derived from a certain aſſeſſment upon capitals employed in trade; in others from a tax upon land without the boundaries of the town, &c. In all caſes, perſons who in this manner contribute largely to the public impoſts, enjoy an additional number of voices proportionate to the multiples which they pay: ſuppoſing, for inſtance, an annual rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* qualifies for a vote, any perſon paying 5*s.* has two; 10*s.* four votes; and ſo on. In Gotheborg there are about 1000 electors, and ſome rich merchants poſſeſs ſeveral hundred votes.

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members. The mayor aſſembles the electors in the town-hall, and their choice is determined by the majority: none but freemen are permitted to be preſent. Each repreſentative receives from their conſtituents a ſmall contribution; which, in the larger towns, amounts to about 15*s.*; and in the ſmaller to 5*s.* 4*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* per day, during their attendance at the diet. The number of members who repreſented this order was never preciſely the ſame. Each ſtaple town has indeed the right of ſending two; ſome of the largeſt, ſuch as Gotheborg, Nordkioping, Geffle, and a few others, three; and Stockholm always deputed ten*: but ſometimes one or two ſmall towns joined to elect only one deputy; and at other times each appointed its own members. The uſual number ſeldom fell ſhort of 100, and never exceeded 200.

IV. The fourth Houſe is that of the Peaſants, whoſe repreſentatives are choſen by, and from, the following order of ſubjects.

The definition of a peaſant is a farmer employed in agriculture, poſſeſſing land of a certain tenure, who has never followed any trade, or enjoyed any civil office. This deſcription includes only thoſe whoſe anceſtors were alſo farmers, and does not entitle either nobles, citizens, or even country gentlemen, though they may purchaſe the peaſant's eſtate, either to vote, or to be returned a member. The land qualifying the farmer, who is a peaſant, to be an elector, muſt be either crown land, or his own property. The moſt valuable of theſe eſtates may be worth £1300, and the pooreſt about £30. If the land is poſſeſſed by two or more peaſants, the vote is ſplit among the ſeveral proprietors, each enjoying that ſhare of the vote which is

* Of this number four are elected from the mayor and aldermen, two from the wholeſale merchants, two from retail traders, and two from perſons engaged in handicraft trades.

proportionate to his ſhare of the farm*; but each of them is qualified to be a repreſentative. The peaſants who thus enjoy the privilege of nominating deputies, or of being elected themſelves, may be divided into three claſſes: 1. Peaſants whoſe farms conſiſt of crown lands, which they enjoy for life upon payment of an annual quit-rent, and from which they cannot be removed but for being formally proved guilty of having neglected their culture. Upon the death of the proprietor, the leaſe is almoſt always granted to the eldeſt ſon. 2. and 3. Peaſants who have bought, at ſix years' purchaſe, either from the crown, or the nobility, the perpetuity of their farms on the payment of a quit-rent. The mode of election is as follows: The writ being iſſued to the governor of the province, he ſends it to the county judges, each of whom ſummons the peaſants within his juriſdiction to meet in the court of juſtice, and in his preſence, on the day appointed for the election. The members are choſen by the majority of voices. The conſtituents join in contributing the ſum of three, four, or five ſhillings per day towards defraying the expences of their deputy at the diet. The electors who uſually aſſemble in each diſtrict are ſeldom leſs than 30, or more than 100. The number of repreſentatives in the houſe of peaſants is extremely uncertain, as two diſtricts occaſionally unite in ſending only one deputy, and at other times elect two; but, upon an average, they uſually amount to about 100.

It is a very remarkable circumſtance, that, in a conſtitution ſo free as that of Sweden, in which even the peaſants, as landholders, are returned members to the diet, the country gentlemen, be their landed property ever ſo large, are not repreſented

* Thus a peaſant having $\frac{1}{72}$d of an eſtate qualifying for a vote, has $\frac{1}{72}$d of a vote: and theſe fractions are all added together, which frequently makes an election for a member of the diet a very complicated buſineſs.

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in the ſtates of the kingdom *, have neither any vote in the choice of repreſentatives, nor can be repreſentatives themſelves: a ſtrange inconſiſtency, that thoſe perſons, who are juſtly eſteemed the moſt reſpectable and incorrupt part of the body politic, ſhould not enjoy the leaſt ſhare in the legiſlature, while many mechanics and farmers, who are both as unqualified to canvaſs intricate political queſtions, as they are incapable of reſiſting the influence of bribery, poſſeſs that important privilege. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the limited monarchy in 1720 by the ariſtocratical party which raiſed Ulrica Eleonora to the throne, many country gentlemen ſigned an addreſs to the diet, repreſenting the impropriety of excluding ſo important an order of men from the ſtates of the realm. But as the articles of government were finally ſettled, their application was not complied with: ſo well founded and juſt, however, were the principles of their remonſtrance, that the king, at the recommendation of the diet, advanced ſeveral of the petitioners into the order of nobles.

The ſtates of the kingdom, thus compoſed of the repreſentatives choſen in the manner juſt deſcribed, aſſemble at Stockholm in ſeveral places. The nobles in the houſe of nobles; the clergy in the church adjoining to the palace; the citizens in the town-hall; and the peaſants in another apartment of the ſame building.

Having taken their ſeats, and choſen their reſpective ſpeakers, the four houſes repair in due form to a hall of the palace, where the king, clad in his royal robes and ſeated upon the throne, informs them, in a ſhort ſpeech, of the reaſons for which they are convened; deſiring them to aſſiſt him with their advice in

* The reaſon of the country gentlemen being excluded from all ſhare in the legiſlation, was, that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1720, was founded on the antient conſtitution of Sweden; by which the inhabitants were, as in moſt other countries of Europe, divided into nobles, clergy, citizens, and peaſants.

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the preſent juncture of affairs, and deliberate for the good of the kingdom. In anſwer to this harangue, the four ſpeakers compliment his majeſty in the name of their reſpective houſes; after which ceremony the repreſentatives immediately retire.

Laws are enacted in the following manner: During the ſittings of the diet, every member of the four houſes has the privilege of propoſing a queſtion to the conſideration of the aſſembly to which he belongs. A debate takes place upon the motion, which is carried or rejected by a majority. If it paſſes in one houſe, it is ſent by a deputation to each of the others; and, if aſſented to by three, is preſented by the four ſpeakers to the king: his majeſty afterwards ſummons the ſtates to the palace, and communicates to them his aſſent or diſſent in form. The latter negatives the bill, and the former gives to it the ſanction of a law. If the bill originates from the king, it is thus brought in: his majeſty lays it before the ſenators, and having obtained their opinions in writing, refers it to the diſcuſſion of the ſtates; if they approve it, the four houſes repair to the palace, and communicate their aſſent to his majeſty; if it is rejected, they tranſmit their determination in writing by their ſpeakers, and accompany it with the reaſons which had induced them to diſſent. When the king chuſes to put an end to the diet, he ſummons the ſtates to the palace, and diſſolves them by a ſpeech.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

General remarks on the I. Population;—II. Revenues;—III. Military eſtabliſhment;—And, IV. Penal Laws, of Sweden.

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THE population is perhaps more accurately aſcertained in Sweden than in any other part of Europe; which is owing to the peculiar care and attention paid by government to obtain a correct regiſter of the marriages, births, and deaths. For this purpoſe a *Tabell Commiſſion*, or a board for inſpecting and regiſtering the bills of mortality, reſident at Stockholm, was inſtituted in 1749; which maintains a correſpondence with all the pariſhes and towns in the kingdom. Tables are diſtributed to the clergymen and magiſtrates for the purpoſe of enrolling the marriages, births, and deaths in their reſpective diſtricts, and ſpecifying the number of inhabitants at that time ſubſiſting; and extraordinary care is taken to prevent miſtakes.

The firſt table is for a general liſt of the births, deaths, and marriages; the ſecond for the bills of mortality; the third for the number of inhabitants. The two former are kept by the pariſh-prieſts, and annually delivered; the latter by the pariſh-prieſt in the country, and by the magiſtrates in the towns, and are ſent to the board at the end of every third year*. A copy of the two former tables is here ſubjoined, as their uſeful tendency is evident, and as an inſtitution of a ſimilar nature could not fail of being highly advantageous to every country.

* The aſcertaining of the number of inhabitants is greatly facilitated by the poll-tax, and by the care taken by the clergy to keep exact regiſters. About thirty years ago the diet paſſed a law, that every perſon in Sweden, both male and female, ſhould learn to read. This regulation is conſidered as part of the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and is particularly attended to by the clergy, who examine the children in their reſpective pariſhes.

TABLE

TABLE sent by the Government of Sweden into the several Provinces for the Purpose of ascertaining the Population. CHAP. V.

For the Year 17 . . . Lift of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.

	Births.						Deaths.										Marriages.	
	Legitimate.		Illegitimate.		Sum Total.		Till the age of 10 inclus.			Above 10 years old.			Married Persons.			Sum Total.	Divorces.	Contracted
Months	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Sum	M.	F.	Sum	M.	F.	Sum	M. F.	Coupl.	Couples.
January, February, March, &c.																		
Sums																		
Total of all the births in 17..							Total of deaths											

REMARKS.

The twins are included in the preceding numbers among the births; here those women are only enumerated who have been brought-to-bed of two or three children at a birth.

Twins | Of three children

Here are placed the children born dead; who were not included in the births.

Males | Females

Here is marked the age of all women who have been brought-to-bed.

			Number.
—	between	15 — 20 years	
—	—	20 — 25	
—	—	25 — 30	
—	—	30 — 35	
—	—	35 — 40	
—	—	40 — 45	
—	—	45 — 50	
		Total	

Persons who died at past ninety are comprized among the deaths; but here their several ages are respectively mentioned.

	Males.	Females.
Between 90 and 95		
95 and 100		
Above 100		
Sums		
Total of the whole year		

What species of disorders were most prevalent, and at what season of the year.

Seasons.	Disorders most prevalent at ——.
Spring	
Summer	
Autumn	
Winter	

CASUALTIES.

	Males.	Females.		Males	Females.
a. Overlaid by mothers or nurses.			h. Frozen to death		
b. Parricides			i. Suffocated by smoke		
c. Assassinated			k. Suicides		
d. Starved to death			l. Killed by lightning		
e. Drowned in the sea			m. Crushed in felling trees, &c.		
f. Drowned in wells			n. Found dead		
g. Perished under the ice			o. Lost in mines		
			p. &c. &c. &c.		
Sum					
Total					

Here are noted any extraordinary circumstances which happened in the three kingdoms of nature —the harvest—price of grain, &c.

List of malefactors, with their executions and punishments.

Bills

Bills of Mortality for the Year 17—.

Age of the deceased.	Above a year old.		From 1—3		From 3—5		From 5—10		10—15, and so on for every 5 years to 100		Total of Deaths and their Disorders.
Sexes.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Fever											
Empyema											
Quinzy											
Stone											
Cirsocéle, &c.											
Erysypelas, Gangrene, &c.											
Suffocation, Apoplexy											
Intermitting Fevers											
Spotted Fever											
Putrid Fever											
Hemorrhage											
Consumption											
Cholic, &c.											
Jaundice, &c.											
Gout											
Convulsions											
Epilepsy											
Scurvy											
Fistulas, Ulcers											
Dropsy											
Cancer											
Leprosy, Itch											
Venereal Complaints											
Madness											
Old Age											
Child-bed											
Flux, or Loss of Blood											
Rash											
Hooping-cough, asthma											
Small Pox											
Measles											
Scarlet Fever											
Indigestion											
Worms											
Rickets											
Unknown or concealed Disorders											
Casualties, &c.											
Sum of deaths, specifying age and sex.											

Total deaths of both Sexes.

The

CHAP. V.

The celebrated aſtronomer, Mr. Wargentin, a member of this uſeful ſociety, has publiſhed, in the Tranſactions of the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences, a very clear and accurate account of the manner in which the board carries on its correſpondence, and collects the neceſſary information; and has drawn from the ſeveral regiſters an average computation of the annual deaths.

From ſeveral judicious calculations, formed from the regiſters of nine ſucceſſive years, he computes, that, in the country, the annual proportion of deaths to births is as 1 to 35, or, if the year is remarkably healthy, to 36 or even 37; and at Stockholm as 1 to 20. He adds, that, during the ſame period, there were 2036 men and 3540 women above the age of 90; of whom 212 men and 328 women were between 100 and 105; 31 men and 76 women between 106 and 110; 22 men and 19 women between 111 and 120; one man was 122; and one woman 127. At the end is a table of the marriages, deaths, and births, from 1755 to 1763. We find, in Cantzler's * State of Sweden, that, in 1760, the population amounted to 2,383,113 ſouls; that of theſe were 162,888 inhabitants of towns, excluſive of the nobility and clergy; and 2,220,225 perſons living in the country, including the nobility and clergy; and that, according to a fair calculation, the whole number might be claſſed in the following proportion; 10,645 nobles, comprizing 3597 under 15 years; 18,197 eccleſiaſtics and their families, and ſtudents, including 7073 under 15; 162,888 inhabitants of towns and their families engaged in arts, manufactures, and trades; 2,191,383 inhabitants of the country employed in agriculture, the mines, &c.

I ſhall cloſe this account with a liſt of the births and deaths in Sweden, and the number of inhabitants. The reader will not doubt its accuracy, when he is informed that I received it from Mr. Wargentin.

The liſt is claſſed according to the three great diviſions of the kingdom.

* P. 186. Memoires pour ſervir à la connoiſſance du Royaume de Swede; an excellent work, which, for accuracy and information, cannot be too highly recommended.

BOOK VII.

In the firſt diviſion, called Sweden Proper, comprehending the metropolis, Upland, Sodermanland, Nerike, Weſtmanland, Dalecarlia, and all the provinces to the North.

Years.	Births. Males.	Females.	Total.	Deaths. Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	12774	12605	25379	10857	11622	22479
1750	13708	13253	26961	10035	10110	20145
1751	15247	14518	29765	9916	10236	20152
1752	14347	13703	28050	11875	11948	23823
1774	15364	14971	30335	10029	10617	20646
1775	16180	15697	31877	10882	10920	21802
1776	15220	14537	29757	10622	10621	21243
1777	15047	14541	29588	12120	12118	24238

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	363541	419326	782867
1776	433494	480154	913648

In the kingdom of Gothland, comprehending Warmeland, Wœſtergothland, Oſtergothland, and all the provinces ſouth of them, with the iſlands of Oeland and Gothland.

Years.	Births. Males.	Females.	Total.	Deaths. Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	17327	16777	34104	13185	13852	27037
1750	19111	18439	37550	13406	14071	27477
1751	20016	19510	39526	13166	13584	26750
1752	18831	18092	36923	12698	12946	25644
1774	19507	18678	38185	11506	12311	23817
1775	20301	19465	39766	13691	14456	28147
1776	19016	18166	37182	11999	12454	24453
1777	19466	18570	38036	13227	13797	27024

Number of Inhabitants.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	477079	525781	1,002860
1776	553171	594985	1,148156

In

In Finland.

Years.	Births. Males.	Females.	Total.	Deaths. Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	8546	8257	16803	5827	5828	11655
1750	8879	8550	17429	5446	5777	11223
1751	9508	9342	18850	5149	5326	10475
1752	9737	9658	19395	5698	5702	11400
1774	12211	11731	23942	6431	6321	12752
1775	12296	12167	24463	7681	7782	15463
1776	12044	11880	23924	9361	9362	18723
1777	12609	12223	24832	9880	9915	19795
1778	13614	13202	26816	8010	7688	15698
1779	14180	13579	27759	7223	6872	14095

Number of Souls in Finland.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	205002	224910	429912
1776	298322	311823	610145

Liſt of Births and Deaths in the whole Kingdom.

Years.	Births. Males.	Females.	Total.	Deaths. Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	38647	37639	76286	29869	31302	61171
1750	41698	40242	81940	28887	29958	58845
1751	44771	43370	88141	28231	29146	57377
1752	42915	41453	84368	30592	30275	60867
1774	47082	45380	92462	27966	29249	57215
1775	47492	46030	93522	32254	33158	65412
1776	46280	44583	90863	31982	32437	64419
1777	47122	45334	92456	35227	35830	71957

Number of Souls in Sweden.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	1,045622	1,170017	2,215639
1776	1,284987	1,386962	2,671949
1781	About —	— —	2,767000

By comparing the population of theſe three different epochs, the reader will perceive that the country has been gradually recovering from that exhauſted ſtate to which it had been reduced by the wars of Charles XII.; and that, within the ſpace of thirty years, the number of inhabitants have increaſed 551,361, or a fifth part of its preſent population.

BOOK VII.

II. The revenues of Sweden are chiefly drawn from the rents of the crown demeſnes; part of the great tythes; a poll-tax*; duties upon exports and imports; upon mines and forges; upon diſtilled ſpirits; deductions from ſalaries, penſions, and places; tax upon chimnies; and the monopoly of ſalt-petre. The net revenues in 1772, before the revolution, amounted to £ 908,434; and by a few ſubſequent regulations† agreed to by the diet, convened upon the change of government, have been raiſed to about £ 1,000,000. This receipt, however, muſt not be conſidered as equivalent to the annual expenditure; for the greateſt part of the military forces, and a ſmall portion of the naval eſtabliſhment, which in other governments exhauſt ſo large a ſhare of the public ſupplies, are maintained with no charge to the crown. At the diet of 1778, the ſtates voted the king a free gift of £ 175,000, upon the birth of the hereditary prince.

No country perhaps has ever, in a greater degree than Sweden, experienced ſuch ſevere diſtreſſes from a want of gold and ſilver ſpecie, from a ſcarcity even of copper money‡, and its enormous bulk, and from the fluctuating value of the bank notes, which at one period formed almoſt the only currency. Theſe evils, noticed by many travellers‖ who have written upon

* About 1*s.* 3*d.* each perſon. The poll-tax is paid by every perſon, male and female, between the ages of 15 and 63; excepting the nobles and their domeſtics; ſoldiers and government ſailors; and every married couple among the lower claſs of farmers of a certain deſcription, having four children, of which the youngeſt is under eight years of age.

† Such as aſſigning to the crown the monopoly for the diſtillation of ſpirituous liquors; and cauſing certain taxes to be paid in ſilver ſpecie, which were before diſcharged in copper money, and which, in effect, doubles the receipt of thoſe particular impoſts.

‡ On account of the advantages attending the exportation of the copper money, the intrinſic value of which was ſuperior to its nominal, and the immenſe number of bank-notes, there was ſcarcely any thing but paper currency. At one period even private ſhopkeepers iſſued ſmall printed notes, ſome ſo low as 1*d.* 2*d.* or 3*d.* value, which they gave in exchange for the bank-notes.

‖ The reader will eaſily conceive the preſent improvements of the coin by the following paſſage in Mr. Wraxall's Tour, which he made in 1774, only five years before I viſited Sweden. "Whatever quantity of precious "metals they have in the metropolis of this "kingdom, I have not yet ſeen one bit, how-

"ever

upon Sweden, and which threatened a total bankruptcy, are now entirely removed by the king, to whom the ſtates of 1772 conſigned the difficult province of reforming the currency. His majeſty having obtained in Holland a loan of £750,000, called in a conſiderable part of the bank-notes, and introduced ſuch a plentiful ſupply of ſilver coin, remarkable for its purity and convenience, that in the courſe of my progreſs through Sweden, I found not the leaſt difficulty of procuring, even in the diſtant provinces and ſmalleſt towns, ſilver money in exchange for gold or bank notes. The king has alſo, in a great meaſure, aboliſhed the numerous and complicated modes of pecuniary computation, which varied in different places, and under different circumſtances; and has enjoined one ſimple ſpecies of reckoning to be general throughout the kingdom, and to be indiſcriminately uſed on all occaſions *.

III. The military Eſtabliſhment.

The Swediſh army is divided into national militia and garriſon regiments. The latter, or troops upon the German footing, are compoſed of natives and foreigners duly inliſted, and

" ever ſmall, either of gold or ſilver, in my " long journey from Helſimborg to this place; " nor have they, I am well aſſured, any ſuch " commodities in the provinces. In lieu of " theſe two articles, generally uſed amongſt " us, they have two other articles which ſup- " ply their place, namely, copper and paper. " Their bank notes are as low as one ſhilling " and ſixpence; and they have them of all va- " lues, riſing gradually from that ſum. It is " often not a little diverting, when I tendered " them one of fifty copper dollars, which is " adequate to 12*s.* 6*d.* to ſee them bring both " their hands full of copper coins; nor can " they convert it into current money by any " other means." Wraxall's Tour, p. 96.

* They computed, on different occaſions, and in different parts of the kingdom, by tons of gold, ſilver dollars, copper dollars, rixdollars, plotes, ſtivers, runſtics, or œhres, ſome whereof were imaginary, while the intrinſic worth of others was different from their real. A ton of gold = 100,000 ſilver dollars, or 300,000 copper dollars, ſilver money being of triple value to copper money; a rixdollar = 5*s.*; a plote = 1*s.* 8*d.*; ſilver dollar = 10*d.*; a copper dollar = 3½*d.* = 10 ſtivers and 2 runſtics; a ſtiver = 1 farthing and ¼. = 3 runſtics or copper œhres. The new mode of computation introduced by his majeſty, is by rixdollars, ſkelins, and runſtics. A rixdollar = 5*s.* contains 48 ſkelins, and a ſkelin 12 runſtics. This mode has been adopted by government, and will, in proceſs of time, become general; though the people are, from long habit, ſo attached to their antient complicated manner of reckoning, that they will not readily renounce it.

are

BOOK VII.

are ſtationed in the ſeveral garriſons, and receive their pay in money. Although the national militia firſt took a regular form under John III. yet its fixed eſtabliſhment, as it ſubſiſts at preſent, was ſettled by Charles XI. That prince reſumed the grants of the crown-demeſnes which had been laviſhed by his predeceſſors: ſome he reſtored, on condition that the proprietors of a certain portion ſhould furniſh a ſoldier; others he allotted for the maintenance of the officers. It was alſo enacted during his reign, that the lands thus aſſigned for the ſupport of the national militia, ſhould for ever remain appropriated to that purpoſe; and theſe regulations were further confirmed and augmented in 1723, with the additional clauſe, that they ſhould be conſidered as a fundamental part of the conſtitution, and ſhould never be aboliſhed.

In order to comprehend the nature of the Swediſh militia, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the kingdom is divided into diſtricts, which are reſpectively bound to furniſh and maintain a ſtipulated number of troops. With this view, each holder of a certain quantity of crown-land, called a *Hemman*, provides a ſoldier, aſſigns for his maintenance a ſmall portion of ground, a cottage, and a barn; and allows him 100 copper dollars, or £1. 7*s*. 8¾*d*. per annum, a ſuit of coarſe clothes, and two pair of ſhoes. When the ſoldier is abſent, either with the army in time of war, during the annual reviews, or is employed in the ſervice of government, the landholder cultivates his ground* for the ſubſiſtence of his wife and family; and, when he is preſent, may call upon him to work at the rate of the common wages beſtowed upon a labourer †. Upon

* In my route through Sweden, I ſtopped to examine a portion of ground appropriated to the maintenance of a corporal of infantry: it meaſured 147 yards in length, and 117 in breadth; but as it was in general a deep ſand, only part was capable of being advantageouſly cultivated, ſo that it was by no means ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the corporal and his family.

† Which in ſome parts that I viſited was about 3*d*. per day.

the

the death of the ſoldier, his widow and children are obliged to cede the ground and houſe to his ſucceſſor, whom the landholder is bound to provide within the ſpace of three months upon pain of being fined.

With reſpect to the cavalry, a certain number of *hemmans* are joined to furniſh a man and horſe fully equipped, and to maintain them both.

Beſide 4*s.* 2*d.* annually paid by the proprietors of each *hemman*, towards defraying the expence of the ſoldiers uniforms, ſome crown-demeſnes are ſet apart for the ſame purpoſe, but in ſo ſmall a quantity, as to be ſcarcely adequate to the charge of clothing two regiments. On this account, as the national troops are not, in time of peace, under arms for a longer ſpace than three weeks, they are ſeldom provided with new uniforms oftener than once in eight or nine years. Upon a ſimilar principal, the officers of theſe national troops receive, inſtead of their pay in money, certain eſtates in land, called *boſtelle*, which are ſituated in the ſame province to which the regiment belongs. They are allowed an additional appointment in corn from the king's tythes. Each province being divided into a number of *hemmans* ſufficient to ſupport a regiment, the ſmaller provinces furniſh the regiments of infantry, and the larger thoſe of cavalry. The eſtate appropriated to the colonel is ſituated towards the center of the province, and of the grounds aſſigned to his regiment; that of the captain in the middle of thoſe belonging to his company; and in a ſimilar gradation to the corporal.

In every year, either before or after the harveſt, when the peaſants are leaſt employed, the companies of each regiment are ſeparately aſſembled for a fortnight or three weeks. The landholder is obliged to tranſport the man and his baggage to the place of rendezvous, and ſupport him during his ſtay at the review. Beſide theſe annual encampments, once in

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three years a general review of each regiment takes place. The men are alſo conſtantly exerciſed on Sundays after divine ſervice in ſmall parties, and in larger corps for ſome time before the encampment, but more particularly in Spring. If, in time of war, theſe troops are marched out of the country, the crown receives the uſual contributions from the landholder, and provides the ſoldiers with clothes, proviſions, &c.

In the Spring of 1779 the following was nearly the ſtate of the Swediſh army:

Regular Troops.	
Nine * regiments of infantry - - -	9,000
Two of cavalry - - - - -	800
Artillery - - - - - - -	2,900
Total of regular troops - - -	12,700
National Militia.	
Twenty-one regiments of infantry, about	24,000
Seven of cavalry - - -	7,400
Light dragoons - - - -	3,400
Total of national militia - -	34,800
Total of the garriſon and national troops	47,500

IV. I ſhall cloſe this chapter with a few remarks on the Penal Laws.

There are four ſuperior courts of juſtice, called Hof-Rætt: at Stockholm for Sweden Proper; at Lindkioping for the kingdom of Gothland; at Abo for South Finland; and at Vaſa for North Finland. No ſentence of death paſſed by the inferior

* The largeſt regiments contain 1670, the ſmalleſt 1600, and are divided into companies. The ſtaff-officers are, a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two majors, a quarter-maſter, who ranks as captain, and two adjutants.—Each company of 150 men has a captain, lieutenant, enſign, five non-commiſſioned officers, and ſix corporals, the latter of whom are included in the 150.

courts

courts can be carried into execution, unleſs ratified by theſe tribunals. CHAP. V.

The inferior tribunals are *Kiamar's Retter*, which aſſemble, as occaſion requires, in the principal towns; and the Harads Rætter, or a kind of aſſizes, generally held three times in the year under the county judges. It may not be unintereſting to mention in this place, that, in the latter, there is a kind of jury, conſiſting of twelve peaſants, choſen by the diſtrict, and confirmed by the governor of the province: they continue in office for life, and ſeven of them form a court. In all criminal caſes the judge demands their opinion, which prevails againſt his deciſion if they ſhould be unanimous. But this inſtitution, according to practice, is a mere formality: for the jurymen are ſo ignorant and poor, that moſt of them pay an implicit deference to the dictates of the judge; beſides, their ſentiments have only force when they *all* agree; and they are not, as with us, obliged to be unanimous. The ſupineneſs indeed, and paſſiveneſs, of theſe inſignificant retainers of juſtice is ſo notorious, that a man, remarkable for his indolence and inattention, is commonly ſaid to be *as ſleepy as a juryman.*

The uſual modes of execution in Sweden are beheading and hanging. Every criminal capitally convicted is indulged with the privilege of petitioning the king: they either complain of unjuſt condemnation, and in that caſe demand a reviſal of their ſentence; or, if they allow themſelves to be guilty, may implore pardon or a mitigation of puniſhment. So mild are the penal laws, that ſeveral offences, which in other countries are conſidered as capital, are chaſtiſed by whipping, condemnation to bread and water, impriſonment and hard labour; more than 120 ſtrokes of the rod are never inflicted; nor is a criminal ſentenced to bread and water for more than 28 days.

BOOK VII.

Many flagrant abuſes in the courts of juſtice have been reformed and corrected by the preſent king. In all caſes of high treaſon, it is enjoined that previous notice muſt be ſent to the crown before any court can commence an inquiry: an ordinance which has put a ſtop to many frivolous and vexatious accuſations, which uſed to be brought againſt the ſubject. Before the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, it was very common for perſons indicted, but not convicted, of crimes, to ſuffer an impriſonment of ſeveral years without being tried; by the abolition of many tedious forms in the preſent reign, every criminal is arraigned within a ſhort period after commitment, the good effects of which alteration require no comment. His majeſty has increaſed the ſalaries of the judges, and conſigned their ſhare of the fines inflicted by their deciſion to other uſes: by this judicious regulation he has greatly leſſened the corruption and injuſtice which neceſſarily prevailed in thoſe tribunals; for the ſcanty incomes of the judges expoſed them to bribery; while a ſhare in the fines rendered them intereſted in convicting the criminal. The king has alſo promoted the rights of humanity, by ſuppreſſing, in 1773, the cruel and abſurd practice of torture, which was employed for the purpoſe of obtaining a confeſſion of guilt from ſuſpected perſons.

One excellent regulation in the courts of Sweden deſerves to be mentioned, and adopted in all countries; it is, that a criminal is tried without the leaſt expence to the plaintiff or defendant. The proſecutor denounces a perſon ſuſpected of guilt to the king's officer of juſtice, who carries on the proceſs at the public charge.

CHAP. VI.

Departure from Stockholm.—*Deſcription of* Upſala.—*Antient palace.*—*Cataſtrophe of the* Sture *family.*—*Madneſs of* Eric XIV.—*Cathedral.*—*Tomb and character of* Guſtavus Vaſa.—*Genealogical table of the kings of* Sweden *his deſcendants.*—*Tomb of* John III.—Catharine Jaghellon.—Benedict Oxenſtiern.—Laurentius Petri.—*Account of the univerſity.*—*Public Library.*—Codex Argenteus.—*Viſit to profeſſor* Bergman.—*Royal Society.*—Moraſteen, *antient place of enthronement for the kings of* Sweden.

CHAP. VI.

ALTHOUGH my ſtay in Sweden was limited, I was unwilling to quit the country without viſiting Gotheborg, the moſt commercial town next to Stockholm, and viewing the canal of Trolhætta, which had been repreſented to me as a moſt ſtupendous work. My companions preferring to ſee the mines of Fahlun and Danamora, I quitted them at Stockholm, and rejoined them at Carlſcrona. Having purchaſed an open cart, the common travelling vehicle in this country, which was rendered more commodious by two arm-chairs hung upon ſprings, I ſet out early on the 4th of March, accompanied by a Swediſh ſervant, who ſpoke French, as my interpreter; and arrived the ſame day at Upſala, which is diſtant about 45 miles from the capital.

Upſala, which ſtands in the beginning of an open plain fertile in grain and paſture, is a ſmall, but very neat town, containing, excluſive of the ſtudents, about 3000 inhabitants. The ground plot is extremely regular: it is divided into two almoſt equal parts by a ſmall rivulet; and the ſtreets are

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drawn at right angles from a central kind of ſquare; a few of the houſes are built with brick and ſtuccoed, but the generality are conſtructed with trunks, ſmoothed into the ſhape of planks, and painted red, and the roofs are covered in with turf. Each houſe has its ſmall court-yard, or garden.

Old Upſala, which is a place of high antiquity, and occurs in the earlieſt accounts of theſe Northern countries, is ſuppoſed to have ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from that which now bears the ſame name; and was much celebrated as the principal place of ſacrifice in times of Pagan ſuperſtition, and the reſidence of the high-prieſt of Oden *. The preſent town, or New Upſala, is far anterior to the foundation of Stockholm: no authentic records, indeed, aſcertain the exact time of its origin; but ſeveral Swediſh antiquaries have with much probability conjectured, that it was at firſt a ſuburb of Old Upſala, and roſe upon its ruins when that town became deſerted, and fell into decay †.

Upſala was formerly the metropolis of Sweden, and the royal reſidence. The antient palace was begun in 1549 ‡ by Guſtavus Vaſa, and completed by Eric XIV. It was a ſpacious and magnificent building, until great part of it was conſumed by fire in 1702. The remains, which ſtand upon an elevated ſcite, and command a fine proſpect of the adjacent country, conſiſt of a wing, a ſmall part of another, and the principal front, which has been repaired, and is covered with a red ſtucco. An old entrance, vaſt maſſes of ruins, arches, vaults, and large piles of brick and mortar, are evident traces of its antient ſplendour. The room in which the diet of Sweden uſed to aſſemble is now converted into a granary, and affords no other proofs of its former importance than its dimenſions,

* Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſt. Reg. Norweg. Vol. I. c. 76. Dahlin's Geſchichte von Sweden, Vol. I. paſſim.

† Perinſkioldi Upſala Nova.

‡ Ibid. p. 317.

being

being 140 feet in length, and 90 in breadth. The few remaining apartments in the wing which is not entire, are uſed as the common jail for criminals. Underneath are three dungeons, which were formerly appropriated to the confinement of ſtate priſoners, the moſt remarkable of whom was count Svante Sture, deſcended from an antient family, which had given ſeveral adminiſtrators to Sweden, and which, before the election of Guſtavus Vaſa, had the faireſt pretenſions to the throne. Upon a door of one of theſe dungeons my conductor pointed out ſeveral characters coarſely notched, which, according to tradition, were made by count Svante in the agony of his diſtreſs, and as a memorial of his grief for the death of his ſon. The ſight of theſe characters, and the name of Sture, brought to my recollection the ſudden extinction of that much injured family, to which theſe walls were a witneſs; and the gloomy madneſs of Eric XIV. which occaſioned that dreadful cataſtrophe. The miſtruſt and ſuſpicion which that unfortunate monarch had conceived againſt the nobility of Sweden, increaſing with the diſtreſſes of his reign, hurried him at length into a ſtate of inſanity: he ſaw a plot in the moſt common occurrences; and gave implicit credit to all the idle rumours of intended revolts, artfully ſpread by his favourites to intimidate or exaſperate him. CHAP. VI.

The Stures, as the principal family in the kingdom, had long been the chief object of his jealouſy, and had already felt ſome unwarrantable acts of authority. Nicholas, the ſon of count Svante, had lately experienced the following inſtances of his tyranny and caprice. Being, in 1566, cited by Eric before the diet, on a charge of miſconduct at the ſiege of Bohus, he was found guilty, and condemned to death. The king, however, inſtead of ſuffering the ſentence to be inflicted, or of remitting it entirely, acted with his uſual inconſiſtency. He ordered him to be carried in mock proceſſion through

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through the ſtreets of Stockholm with a crown of ſtraw upon his head; and yet, ſoon after this public affront, he again received him into favour, and appointed him an embaſſador to the court of Loraine. But I haſten to the event which gave riſe to this detail, the impriſonment and extinction of the Sture family. Upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions merely derived from rumour, and ſome ſuborned witneſſes, count Svante and his ſons Eric and Nicholas, and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were in 1567 accuſed of conſpiring againſt the life of the king, arreſted, and confined in the palace of Upſala. While their trial was yet pending, a report being ſpread that his brother John, whom he had impriſoned at Gripſholm, had eſcaped from confinement, he ſuddenly repaired to the apartment in which Nicholas Sture was confined, and ſaluted him with the appellation of traitor: the young count endeavouring to appeaſe his fury by throwing himſelf at his feet, the king ſtabbed him in the arm; the other, drawing the dagger from the wound, kiſſed it and preſented it to Eric, who, unmoved with ſuch an affecting inſtance of loyalty, repeated the blow, and ordered his ſervant to finiſh the murder. Seized with an inſtantaneous fit of remorſe, he flew to the dungeon of count Svante, and falling at his feet, called him his friend, exclaiming in an agony of deſpair, "In God's name, I entreat "you to forgive what I have committed againſt you."—"Wil-"lingly," replied the old count, melting into tears of compaſſion, "but if my ſon's life is in danger, you muſt anſwer "for it before God."—"Yes, yes," replied the king in a tranſport of rage, "I was ſure that I ſhould never obtain your par-"don;" then giving orders to the jailer to ſecure the count, he haſtily quitted the palace in a peaſant's dreſs, and, accompanied by a few guards, roved about the country in a frantic manner. Dennis Bury, his preceptor, overtaking him at a ſmall diſtance from the town, fell proſtrate at his feet, and

conjured him to ſpare the lives of the noble priſoners; a petition which proved as fatal to himſelf as to the perſons for whom he interceded: for Eric gave ſigns to one of his guards, who killed Bury upon the ſpot, and diſpatched immediate orders to the jailer at Upſala for the execution of the priſoners; orders of a madman, which were but too readily obeyed, and which extirpated at once the antient family of the Stures.

Mean while, Eric wandered about the woods in a ſtate of remorſe and diſtraction; and was diſcovered on the fourth day after his departure from Upſala by his wife Catharine: ſhe found him in the parſonage of Odenſala, wild with grief and deſpair *, and ſcattering money among the people who were aſſembled upon this melancholy occaſion. The preſence of his beloved Catharine operated like a charm; ſhe calmed his agonies, prevailed upon him to take nouriſhment and repoſe, and accompanied him to Stockholm, where he gradually recovered his ſenſes †. Soon, however, relapſing into his former ſtate of miſtruſt and ſuſpicions, his adminiſtration became ſo weak and odious, that, in the following year, he was depoſed by his two brothers, who united their forces againſt him. John aſcended the throne which Eric had ſo unworthily filled. In another place I ſhall have occaſion to mention the circumſtances of his impriſonment and death ‡.

Upſala is an archiepiſcopal ſee, and one of the moſt antient Chriſtian eſtabliſhments in Sweden. Everinus was the firſt biſhop; by birth an Engliſhman, he came, in 1026, into this country at the requeſt of king Olaus Scotkonung, in order to aſſiſt in converting the natives of Old Upſala to Chriſtianity §. The ſimilarity of the Engliſh and Swediſh languages is men-

* Einem wildem Thier aehnlicher als einem Menſchen. Dahlin.

† See Dahlin's Geſ. Vol. III. p. 511, &c. Celſius Hiſt. d'Eric XIV. Liv. 9.

‡ See Chap. IX. of this book.

§ See Dahlin, Vol. II. 468, &c.

tioned

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tioned as the motive which firſt brought Everinus, and afterwards ſeveral of his countrymen, into theſe parts as preachers of the Goſpel. He was no leſs qualified for this taſk from the meekneſs of his diſpoſition, than from his knowledge of the Swediſh idiom; not forcing, as was but too uſual, the natives to embrace the Chriſtian doctrines by violence and perſecution; but introducing the Goſpel by perſuaſion and example. His ſucceſſors in the ſee reſided for the moſt part at Sigtuna, until 1120, when Nicholas Ulphſon fixed the reſidence at Old Upſala. Stephen, a native of Eaſt-Gothland, the ſeventh biſhop, was the firſt archbiſhop: he was raiſed to that dignity in 1164, and died in 1185. Falko, who was conſecrated in 1267, and expired in 1276, firſt transferred the reſidence to New Upſala. The immediate occaſion of this change in the archiepiſcopal ſeat was the deſtruction of the cathedral at Old Upſala by a violent fire in 1246, which was ſoon afterwards begun to be rebuilt on the ſpot where it now ſtands *.

In the center of the town ſtands the cathedral, a large building of brick: the architecture is in the Gothic ſtyle, excepting two towers of later date, which are ornamented with ſmall marble pillars of the Doric order, and which diſfigure the general ſymmetry of the other parts. This cathedral was begun in the middle of the 13th century, under the direction of Stephen Bonneville, a French architect †, who followed in its conſtruction the model of the church of Notre Dame at Paris. It has ſeveral times been greatly damaged by fire, but has been as frequently repaired.

Upon entering the cathedral I beheld with the greateſt reverence, and even a degree of enthuſiaſtic admiration, the ſepulchre which covers the venerable aſhes of Guſtavus Vaſa;

* Periſk. Chap. II. and IX.

† Periſk. Mon. Ullarakenſia, p. 18.

it

it ſtands in a private chapel, and is an oblong monument of marble, with wooden pyramids at each angle*: his figure is repreſented in marble between thoſe of his two firſt wives Catharine and Margaret, whoſe remains are interred in the ſame tomb. CHAP. VI.

Born in a private ſtation, and bred in the ſchool of adverſity, Guſtavus obtained and deſerved a crown by the firſt of all titles, the gratitude of his countrymen, for a ſeries of long and faithful ſervices. Sweden was indebted to him for her deliverance from a foreign yoke, and from the oppreſſions of a tyrant, for the abolition of an elective, and the eſtabliſhment of an hereditary monarchy, and for the introduction of the proteſtant religion. An inſcription upon the tomb informs us, that Guſtavus was born in 1490, choſen adminiſtrator of Sweden 1520, elected king 1523, crowned 1528, and that he died 1560, in the 70th year of his age, and in the 40th of a glorious reign. Equally great in the public characters of a legiſlator, warrior, and politician, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in every ſtation of life; whether we conſider his cool intrepidity and enterpriſing ſpirit, his honeſt integrity and political foreſight, his talents for legiſlation, his propenſity to letters, and encouragement of learning, his affability to the loweſt ranks, and his ſolid and enlightened piety. All his great qualities, ſet off by a majeſtic and graceful perſon, and ſtill further heightened by the moſt commanding eloquence, drew the eſteem and admiration of all; ſo that it may be juſtly ſaid of him, that the moſt arbitrary monarch never exerciſed a more unbounded ſway over his vaſſals, than Guſtavus poſſeſſed from the voluntary affection of his free-born ſubjects. In a word, he was a ſovereign who was eſteemed by foreigners no leſs than by his own people, by contemporaries as well as by

* There were four pyramids; but one having fallen down, there are only three remaining.

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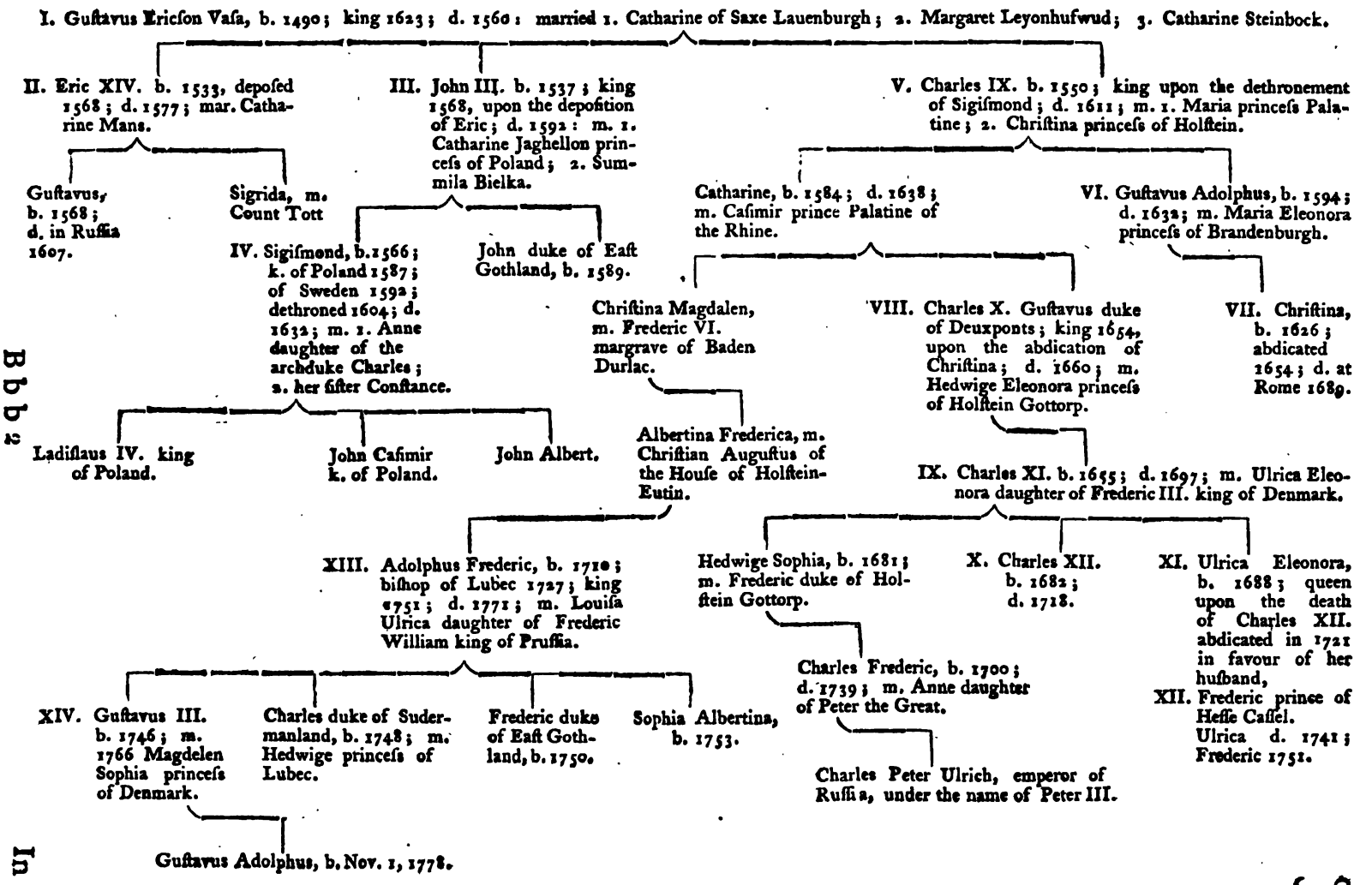
posterity, one of the wisest and best that ever adorned a throne. Besides several inscriptions, and a Latin epitaph in Hexameter verse, two genealogical tables are engraved upon the tomb, which trace his lineage from the antient princes of the North: as if his great virtues did not reflect, rather than borrow, lustre upon the most conspicuous ancestry. Gustavus is the father of a line of kings, called from him the House of Vasa, whose posterity, as enumerated in the following table, still sways the Swedish sceptre.

Genealogical

Genealogical Table of the KINGS of SWEDEN of the Houſe of VASA.



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In an adjoining chapel repoſe the aſhes of his ſecond ſon John III. who aſcended the throne of Sweden in 1568. He did not owe his elevation to his own great or eminent qualities, but ſolely to the inſanity of his brother Eric XIV. whom he contrived to depoſe. This uxorious ſovereign, the degenerate ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, ſoon loſt the affection of his ſubjects by his weak and imprudent conduct, and by his attempts to recover Sweden to the Roman Catholic religion. His tender conſcience, though it did not prevent him from poiſoning his brother Eric, yet induced him to pay a moſt ſcrupulous obedience to the ridiculous penance * ordered by the pope for the commiſſion of that murder. Though a bigot in all ſects, he ſeems to have formed no ſettled principles of religion, but became by turns a Proteſtant and a Catholic, as he was governed by perſons of different perſuaſions. During his father's reign he was a zealous Lutheran; while his firſt wife Catharine lived, a ſincere Catholic; upon his ſecond marriage with a Swediſh lady, who was a Lutheran, his zeal for the eſtabliſhment of the Roman doctrines ſubſided; and at his death he expreſſed an almoſt total indifference for the introduction of that new liturgy which he had before been ſo active in enforcing, to the hazard of a civil war. A ſhort epitaph, after an exaggerated deſcription of his military reputation, aſcribes to John an accompliſhment which he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, the knowledge of languages. It might have added, an extenſive erudition in all branches of literature (more indeed †, according to the expreſſion of a Swediſh hiſtorian, than became a ſovereign), a graceful perſon, and the moſt winning affability of manners. He died in 1592, neither regretted nor eſteemed; conſigning to his ſon Sigiſmond king of Poland, together with his unpopularity and ſuperſtition, the

* Namely, to faſt one day in the week; a penance, which, it is ſaid, he never omitted. Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 80.

† Dahlin.

ſceptre of Sweden without authority; a precarious poſſeſſion, ſoon to be ſeized by the father * of Guſtavus Adolphus. CHAP. VI.

Under a ſuperb monument, erected to her memory by her doating huſband, is depoſited the body of Catharine Jaghellon, princeſs of Poland, and conſort of John III. a woman of great beauty and elegant manners. By her unfortunate aſcendancy over her uxorious lord, ſhe occaſioned all the religious feuds which diſgraced his adminiſtration; and, by inſtilling the moſt intolerant principles into her ſon Sigiſmond, entailed upon this kingdom all the civil troubles which diſtracted his reign; and which ended in the loſs of his Swediſh crown. Her attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, in which ſhe had been educated, was as ſincere as it was firm; and would not have been mentioned to her diſcredit, if ſhe had not been inflamed with a blind rage for making proſelytes by compulſion, which characterizes the bigotted profeſſors of that perſuaſion. Her death, which happened in 1583, was friendly to the peace of Sweden, as her compliant huſband, when no longer inflamed by her preſence, cooled in his attempt to force Popery upon his ſubjects; and the heats of religious diſpute, which ſhe had kindled into a flame, ſubſided for a time.

In a ſmall chapel is the ſepulchre of the Stures, that illuſtrious family whoſe extinction has been already related. The aſhes of the three Stures, who fell a ſacrifice to the tyranny of Eric, are diſtinguiſhed by a monument, which was erected by the widow of count Svante; it contains, beſide ſeveral epitaphs in hexameter verſe, a pathetic inſcription in Latin proſe. The ſubſtance whereof is as follows:

"This is the burial-place of the laſt remaining branch of "the Stures, whoſe antient and royal lineage was illuſtrated

* Charles IX. third ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, who is leſs known for his own merits, which were highly deſerving of a crown, than for being the father of an hero who gave law to Europe.

by

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" by Steno, Svante, and Steno, three ſucceſſive adminiſtrators " of Sweden; deſervedly, for their merits and virtues, ſtyled " Fathers of their country. But Svante, ſon of the latter Steno, " raiſed to the dignity of count at the coronation of Eric XIV. " and his ſons Nicholas and Eric, both eminent in war and " peace, fell victims to a violent death on the 4th of May " 1566. All that was great and noble could not ſoothe the iron " heart of their ſovereign. Reader, if thou art not equally " unfeeling, deplore the unmerited cataſtrophe of ſuch exalted " virtue."

A tomb, erected in honour of count Oxenſtiern, has been miſtaken by ſome travellers for that which covers the aſhes of Axel, the celebrated chancellor of Sweden, who directed the adminiſtration of affairs under Guſtavus Adolphus, Chriſtina, and Charles VIII. one of the greateſt men that Sweden, fertile in great men, ever produced. But his remains were depoſited in another place*. The perſon who lies interred in this cathedral is his nephew Benedict Oxenſtiern, who ſeems to have inherited the political abilities and great integrity of his uncle. Benedict was born in 1623, and enjoyed the favour of four ſucceſſive ſovereigns; all of whom had the higheſt conſideration for his talents and abilities. After filling ſeveral great offices, he was raiſed, in 1688, to the higheſt civil employment, the chancellorſhip, and died in 1702, in full poſſeſſion of his maſter's confidence and the people's eſteem.

Falko, the firſt archbiſhop who was interred in this church, was a great benefactor to the ſee; and is the ſame perſon mentioned in the former part of this chapter, who, in 1273, tranſferred the epiſcopal ſeat from Old to New Upſala. He alſo cauſed the bones of his predeceſſors to be tranſported from

* Axel Oxenſtiern died at Stockholm in Auguſt 1654; and his remains were carried to Tyholm, and there interred in the family vault. Mem. de Chriſtine, vol. I. p. 483.

their burial-place in Old Upſala, to the cathedral, where they were depoſited with great ſolemnity, and many ceremonies *.

The firſt Proteſtant archbiſhop was Laurentius Petri, of the province of Nerike, who, in conjunction with his brother Olaus Petri, firſt preached the reformed doctrines to the Swedes, and tranſlated the Bible into his native tongue. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation, the introduction of which was greatly owing to his labours, he was, in 1531, conſecrated archbiſhop; and continued to fill the ſee with credit until his death, which happened in 1570, in the 73d year of his age.

In the ſacriſtary of the cathedral are contained ſeveral relics, both ſacred and hiſtorical. The latter conſiſt of a few curioſities, which I ſhall particularize, from their alluſion to the hiſtory of Sweden. The firſt I ſhall mention is an old log of wood, rudely carved into the reſemblance of a head ſcarcely human, and called the image of the god Thor, formerly worſhipped in theſe parts, and to whom human ſacrifices uſed to be offered at Old Upſala. That this image is of very high antiquity ſhould ſeem evident from its rude workmanſhip; and it may probably have been one of the deities to whom the ſuperſtitious inhabitants paid their public homage; as, in early ages, and amid a barbarous people, the idols are in general of the coarſeſt form. With reſpect to the figure, I ſhall obſerve, that Dahlberg, in his *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, has given an engraving of it by far too elegant to bear much reſemblance to the original; but the reader will find a more accurate delineation in Perinſkiold's *Monumenta Ullarekarenſia*, in which no foreign embelliſhments are added.

A whetſtone, ſeveral feet in length, next attracted my attention; which, as tradition relates, Albert, who in 1434 aſcended the throne of Sweden, ſent in mockery to Margaret of Walde-

* Perinſkiold, p. 135.

mar,

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mar, recommending her to ſharpen upon it her own ſword, and the weapons of all her army: a taunt which he would willingly have retracted, when routed and taken priſoner by the very woman whom he affected to deſpiſe.

The third curioſity was a ragged ſtripe of linen, faſtened to a ſtaff like a pair of colours, called the ſhift of Margaret; which was carried in battle as the main ſtandard, in order to animate the troops by the recollection of her martial ſpirit. Theſe remains were preſerved at Nuremburg, brought from thence when that town was taken by the Swedes, and depoſited in the cathedral of Upſala, in honour of the Semiramis of the North. How this ſhift was firſt procured by the inhabitants of Nuremberg, why it was there conſidered as a relic, and the exact period when it was imported into Sweden, I muſt leave to be aſcertained by thoſe who are diſpoſed to trace its hiſtory and adventures. I did not learn, however, that it has ever had the honour of giving a name to any particular colour, like the ſhift of Iſabella queen of Caſtile.

The kings of Sweden were formerly crowned in this cathedral; but that ceremony is now performed at Stockholm, Charles XII. being the laſt monarch who was inaugurated at Upſala.

This town is particularly celebrated for its univerſity, the moſt antient in Sweden. In 1246 Birger Jarl eſtabliſhed a ſchool at Upſala; and in 1478 Steen Sture, adminiſtrator of Sweden, laid the firſt foundation of the univerſity; the plan whereof had been formed, but not carried into execution, by Eric of Pomerania: the regulations were modelled after thoſe of Paris. The inſtitution was confirmed in a diet which met at Strængnæs on the 2d of July; and the univerſity was opened with due ceremony on the 7th of October in the ſame year *. Guſtavus Vaſa warmly patronized it, as being the place in which

* Dahlin, Vol. II. p. 610.

he

he had completed his education; and as it was greatly fallen into decay, he conferred upon it ſo many additional privileges, and endowed it in ſo ample a manner, that he is juſtly called its ſecond founder. Under John III. it was transferred to Stockholm; but again reſtored to Upſala by Charles IX.* During the conſtant wars in which that prince was engaged with his rival Sigiſmond king of Poland, it conſiderably declined; but was again revived by Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe extenſive knowledge and protection of letters are loſt in the ſplendour of his military atchievements. That great monarch, beſide conſtructing a large building at his own expence, endowed the univerſity with his patrimonial eſtate of Vaſa; by which donation the ſalaries of the profeſſors were augmented, and 150 ſtudents maintained. His example was followed by his ſucceſſors, as well as by ſeveral individuals; and as the funds have increaſed, the number of ſcholars ſupported by them have been conſiderably enlarged. CHAP. VI.

At the head of the univerſity is a chancellor (who is always a perſon of high rank and conſequence), choſen by the profeſſors, and confirmed by his Majeſty: he regulates and explains the ſtatutes; compoſes all material differences; and delivers all petitions and meſſages from the body to the king. When he is abſent, his office is ſupplied by the archbiſhop of Upſala. The preſidency devolves by rotation upon one of the profeſſors, who is ſtyled *Rector Magnificus*: he is a kind of juſtice of peace; can puniſh the ſtudents for ſmall delinquencies, by ſending them to priſon; and ſettles ſuch differences as are too trifling to be laid before the conſiſtory.

The univerſity has its own court of juſtice, called *Conſiſtorium Minus*, for the trial of the ſtudents and dependents: it is compoſed of a certain number of profeſſors, and judges miſdemeanors according to common law. An appeal lies from its deciſion to

* Meſſ. Scon. Illuſ. Tom. IV. p. 37. Dahlin.

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a *Conſiſtorium Majus*, which is formed by all the profeſſors; and from that in the laſt reſort to the chancellor. The profeſſors are about twenty in number, of whom the principal are thoſe of divinity, eloquence, botany, anatomy, chymiſtry, natural philoſophy, aſtronomy, and agriculture. Their ſalaries are from £. 70 to £. 100 per annum. Upon a vacancy in any of the chairs, one of three candidates, choſen by their body, is nominated by the king. During each term the profeſſors give four public lectures in the week *gratis*; and the ſame number of private lectures, for which they receive from each of thoſe who attend the ſtipulated ſum of five ſhillings. A profeſſor, who has continued in office for the ſpace of thirty years, is allowed to retire with the title of *Emeritus*, and enjoys his ſalary during life.

Youth are admitted into the univerſity of Upſala at about the age of ſixteen, for the completion of their academical ſtudies. They do not inhabit, as in our univerſities, any diſtinct college or colleges, there being no buildings for their accommodation, but lodge in the town; and repair to the general or private lectures, given by the ſeveral profeſſors, either at their own houſes, or at the public halls appropriated to ſuch purpoſes. The poorer ſtudents are aſſiſted in their expences by being appointed to ſcholarſhips, called *ſtipendia*; ſome inſtituted by the crown, others by private perſons, but generally allotted for the natives of particular provinces. The higheſt in value of theſe ſcholarſhips amount to about £. 13 per annum. The common degrees, granted by this univerſity, are *Philoſophiæ Candidatus*, which anſwers to a Batchelor of Arts; and *Philoſophiæ Magiſter*, to a Maſter of Arts. A ſtudent ought to be 24 years of age, in order to be admitted to his firſt degree; but this rule is not ſtrictly obſerved. Before he receives it, he muſt undergo ſeveral examinations from various profeſſors, and compoſe a Latin theſis, which he is bound to defend in the ſchools. Having

ing taken his firſt degree, he may immediately enter upon his exerciſes for the ſecond, which conſiſt in another Latin theſis, in holding a public diſputation, and reading a lecture in the ſame language. The graduates in divinity, law, and phyſic, are ſtyled *Theologiæ*, &c. *Candidatus*, *Licentiatus*, and *Doctor*. The doctors of law and phyſic, in order to obtain their degrees, paſs certain examinations, and hold public acts in their reſpective profeſſions, ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe paſſed by the maſters of arts; and the ſame forms are required from the doctors of divinity, unleſs, as is the uſual practice, they are created by the univerſity upon the king's mandate. CHAP. VI.

There is no academical diſcipline, the ſtudents being only liable to be puniſhed by the preſident and conſiſtory, according to the common law, for miſdemeanors and delinquencies. One inſtitution, however, preſerves ſome degree of order and ſubordination, the diviſion of the ſtudents into provincial claſſes according to their reſpective counties. Each claſs has a profeſſor at its head, called *Inſpector*, and two ſubdirectors, ſtyled *Curatores*: the other members are divided into *Seniores* and *Juniores*; the former of whom attend to, and, in ſome meaſure, regulate the conduct of the latter. Each claſs aſſembles ſeparately, in the houſe of its particular profeſſor, at leaſt ſix times in the year, and oftener if occaſion requires. On theſe meetings the ſtudents paſs certain exerciſes, which they who do not perform cannot be raiſed to the rank of ſeniors.

Though the ſtudents have ordinarily no regular dreſs, yet, on certain occaſions, and particularly when they take their maſter's degree, they appear in a black ſilk cloak; they ought alſo, according to the ſtatutes of the univerſity, to put on the ſame dreſs when they keep their acts; but for this omiſſion they uſually pay a ſmall fine. The profeſſors are, in days of ceremony, clad in black cloaks; the doctors of divinity are diſtinguiſhed by a hat of black ſilk; the doctors of law by one of

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white ſilk; and thoſe of phyſic by one of green or ſky-blue ſilk. The number of ſtudents vary every year, as in all fluctuating bodies; but upon an average may be ſtated at about five hundred*, as may be collected from the following table:

	Spring Term.			Auguſt Term.		
	Admiſſions.	N° of Students.		Admiſſions	N° of Students.	Acts.
In 1768	79	557	—	99	493	31
1769	94	552	—	116	568	54
1770	127	649	—	87	461	68
1771	106	492	—	88	488	45
1772	99	538	—	97	470	44
1773	130	569	—	83	563	62
1774	137	604	—	102	594	36
1775	133	628	—	115	657	64
1776	103	575	—	110	514	91
1777	115	531	—	113	541	51

During this period of ten years were created 40 doctors in divinity, 23 in phyſic, and 151 in arts; and 47 theſes were printed, which had been read before the univerſity.

This univerſity, juſtly called by Stillingfleet, "that great, and hitherto unrivaled, ſchool of natural hiſtory," is certainly the firſt ſeminary of the North for academical education; and has produced, from the time of its inſtitution, perſons eminent in every branch of ſcience. The learned publications, which have lately been given to the world by its members, ſufficiently prove the flouriſhing ſtate of literature in theſe parts; and the theſes, compoſed by the ſtudents upon their admiſſion to their degrees, would form a very intereſting collection. Many of theſe tracts, upon various ſubjects of polite literature, antiquities, languages, &c. which have fallen under my obſervation, evidence the erudition and taſte of the reſpective authors: among the works of this ſort, which have widely diffuſed the fame of this learned ſociety throughout Europe, are the *Amœnitates Academicæ*,

* Chronick der Univerſitat Upſala in Schloetzer's Briefwechſel, III. p. 166.

micæ, or a Collection of theſes upon Natural Hiſtory, held under the celebrated Linnæus, and chiefly ſelected by that able maſter. Dr. Pulteney, in the View of his Writings, gives the following account of this work: "In the year 1749 was publiſhed "the firſt volume of a collection of Theſes in octavo, under the "title of *Amœnitates Academicæ*, ſeu *Diſſertationes variæ, Phyſicæ, "Medicæ, et Botanicæ*. This publication has been continued, from "time to time, to the completion of the ſeventh volume in "the year 1769. Theſe volumes, as ſoon as publiſhed, were "regularly reprinted in Germany and Holland. It is ſuppoſed "the firſt volume was not originally collected by Linnæus him-"ſelf; but he at leaſt reprinted it very early, and, that he "might not be defrauded of the advantage of theſe publica-"tions, he became the editor of all the ſucceeding volumes. "As theſe academical diſſertations had been recited before Lin-"næus in his profeſſorial character, and were ſelected by him-"ſelf, they have been regarded as of equal authority nearly "with his own writings; and many of them do in a particular "manner illuſtrate and exemplify divers parts of his works, "the ſubjects having been pointed out by himſelf in many in-"ſtances for that purpoſe. For theſe reaſons we ſhall, in the "courſe of this volume, give a very brief account of the pur-"port of each diſſertation, ſince they contain a great variety of "curious intelligence on the ſubjects of phyſic and natural hiſ-"tory, every where digeſted in the moſt ſcientific taſte *."

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The library contains many valuable books and manuſcripts. Olaus Celſius, in a publication upon this ſubject †, informs us, that it owes its origin to Guſtavus Adolphus, who preſented the univerſity as well with his own private collection, which was very conſiderable, as with ſeveral libraries obtained in the different countries which he had over-run with his arms; it being his cuſtom to reſerve for himſelf, in all towns taken by ſtorm,

* General View of the writings of Linnæus, p. 45. p. 221 to 373.

† Bib. Upſal. Hiſtoria.

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the books especially, as his share of the plunder*. Thus the Jesuits' library at Riga, that at Wurstenburgh, and those of many other conquered towns in Poland, Germany, and Prussia, were transmitted to Upsala. His example was followed by his successors; and thus the victorious arms of Sweden enriched the kingdom with these literary acquisitions. Olaus mentions Christina as a considerable benefactress to this library, and enumerates many private donors; among whom the most conspicuous are count Magnus de la Gardie, and Sparwenfieldt, the learned traveller †, whose curious collection, consisting, among others, of many rare Arabian, Syriac, and Coptic manuscripts, has been thought worthy of a separate publication.

Among the most valuable pieces of literary curiosity is a manuscript of the Four Gospels, called, from its silver letters, *Codex Argenteus*; and supposed to be a copy of the Gothic translation made by Ulphilas, the apostle of the Goths, in the fourth century. I examined this curious volume with great attention. It is of a quarto size; the leaves, which I scarcely know whether to call vellum, parchment, or papyrus ‡, are stained with a violet colour; and upon this ground the letters, which are all capitals, were afterwards painted in silver, excepting the initial characters and a few passages in gold. I was convinced, from a close inspection, that each letter was painted, and not formed ||, as some authors have asserted, by a hot iron upon leaves of gold and silver. Most of the golden characters were become green by time; but the silver letters are still in good preservation. The Codex is mutilated in several places; but what remains is, for the most part, perfectly legible.

* Ingentem auri argentique prædam militibus reliquisset rex, sibi solos reservavit libros, quos sine morâ in patriam misit, Upsalienſi Bibliothecæ inferendos. Bib. Upsal. Historia, p. 21.

† Catalogus Centuriæ Lib. rariss. &c.

‡ Le Long Bib. Sac. where it is called by different persons, Codex Membranaceus, Codicem in pergameno, Codex in papyro exaratas. In the Bib. Up. Codex membrana rubra, p. 116. By Michaelis, a manuscript on vellum, p. 160.

|| They appeared to me to be drawn, or painted, in the same manner as the initial letters in several of the finest Missals, and not stamped, as the learned Mr. Ihre conjectures, or imprinted on the vellum with hot metal types, in the like manner as the bookbinders at present letter the backs of books. See North. Ant. Vol. I. p. 367.

This

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This manuſcript was, in 1597, firſt diſcovered in the library of the Benedictine Abbey of Werden in Weſtphalia, by Anthony Marillon, who extracted from it a few paſſages which were inſerted in a Commentary on the Gothic alphabet publiſhed by Bonaventura Vulcanius. Soon afterwards Arnold Mercator obſerved it in the ſame library, and tranſcribed alſo a few verſes, which Gruter * gave to the world in his *Inſcriptiones Antiquæ*. From the Abbey of Werden it was transferred to Prague during the ſhort period in which that town was occupied by Frederic Elector Palatine. In 1648, Prague being ſtormed by the Swedes, it was found among the literary ſpoils by count Konigſmark, and ſent as a moſt valuable preſent to Chriſtina. The queen is ſaid to have given it to Iſaac Voſſius; but it is moſt probable that the crafty Dutchman took it without permiſſion, among many other rare books and manuſcripts, when he pillaged † her majeſty's library during the confuſion which preceded her abdication. Upon the death of Voſſius it was purchaſed from his executor by count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie for about £250, and preſented by him to the univerſity of Upſala, where it now remains.

Three editions of the *Codex Argenteus* have been given to the public, the firſt printed at Dort, the ſecond at Stockholm, and the third at Oxford. The firſt was iſſued at Dort in 1665, by Francis Junius, who borrowed the manuſcript from Voſſius, and was accompanied with Obſervations and a Gloſſary, by Thomas Marſhall. In this edition the text was a *fac-ſimile* of the original ‡. The ſecond edition, publiſhed at Stockholm,

* Gruter Inſ. Ant. p. 146. He calls it Gothica vel Germanica. The curious reader, who compares the text in Gruter with that of the ſimilar paſſages in Lye, will obſerve conſiderable inaccuracies in the former.

† Memoires de Chriſtine, vol. I. p. 308. In the library at Leyden is ſtill preſerved a curious collection, called *Furta Voſſiana*, which he is ſuppoſed to have pillaged from Chriſtina's library.

‡ Another impreſſion of this work is ſuppoſed to have been printed at Amſterdam in 1672; but this is in reality the ſame as the former, with nothing more than another title-page, affixing a new date and place of impreſſion, according to a fraud not unfrequent among bookſellers.

1672,

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1672, by the learned Stiernhielm, differs from that of Junius, in giving the text in Latin, and not in Gothic characters. Notwithſtanding the reputation of thoſe two learned editors for their critical ſkill and exactneſs, yet Benzelius, firſt librarian of the univerſity, and afterwards archbiſhop of Upſala, upon comparing their texts with that of the original, diſcovered ſo many falſe readings and omiſſions, that he again collated the manuſcript, rectified the miſtakes, and made a literal tranſlation in the Latin tongue. And as the Gothic types of the firſt edition publiſhed by Junius were preſerved at Oxford, he tranſmitted theſe collations and tranſlation, together with various obſervations, to Mr. Edward Lye of Oxford, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge of the antient Northern languages*. The work was cheerfully undertaken, and faithfully executed, by that judicious ſcholar; and the third edition made its appearance in the year 1750, printed at the Clarendon preſs. To the obſervations of Benzelius, Mr. Lye added many learned remarks upon the text and verſion, and a Gothic Grammar. This impreſſion is eſteemed, by thoſe who have had it in their power to compare it with the original Codex, a moſt complete work, and redounding greatly to the honour of the editor's accuracy.

The *Codex Argenteus* has given riſe to a curious controverſy among the learned. In the examination of this manuſcript, different perſons have thought that they diſcovered a ſimilitude in the characters to thoſe of the Greek, Latin, Finniſh, Runic, Daniſh, German, or Gothic; each adopting an opinion according to his favourite hypotheſis, and referring its original to the anceſtors of his own country. Nor is this a matter of any ſurpriſe; for as the barbarous nations, who were converted to Chriſtianity by the Greeks and Romans, received from them either a new alphabet, or, at leaſt, ſeveral new charac-

* Hiſt. Bib. Up.

ters;

ters; it neceſſarily follows, that moſt of the antient letters uſed by the Goths, Franks, Huns, Sclavonians, and other bordering nations, muſt bear in many points a great affinity to each other, ſo that a framer of a fanciful ſyſtem may readily conceive a reſemblance in the whole, which exiſts only in a few parts. But without entering into an inquiry which may lead us too far, the queſtion concerning the original tongue of the *Codex Argenteus* is reduced to two opinions; the firſt, that it is written in the ſame language and character as were uſed in the fourth century by the Goths of Mæſia, the anceſtors of the preſent Swedes, and is a true copy of the verſion made by Ulphilas; the ſecond, that it is a tranſlation in the Frankiſh idiom. CHAP. VI.

The firſt opinion is ſtrongly ſupported by Junius, Stiernhelm, David Wilkins, Benzelius, and Lye; the ſecond, as warmly defended by Hickes, La Croze, Wetſtein, and Michaelis. To enter into a diſcuſſion of all the arguments advanced on both ſides with equal erudition, would require a larger compaſs than the nature of this work will admit; and to give a partial abſtract of them would only invalidate their reſpective ſtrength. Thus much is certain, that as the reaſonings admit not of any poſitive evidence on either ſide, but are chiefly drawn from vague conjectures, an unprejudiced inquirer will find it no eaſy matter to form a deciſive and ſatisfactory judgment. I ſhall refer, therefore, the inquiſitive reader, for further information, to the ſeveral writers upon this ſubject; and ſhall add only, that with reſpect to my own opinion, after having minutely weighed the arguments on each ſide, I am inclined to aſſent to the notion that the Codex Argenteus* is a copy of the very original verſion made by Ulphilas in the Gothic idiom. I was once indeed leaning to the opinion of its

* See the ſeveral editions of the Codex Argenteus by Junius, Stiernhelm, and Lye. Hickes Gramm. Mæſo Gothica in his Theſaurus Ling. Sept. La Croze Diſſ. Philol. at the end of Chamberlayne's Orat. Dom. p. 136. Wetſtein's Proleg. in Nov. Teſt. ſect. 68 to 71. Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 116 to 123. Le Long, Bib. Sac. Vol. II. p. 140 and 538.

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being a Frankiſh verſion, but was induced to alter my judgment from the arguments of Benzelius and Lye, in the Preface to the Oxford edition *, and eſpecially from a very ingenious treatiſe, publiſhed by Ihre †, by which it appears, that ſeveral ſpecimens of the Oſtrogothic tongue have been lately diſcovered in Italy, which perfectly reſemble both the characters and language of the verſion in the *Codex Argenteus*.

But to whichſoever ſide we may incline, as both the Gothic and Frankiſh idioms were dialects of the Teutonic or German, this manuſcript muſt be conſidered as the moſt antient ſpecimen extant of that language. Its antiquity has been unqueſtionably proved without a diſſenting voice. They who conclude it to be the verſion of Ulphilas, muſt of courſe hold it to have been made in the middle of the fourth century; and even thoſe authors ‡ who contend for its being a Frankiſh tranſlation, allow it to have been copied in the reign of Chilperic between 564 and 587. Its high antiquity is proved, as well from its containing the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer, in the thirteenth verſe of the ſixth chapter of St. Matthew, which is not to be found in any of the moſt antient verſions, as from its interpreting many paſſages in a ſimilar manner with ſeveral of the Latin tranſlations which are known to have been antecedent to the vulgate of St. Jerome ‖. Another circumſtance worthy of notice, and which enhances its value, is, that it was undoubtedly tranſlated from the original Greek, and not from any of the Latin verſions §. We will not detain the reader with idle conjectures from Watchterus ¶, that this ſplendid Codex belonged to Alaric the Gothic king of Toulouſe; or of Papebroch **, that it was the identical exem-

* Preface to Lye's Sac. Evan. Vers. Goth.

† Monumentum veteris linguæ Oſtrogothicæ Neapoli haud pridem repertum, &c. In Act. Nov. Reg. Soc. Scien. Upſal. Vol. III. See alſo Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 204.

‡ La Croze and Michaelis.

‖ Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. II. p. 142.

§ Prefatio in Lye, cap. 2.; and Michaelis' Lectures, p. 165.

¶ Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 118.

** Le Long, Vol. II. p. 531.

plar,

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plar, which the emperor Valens preſented to Fritigern, general of the Viſigoths eſtabliſhed in Mæſia; but ſhall conclude by obſerving, that to whomſoever it belonged, or by whomſoever tranſlated, it muſt be conſidered as a work of great authority, and a literary treaſure of high antiquity *.

In this library two original manuſcripts of the unfortunate Eric XIV. caught my attention. They are in Latin, and were compoſed in 1566 and 1567, the two years which immediately preceded his depoſition. They contain his aſtronomical, or rather aſtrological, obſervations and predictions, written with his own hand, after his daily examination of the ſtate of the heavenly bodies. The names of his brothers occur frequently, accompanied with great marks of ſuſpicion and diſtruſt, and the deaths of ſeveral perſons are predicted. Some hiſtorical facts are blended occaſionally with the obſervations; and theſe notes afford a moſt convincing proof of the diſtracted ſtate of Eric's mind, at the ſame time that they diſcover evident traces of his great learning and extenſive erudition. Upon examining a few of his notes, I was ſtruck with the reſemblance between him and the emperor Rhodolph II. Both theſe ſovereigns began their reigns with the faireſt hopes; both were not only the zealous protectors of learning, but even men of letters themſelves, as well verſed in polite literature, as ſkilled in the abſtruſer ſciences †; both were ſtrongly addicted to judicial aſtrology, and drawing from the various combinations of the

* Another fragment of this curious manuſcript, containing a few chapters of St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans, was found at Wolfenbuttle, and is now preſerved in the library of that town, where I ſaw it in 1777. The original letters were partly eraſed and written upon. See Nonnulla cap. Epiſ. Pauli ad Rom. publiſhed at Brunſwick by Fran. Anton. Knitell.

† Celſius ſays of Eric XIV. "Erat ille plurimis ſcientiis ita inſtructus, ut majorem "certe a literis quam a ſceptro gloriam re- "portaverit." Bib. Upſ. Hiſt. p. 4. And Voltaire ſays as juſtly of Rhodolph II. "La "philoſophie qu'il cultivait, lui avait appris "tout ce qu'on pouvait ſavoir alors, excepté à "remplir ſes devoirs de Souverain. Il aimait "beaucoup mieux s'inſtruire avec le fameux "Ticho Brahe, que tenir les etats de Hon- "grie et de Boheme." Hiſt. Univ. c. 147.

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heavenly bodies a preſage of their own good or ill fortune, in the moſt common as well as the moſt important occurrences of life. Both were jealous, even to miſery, of their relations and ſubjects; and both were at length depoſed by their brothers, whom they had driven by their ſuſpicions to conſpire againſt them; with this difference only, that Rhodolph, though compelled to renounce the imperial throne in favour of Matthias, yet remained king of Bohemia until his death, and was not, like Eric, impriſoned and murdered. Rhodolph, indeed, though equally jealous and ſuſpicious, was not guilty of ſuch exceſſes and cruelties as diſgrace the reign of Eric; but both were equally incapable of governing, though endowed with excellent underſtandings, and acquainted with every branch of ſcience.

There are in this library of Upſala few manuſcripts of the claſſics of much importance; but the printed editions are numerous and good.

Having deſired the librarian to ſhew me the firſt book printed in Sweden, he pointed out to me *Dialogus Creaturarum moralizatus*, put forth at Stockholm in 1483, by John Snell, a German printer, invited into Sweden by the adminiſtrator Steen Sture.

Before I cloſe my account of the univerſity library, I muſt take notice of a beautiful cabinet of ebony and cypreſs, ornamented with precious ſtones, which was preſented, in 1632, by the city of Augſburgh to Guſtavus Adolphus. It contains, among other pieces of curioſity, a large agate, two ſpans long, and one and an half broad. On one part of the ſtone is painted the Day of Judgment; and on another the Paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea. The figures are done in a very good ſtyle of colouring, ſimilar to that uſed by the German painters immediate ſucceſſors of Albert Durer. The artiſt has very ingeniouſly expreſſed the clouds and the water by the natural

natural tints and ſhades of the ſtone; and indeed they re- CHAP. VI.
preſent, with as much boldneſs and nature as the fineſt painting could effect, the wall of water ſuſpended for a paſſage to the Iſraelites, and the waves rolling back with fury upon Pharaoh and his hoſt. The artiſt, whoſe name was John King, has drawn his own portrait lying at the feet of the pope among the bleſt in heaven.

I hold myſelf greatly indebted to the polite attention of Mr. Eric Michael Jant, ſub-librarian, who kindly accompanied me to the library, and favoured me in the readieſt manner with every poſſible information. He was ſo obliging as to preſent me with ſeveral tracts upon the Icelandic, Lapland, and other Northern languages, Celſius's account of the library of Upſala, and other rare diſſertations; from which I have drawn conſiderable intelligence.

I waited, with a letter of recommendation, upon Mr. Bergman, profeſſor of chemiſtry in the univerſity, whoſe fame ſtands high among the learned of all nations, and whoſe reputation is deſervedly eſtabliſhed for his uſeful and accurate reſearches, as well in his own laboratory, as in every branch of natural hiſtory. The learned profeſſor received me with great politeneſs and cordiality, and ſhewed me his cabinet, which is particularly rich in Swediſh minerals. He obligingly communicated to me much intelligence, in a very long and intereſting converſation which I had the pleaſure of holding with him, and which made me regret that my ſtay in Upſala was ſo ſhort, that I could not derive any further information from a perſon of ſuch general and accurate knowledge. Upon my return to the inn, I immediately noted down the principal heads of the diſcourſe; the ſubſtance whereof I ſhall here literally tranſcribe from my journal.

In anſwer to my inquiries concerning the ſtate of the Swediſh mines, he informed me, that there were as well gold and ſil-

ver,

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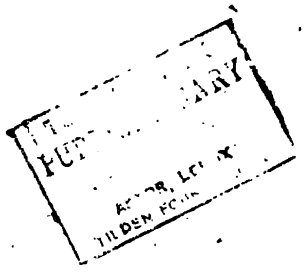
ver, as copper and iron mines: the produce of the firſt, though very inconſiderable, is remarkable for yielding the native gold in a calcareous matrix. Thoſe of the ſilver are ſomewhat more profitable; but the quantity of ore is greatly diminiſhed within theſe late years. The copper mines of Fahlun are extremely rich; but I could not remember the general ſtate of their produce, and the average proportion of metal drawn from an hundred weight of ore. With reſpect to the iron mines, the moſt important of all the native productions of Sweden, thoſe of Danamora are the fineſt for the quality of the metal, although they are not ſo rich as ſeveral in Lapland; the latter ſometimes producing even 90 pounds of pure iron in an hundred weight of ore. The pooreſt of Danamora yield 30 pounds, and the richeſt from 60 to 70, in an hundred. The iron of this celebrated mine is in the higheſt eſtimation, and is chiefly exported to England for the ſteel manufactures. The matrix of this ore is a calcareous earth, a very remarkable circumſtance; and which, in conjunction with other cauſes not yet diſcovered, is perhaps one occaſion of the ſuperior quality of its metal. He added, that in general the iron mines of Sweden are found to run in veins, a few in Lapland excepted, which do not branch out in longitudinal directions, but conſiſt of immenſe maſſes of ore *. I next inquired concerning the quantity of granite rock, which I had obſerved in different parts of Sweden, as well lying in detached maſſes, as forming ridges of mountains: to which the profeſſor made anſwer, that granite is the baſis of the country, particularly of the Northern parts; that hills of gravel and ſand, and calcareous ſtone, containing

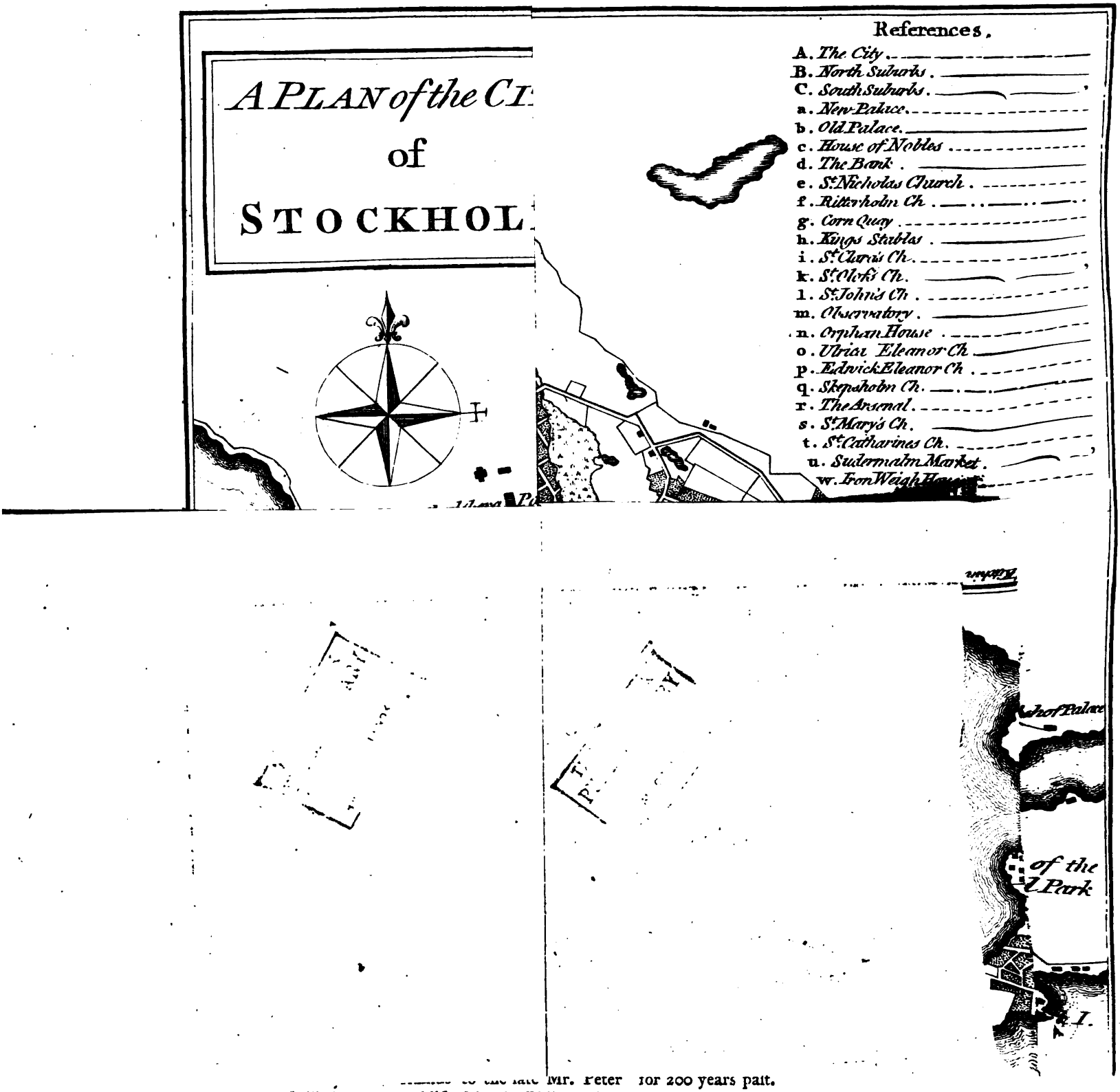
* To theſe may be added the noted mountain Taberg in Smaland, which is one maſs of rich iron ore. It is above 400 feet high, and three Engliſh miles in circumference. A deſcription of this mountain, and a view of it, ſent by Dr. Aſcanius to the late Mr. Peter Collinſon, was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. XLIX. There is alſo an account of this inſulated maſs of ore in the Acts of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, Vol. XXI. for the year 1760, communicated by M. Tillas. This mine has been worked for 200 years paſt.

petre-



England, and France, he returned to Opiala [illegible]
in 1702, and was appointed librarian to the

tranſ-



Collinson, was published in the Philosophical

for 200 years past.

petre-

petrefactions of ſhells, are indeed not unfrequent, but generally repoſe upon granite; that the granite is both red and grey; that the former more readily crumbles and decompoſes by the lapſe of time; and that almoſt all the old Runic monuments exiſting in the country are of the grey ſpecies, which is by far the moſt durable *. CHAP. VI.

The Royal Society at Upſala is the oldeſt literary academy of that kind in the North. It took its riſe in the year 1720, upon the following occaſion. Benzelius †, librarian to the univerſity, and afterwards archbiſhop of Upſala, undertook, in conjunction with ſome other learned men, a review, as well of all books publiſhed in Sweden, or by Swedes abroad, as of thoſe works printed in foreign countries, which had any relation to this kingdom. As this publication contained alſo, beſide the mere reviews, a few original acts, it was called *Acta Literaria Sueciæ*; and was carried on upon this plan for ten years. At the end of that period, namely, in 1730, the tranſactions were no longer confined to a review of books, but conſiſted entirely of original acts and diſſertations; and the ſociety, now patronized by the king, ſtyled itſelf, in the dedication to his Majeſty, *Societas Regia*; and its tranſactions, which came out annually, *Acta Literaria et Scientiarum Sueciæ*. In 1740 it aſſumed the title of *Societas Regia Literaria et Scientiarum Upſalienſis*, adopting the laſt expreſſion inſtead of *Sueciæ*, in order to diſtinguiſh it from the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, inſtituted in 1739, which was denominated *Societas Regia Sueciæ*. The ſociety continued its publications upon the ſame plan until 1750, when it ceaſed; but was again revived in 1773, at which period its

* For ſome account of profeſſor Bergman's works, ſee Chapter VIII. of this book.

† Eric Benzelius was born at Upſala in 1673, where he began and completed his ſtudies. Having travelled into Germany, England, and France, he returned to Upſala in 1702, and was appointed librarian to the univerſity, an office which he held for 22 years. In 1724 he was nominated profeſſor of divinity; afterwards ſucceſſively created biſhop of Gotheborg, Lindkioping, and archbiſhop of Upſala. He died in 1743, aged 70. Celſii Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 149.

tranſ-

BOOK VII.

tranſactions were iſſued under the title of *Nova Acta Regiæ Societatis Scientiarum Upſalienſis*. Theſe acts make their appearance in ſeparate parts, which are not put forth regularly every year, but only occaſionally, as there are a ſufficient number of diſſertations, and as the ſociety, which has no fund, can afford the expence of printing. They are all written in the Latin tongue, and printed in quarto. The original numbers, namely, thoſe iſſued from 1720 to 1750, are compriſed in ſix volumes. The new acts already publiſhed are in four parts: the firſt appeared in 1773; and the laſt in 1783. Many of theſe diſſertations have conſiderable merit; they treat of a great variety of ſubjects, as well relative to the hiſtory, antiquities, and languages of the North, as to natural hiſtory. They contain ſeveral papers written by Linnæus and Bergman.

Before I quitted Upſala, I made an excurſion to the place where the kings of Sweden were antiently elected; it lies about ſeven miles from the town, in the middle of a plain called Mora, and is ſtill marked by the remains of ſeveral mutilated ſtones, one whereof is known in Swediſh hiſtory by the appellation of *Moraſteen*, or the Stone of Mora; upon which the ſovereigns were enthroned with all due ſolemnity, and received the homage of their ſubjects. Their name and the date of the year when this ceremony was performed was at the ſame time inſcribed upon another ſtone, as a public memorial of their election. This appears from a very curious certificate * made by

* "In nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a Nativitate ejuſdem MCDXXX, III Die Menſis Maii, hora veſperarum vel quaſi, Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris ac Domini D. Eugenii Papæ IV. anno IV. in nova domo Capitulari ante Valvas Eccleſiæ Upſalenſis ſita, in mei notarii publici teſtiumque ſubſcriptorum præſentia perſonaliter conſtitutus venerabilis D. Petrus, archiepiſcopus eccleſiæ Upſalenſis, nomine & ex parte capituli dictæ eccleſiæ Upſal ibidem tunc congregati me notarium ſubſcriptum requiſivit, ut aſſumtis iiſdem teſtibus accederem ad lapidem vulgariter dictum Moreſteen, in quo & ſuper quem Reges Sueciæ de novo electi ſtatim poſt eorum electionem conſueverunt ab antiquiſſimis temporibus ſublimari & inthroniſari, inveſtigaturus ibidem annum electionis in Regem Sueciæ illuſtriſſimi principis domini Erici Regis moderni, ego memoratus notarius infra ſcriptus una cum teſtibus ſubſcriptis ſtatim ad dictum lapidem Moraſteen

CHAP. VI.

by a public notary, who, in 1630, at the requeſt of the archbiſhop of Upſala, examined the *Moraſteen*, to aſcertain the year in which Eric of Pomerania was raiſed to the throne. When I viſited the ſpot, I obſerved ten ſtones, the largeſt whereof was only ſix ſpans long, two broad, and two thick, and which tradition reports to be the *Moraſteen*. The others are exceedingly ſmall. I could trace upon ſeveral the figures of a croſs and globe coarſely carved; and upon one, in particular, which was very antient, the three crowns, the arms of Sweden. I diſcovered a few traces of inſcriptions, ſeemingly in Gothic characters, but ſo imperfect, that I did not attempt to * decypher them. A few years ago theſe remains of Swediſh antiquity were covered only with a wooden ſhed; but they are now preſerved in a brick building, conſtructed at his preſent majeſty's expence in honour of his royal anceſtors. An inſcription in Swediſh upon the inſide walls enumerates the names of the ſeveral kings who were enthroned upon this ſpot. They are king Euge, 1060, with whom this cuſtom is ſaid to have taken its riſe; king Magnus Ladilas, D. 1. 1276; Magnus Smek, D. 11, 1319; Eric XIII. 1396; Chriſtopher, 1441; Charles VIII. 1448; Chriſtian I. 1457; Steno Sture, adminiſtrator of Sweden, 1512.

Olaus Magnus relates, that the *Moraſteen* was placed in the midſt of twelve other ſtones in a circle. Camden thus deſcribes a ſimilar monument near the village of Saint Buriens, in Corn-

" ſteen extra civitatem Upſalenſem ad unum " milliare in plano campo ſitum acceſſi et ho- " norabilem virum D. Johannem Matthiæ, " curatum eccleſiæ Danmark, quæ dicto lapidi " vicina eſt eccleſia in teſtem aſſumſi, et ſculp- " turam cujuſdam lapidis dicto antiquo lapidi " Moraſteen ſuperimpoſiti diligenter inſpexi et " per teſtes infra ſcriptos inſpici feci ſic præ- " ciſe, ut ſequitur, in eodem lapide inſculptum " inveni. Anno Domini MCCCXCVI. elec- " tus eſt in Regem Sueciæ in hoc loco illuſtris " Rex Dominus Ericus calendarum Auguſti " (locus autem pro numero calendarum vacuus " erat) ſuper quibus omnibus et ſingulis præ- " fatus Petrus archiepiſcopus nomine, quo ſu- " pra, me notarium publicum requiſivit ut " unum vel plura, publicum vel publica ſuper " præmiſſis conficerem inſtrumentum vel in- " ſtrumenta." Holberg, Vol. I. p. 500.

* Some perſons have given an explanation of theſe inſcriptions, ſuch as the before-mentioned one of Eric; alſo A. D. 1448. d. 28 Junii electus eſt nobilis Vir D: us Carolus Canuti, Miles, natione Suecus in Regem Sueciæ. Dahlin, Vol. I. 167.

BOOK VII.

wall. "Not far from hence, in a place called Biſcaw-woune, "are nineteen ſtones ſet in a circle, about twelve foot diſtant "one from another; and in the center there ſtands one much "larger than any of the reſt. One may probably conjecture "this to have been ſome trophy of the Romans under the later "emperors; or of Athelſtan, the Saxon, after he had ſubdued "Cornwall *." Olaus Wormius, however, more ingeniouſly conjectures, from the ſimilarity of this monument to the *Moraſteen*, and others in Sweden and Denmark, that it was the place where the antient Anglo-Saxon kings were elected and enthroned †.

CHAP. VII.

Botanical garden of Upſala.—*Biographical memoirs of* Linnæus.

THE botanical garden of Upſala, to which place I had the pleaſure of being accompanied by the ſon of Linnæus, is ſmall, but laid out with judgment; and the collection of plants, particularly exotics, is numerous. I could not avoid regarding with enthuſiaſm this ſpot of ground, rendered celebrated by the reſidence of Linnæus; of whom it may be ſaid, without exaggeration, that, in the natural hiſtory of the globe, he left nothing unexplored.

I flatter myſelf, that many of the following authentic anecdotes of this great naturaliſt are entirely new to the Engliſh reader ‡.

Carl

* Britannia, edit. 1695, p. 6.

† Monumenta Danica, p. 90.

‡ This account of Linnæus is chiefly extracted from a German tranſlation of his Commemoration-Speech, delivered on the 5th of December, 1778, by Dr. Bæck, in the king's preſence,

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Carl Von Linnè, or, as he is more known to foreigners, Linnæus, the eldeſt ſon of Nils Linnæus, a Swediſh divine, was born on the 24th of May 1707, at Ræſhult, in the province of Smoland. His inclination for the ſtudies in which he afterwards made ſo wonderful a progreſs, commenced at a very early period of his life, and took its riſe from the following circumſtance: His father uſed to amuſe himſelf in the garden of his parſonage with the cultivation of plants and flowers. Linnæus, while an infant, was ſoon led to take a ſhare in this entertainment; and, before he was ſcarcely able to walk, expreſſed extreme ſatisfaction when he was permitted to accompany him into the garden. As his ſtrength increaſed, he delighted in digging and planting: and afterwards obtained for his own uſe a ſmall portion of ground, which was called Charles's garden. He ſoon learnt to diſtinguiſh the different flowers; and, before he had attained the tenth year of his age, made ſmall excurſions in the neighbourhood of Ræſhult, and brought many indigenous plants into his little garden.

Being ſent, in 1717, to ſchool at Wexio, under the tuition of Lanarius, by whom he was indulged with the permiſſion of continuing his excurſions, he paſſed his whole time in collecting plants, talking of them, and making himſelf acquainted with their names and qualities. He was ſo abſorbed in this favourite purſuit as totally to diſregard his other ſtudies; and made ſuch an inconſiderable progreſs, that, upon his removal, in 1724, to the *gymnaſium* in the ſame town, his new maſter re-

preſence, before the Royal Academy of Sciences; and from anecdotes of his life by Fabricius. See Gedæchnitzrede Auf den Carl von Linnè, &c. von A. Bæck; and Einige naehere Umſtande aus dem Leben des Ritters von Linnè; Von Johan Chriſtian Fabricius, in the Deutches Muſeum, for May and July 1780. Fabricius, the author of this account, was the diſciple of Linnæus: he is now profeſſor of œconomy and natural hiſtory in the univerſity of Kiel; and may be juſtly called the firſt entomologiſt in Europe. He has diſtinguiſhed himſelf, among other publications, by the following works: Reiſe nach Norwegen.—Syſtema Entomologiæ.—Genera Inſectorum.—Philoſophiæ Entomologica.—Species Inſectorum.

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peatedly complained of his idleneſs. Urged by theſe remonſtrances, his father conceived his ſon to have no taſte for literature, and propoſed to bind him apprentice to a ſhoemaker*; and this deſtination would have taken place, if a neighbouring phyſician, whoſe name was Rothman†, ſtruck with the boy's great genius, had not predicted, that he would, in time, become deeply ſkilled in a ſcience, to which he ſeemed naturally inclined. This ſagacious obſerver, having prevailed upon the father of Linnæus to continue his ſon's education, took the boy into his houſe, ſupplied him with botanical books, and inſtructed him in the firſt rudiments of phyſic, in which he ſoon made a conſiderable progreſs. When his father had aſſented to this advice, he had deſigned him for the church‡; and was not, without great difficulty, induced to agree that he ſhould apply himſelf to the ſtudy of botany and phyſic.

In 1727 he was ſent to the univerſity of Lund, where he acquired, under the celebrated Stobæus, the firſt ſyſtematic principles of natural hiſtory. Being lodged in that profeſſor's houſe, he enjoyed many opportunities of improvement; and particularly from a curious collection of foſſils, ſhells, birds, and plants. At this place he began to form an *herbarium*, collecting plants from all quarters, making repeated obſervations upon them, and comparing them with the deſcriptions of Tournefort||, whoſe works he had received as a preſent from Dr. Rothman§. During his reſidence at Lund, he proſecuted his ſtudies with ſuch unremitted attention, that he frequently continued them during great part of the night, in order to enjoy the uſe of ſe-

* Fabricius.

† Bæck.

‡ His mother was at firſt ſo chagrined that her eldeſt ſon declined entering into orders, that ſhe would not even permit her ſecond ſon to ſet his foot in the garden. This brother, whoſe name is Samuel, is ſtill living: he is a clergyman in the province of Smoland, and, on account of his ſkill in the management of bees, is known by the name of Bi-Kung, or the Bee-King.

|| Inſtitutiones rei herbariæ.

§ Bæck.

veral books which he ſecretly obtained from the profeſſor's library. Once in particular, Stobæus ſuſpecting that he had company at a very late hour, ſtole unobſerved into his apartment, and was aſtoniſhed at finding him employed in conſulting the works of thoſe great botaniſts, Cæſalpinus, Bauhin, and Tournefort. Pleaſed with this inſtance of his indefatigable zeal for ſcience, the profeſſor allowed him unreſtrained acceſs to his library and collections, and readily aſſiſted him with advice and information. CHAP. VII.

Linnæus did not confine himſelf to botany, but turned alſo his attention to the inferior orders of the animal kingdom; a branch of knowledge in which he eminently excelled, and which he was led to proſecute from a circumſtance that would have damped the ardour of a leſs zealous inquirer. In endeavouring to form a collection of inſects, he was ſtung by the *Furia Infernalis* * in ſo terrible a manner, that his life was endangered †. This event incited his reſearches to diſcover the nature and qualities of that venomous worm; which led him to develope and explain thoſe numerous tribes of inſects ‡ and worms,

* The effects of the *Furia Infernalis* are thus deſcribed by Dr. Pulteney, from a Diſſertation *De Miraculis Inſectorum*, in the third volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*. "In Finland, "Bothnia, and the northern provinces of Swe- "den, it was not unfrequently that people "were ſeized with a pungent pain, confined to "a point, in the hand, or other expoſed part "of the body, which preſently encreaſed to a "moſt excruciating degree, and hath ſome- "times been ſuddenly fatal. This diſorder "was more particularly obſerved in Finland, "eſpecially about boggy and marſhy places, "and always in autumn. At length it was "diſcovered, that this pain inſtantly ſucceeded "ſomewhat that dropped out of the air, and in "a moment penetrated and buried itſelf in "the fleſh. The Finlanders had tried variety "of applications to no purpoſe, until at length "a poultice of curds, or cheeſe, was found the "moſt effectual in eaſing the pain; and the "event confirmed, that the inſect was allured "by this application to leave the fleſh; as on "its removal, this worm, no longer than the "ſixth of an inch, was found in it, and thus the "cauſe of this painful diſeaſe explained. Lin- "næus himſelf once ſuffered from this animal "the effect here ſpoken of: but we owe the "complete hiſtory of it and its place in the "Syſtem, to Dr. Solander, who gave it in to "the Royal Academy of Sciences at Upſal. "(Nov. Ac. VI.) This worm ſtands in the "Syſtem under the name of *Furia Infernalis*, "p. 1325; but by what means this creature "is raiſed into the air, is as yet unknown." General View of the Writings of Linnæus, p. 259.

† Bæck.

‡ "No part of the ſyſtem of nature," writes Dr. Pulteney, "has undergone a greater change "than

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worms, that had been but imperfectly deſcribed by preceding naturaliſts; and afterwards to throw new light upon the whole animal kingdom.

In 1728 he was removed to the univerſity of Upſala; where his narrow circumſtances involved him at firſt in diſtreſſes unfriendly to the purſuits of ſcience, but which did not, however, obſtruct his uſual exertions. His poverty is ſaid to have been ſo great, that he frequently wanted the common neceſſaries of life; and was even accuſtomed to wear the caſt-off ſhoes of his fellow-ſtudents, which he mended with paſteboard for his own uſe *. From this ſtate of penury, when he had no proſpect of the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance either from his family or friends, he was ſuddenly relieved by the learned Olaus Celſius, profeſſor of divinity, and reſtorer of natural hiſtory in Sweden, whoſe patronage he caſually acquired in the following manner: Celſius, having frequently noticed him making obſervations in the botanical garden, was aſtoniſhed at his proficiency in botany, the ſmalleſt knowledge of which was at that time eſteemed a rare qualification in Sweden; and being informed of his diſtreſſed ſituation, immediately received him into his houſe, admitted him to his table, gave him acceſs to his library, and engaged his aſſiſtance in completing his *Hierobotanicon*, a work aſcertaining the plants mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. The favours of this reſpectable patron, conferred in ſuch extreme neceſſity, he always remembered and acknowledged with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of reverence and gratitude.

Soon afterwards he attracted the notice, and obtained the patronage, of Olaus Rudbeck, profeſſor of phyſic and botany, on

" than this claſs; neither does our author ſtand " more unrivalled, than in the excellent ar- " rangement he has given to this branch of " natural hiſtory; which, before his time, was " nearly without method." p. 101.

And again, " The knowledge of inſects may " be ſaid to be the laſt branch of natural hiſ- " tory that raiſed its head; notwithſtanding " which, it has of late attained a high degree " of perfection: nor can it be too much to at- " tribute this to the excellent arrangement of " Linnæus, under whoſe auſpices it has ex- " tended itſelf beyond all other parts of zoo- " logy." p. 351.

* Fabricius.

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the following occaſion: An academical diſſertation, *De Nuptiis Arborum**, being read in the public ſchools, Linnæus wrote upon it ſome obſervations, wherein he introduced ſeveral remarks upon the generation of plants, to which he had particularly turned his attention. Theſe obſervations fell into the hands of Olaus Rudbeck, who was ſo ſtruck with their ſagacity and juſtneſs, as immediately to commence an acquaintance with the author: his abilities and knowledge being developed upon a nearer intimacy, the profeſſor appointed him tutor to his ſons, in ſome meaſure directed his ſtudies; and thought him ſufficiently qualified, though only in the 23d year of his age, to read occaſional lectures in the botanical garden, by which means he obtained a ſmall income. At this period Linnæus paſſed his days in herboriſing and giving lectures; and employed great part of the night in laying the foundation of the new ſyſtem, which he had already planned. About this period he began to arrange his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, his *claſſes*, and *genera plantarum*; from whence we may collect how early he had fixed the principles of that method, which he afterwards carried to ſuch perfection. CHAP. VII.

His knowledge was conſiderably improved by a journey into Lapland in 1732, to which, at the recommendation of Rudbeck and Celſius, he was deputed by the Royal Society of Sciences at Upſala, in order to inveſtigate the natural hiſtory of that unknown region: but as he received only a gratuity of about £8 towards defraying his expences, he was obliged to travel almoſt the whole way on foot, which he performed with great alacrity and ſpirit. He commenced this expedition on the 11th of May 1732; ſtayed ſome time at the mines of Fahlun; viſited various parts of Lapland; underwent many hardſhips; eſcaped imminent perils; and returned to Upſala in the month of Oc-

* The theſis is ſtyled Γαμος φυτων, ſive de Nuptiis Arborum de quibus Diſſertationem Philologico-criticam publico bonorum examini ſubmittit Petrus Ulga, 23 Dec. 1729.

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tober of the following year, after having traverſed near 4000 miles *. During his tour he tranſmitted to the Royal Society of Sciences a *Florula Lapponica*, which was printed in their acts, and was his firſt publication: in this catalogue of Lapland plants, he diſpoſed them according to the ſyſtem afterwards called the Sexual.

Soon after his return he continued his lectures upon botany; and delivered others alſo upon mineralogy and the art of aſſaying metals, which were the firſt on that ſubject ever given at Upſala, and from which he acquired great applauſe. But being not entitled from his ſtanding in the univerſity to read lectures, a formal complaint was lodged againſt him by profeſſor Roſen, phyſician to the king; and he had the mortification to receive an expreſs prohibition from the academical conſiſtory. Linnæus, who began to receive a comfortable ſubſiſtence from theſe lectures, and ſaw no immediate means of maintaining himſelf, was ſo exaſperated at this proceeding, that he drew his ſword upon the profeſſor, and might have proceeded to violence if he had not been prevented. In conſequence of this outrage, he would undoubtedly have been expelled from the univerſity, if his patron, Olaus Celſius, had not compromiſed the affair †.

In this juncture he was appointed to accompany the ſons of Baron Reuterholm into Dalecarlia and Norway. During this tour he improved his knowledge of mineralogy, by viſiting various mines and forges; and particularly at Fahlun, where he read lectures upon foſſils and the art of aſſaying, which were much frequented: at the ſame time he obtained the friendſhip of Dr. More, the phyſician of the place, to whoſe daughter he betrothed himſelf. It being the cuſtom at that time to take a degree in ſome foreign univerſity, and the ſituation of Linnæus not being adequate to ſuch an expence, the young lady pre-

* Bæck. † Fabricius.

ſented

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ſented him with an hundred ducats = about £ 50, to take his doctor's degree at Harderwick in Guelderland*. With this view he commenced his journey in 1735, and proceeded to Copenhagen and Hamburgh, where he continued much longer than he had at firſt intended. At Hamburgh he gave a proof of his accurate knowledge in natural hiſtory, by diſcovering, that a celebrated ſnake with ſeven heads, belonging to the burgomaſter Spreckelſen, and which had been long eſteemed a great wonder, was a mere impoſition. Upon the firſt inſpection, our naturaliſt perceived that the ſix heads, notwithſtanding the art with which they were joined together, were jaws of weaſels covered with the ſkin of ſnakes†.

Linnæus, to whom 100 ducats appeared an immenſe ſum, thought his riches inexhauſtible; and, remaining for a conſiderable time at Hamburgh, where he was pleaſed with his ſituation, he found himſelf, upon his arrival in Holland, reduced to extreme neceſſity, and unable to diſburſe the expence of a doctor's degree; he therefore applied by letter to Boerhaave, acquainting him that he was a perſon who had devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of botany, but who laboured under the moſt ſevere diſtreſſes. Boerhaave, the friend and protector of ſcience, received Linnæus in his garden: among other topics of converſation, he pointed out the *Cratægus Aria*, and demanded, whether he had ever obſerved that plant? adding, that it had not yet been deſcribed by any writer. Linnæus anſwered, that it was a native of Sweden, and deſcribed by Vaillant. Boerhaave ſupported the contrary; and, convinced of the juſtneſs of his aſſertion, becauſe he had himſelf ſuperintended the publication of Vaillant's work, immediately brought the book to Linnæus; who, without heſitation, referred to the deſcription,

* Fabricius.

† The reader will find a plate of this factitious monſter in Seba's Muſeum, Vol. 1. Table 102.

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which accurately correſponded with the plant in queſtion*. From this ſpecimen of his accurate knowledge in botany, Boerhaave became his patron, and recommended him to the protection of Mr. Clifford, by whom he was appointed ſuperintendent of a botanical garden †, lately formed at a very extraordinary expence. In this new ſituation, highly adapted to his circumſtances and genius, he received a ſalary of a ‡ ducat per day, and what was no leſs agreeable, he had the inſpection of a garden rich in the choiceſt plants; and was not confined to any expence for obtaining every ſpecies of exotics, and procuring the works of the moſt eminent botanical authors. In addition alſo to theſe favourable opportunities of increaſing his knowledge, he travelled, at the charge of Mr. Clifford, into England and France. During only two years reſidence with Mr. Clifford, he gave to the public many works § in various branches of natural hiſtory, which raiſed his reputation very high in Europe, and in which he diſcovered an amazing ſagacity in methodizing and claſſing, with the niceſt diſcrimination, the various productions in the three kingdoms of nature. In theſe publications he ventured, young and unknown as he was, to commit his new ſyſtem to the world, which, undefended by its author, and ſupported only by its intrinſic merit,

* Fabricius.

† At Hartcamp, about three miles from Harlem.

‡ About 8*s.* 6*d.*

§ Syſtema Naturæ, comprized, as Dr. Pulteney ſays, in twelve pages, and is the outlines of the ſucceeding editions—Fundamenta Botanica—Bibliotheca Botanica—Muſa Cliffortiana—Genera Plantarum—Viridarium Cliffortianum—Methodus Sexualis—Flora Lapponica—Critica Botanica—Hortus Cliffortianus—Arredi Ichtyologia—Claſſes Plantarum. "We "cannot ſufficiently," ſays Dr. Bæck, with juſtneſs, "wonder how, within ſo ſhort a ſpace "as two years, during which period he was ſo "conſtantly occupied in arranging the plants "of Cliffort's garden according to his ſyſtem, "and was ſo continually interrupted by ſo- "reign viſitors, Linnæus could alſo find time "to put forth ſo many writings, each of which "would have been ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed "the reputation of a man of learning; and "theſe writings, founded upon his own diſ- "coveries, and tending to give a new form to "a whole ſcience. The materials of ſome, in- "deed, had been collected and digeſted in Swe- "den; but it is a fact ſcarcely credible, that the "*Hortus Cliffortianus*, a work which contains "ſo much knowledge, ſhould have been writ- "ten and printed in leſs than nine months." For an account of theſe various publications ſee Pulteney, p. 16 to 30.

conquered

conquered all oppoſition from men of the firſt abilities and decided character *. CHAP. VII.

His reſidence in Holland, which had hitherto contributed in ſo eſſential a manner to his riſe and improvement, was at length embittered by a very dangerous diſorder that terminated in an ague. He became ſuddenly penſive, diſcontented, expreſſed an inſurmountable deſire to fulfil his matrimonial engagements; and was impatient to ſhow himſelf in Sweden, where he flattered himſelf with the proſpect of a moſt honourable reception.

Having declined many offers of promotion in Holland, he quitted that country in the ſpring of 1738; and, after paſſing a ſhort time at Paris, arrived at Stockholm in the month of September; where he ſettled as a phyſician, and married in the following year the lady to whom he had betrothed himſelf at Fahlun.

Linnæus had returned to his native country full of the moſt ſanguine expectations that his merit would be immediately recognized; but, to uſe his biographer's † expreſſions, "he was "aſtoniſhed to find that he was conſidered more as a ſtranger "among his countrymen than among foreigners." He was ſo mortified at this diſappointment, and the ſmall degree of practice which he at firſt obtained, that he had once reſolved to accept the offers of his patrons in Holland; or to ſettle at Gottingen, at the earneſt ſolicitation of the celebrated Haller. But although his acknowledged merit, and uncommon reputation, ſoon ſecured to him the patronage of ſeveral illuſtrious perſonages, yet he paid the uſual tax of genius, by experiencing a conſiderable degree of envy and oppoſition; and though by

* Among others the celebrated Dellenius, though he candidly acknowledged the merits of the Linnæan ſyſtem, confeſſed that he was too far advanced in life to ſtudy a new arrangement. The ſame reaſons may account for the coolneſs of reception he met with from Sir Hans Sloane, notwithſtanding the following letter of recommendation written by Boerhaave: "*Linnæus, qui has tibi dabit literas, eſt "unice dignus te videre, unice dignus a te videri, "qui vos videbit ſimul, videbit hominum par, cui "ſimile vix dabit orbis.*" See Pulteney, p. 12.

† Bæck.

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theſe means he was at firſt involved in ſome difficulties, only a ſhort period elapſed before he acquired an extenſive practice. His moſt conſiderable and zealous patron was count Teſſin, the firſt miniſter, whoſe collection he afterwards deſcribed in his *Muſeum Teſſinianum*.

By the intereſt of that nobleman he obtained, in the beginning of 1739, the office of phyſician to the fleet; and a ſtipend from the ſtates for reading lectures in mineralogy upon the collection of foſſils belonging to the board of mines*. Count Teſſin alſo recommended him in ſuch ſtrong terms to their Swediſh majeſties, that they honoured him with their patronage. Under his direction the king formed a collection of quadrupeds, birds, fiſhes, and ſerpents, at Ulricſdal; and the queen of inſects and ſhells at Drottningſholm; both of which have been accurately deſcribed by Linnæus himſelf. During his reſidence at Stockholm, he aſſiſted, as I have before obſerved, in founding a literary ſociety, which was afterwards called the Royal Academy of Sciences, and of which he was appointed the firſt preſident.

In 1741 he at length obtained the object of his warmeſt ambition, the profeſſorſhip of botany in the univerſity of Upſala. Upon the death of Roberg, profeſſor of practical medicine and anatomy, Linnæus was appointed to fill his chair; which he changed, in 1742, with profeſſor Roſen, for that of botany: he was at the ſame time appointed to ſuperintend the phyſic-garden; and undertook to read lectures in botany, natural hiſtory, dietetics, on the knowledge of diſorders, and the *materia medica*. From this period he paſſed the remaining part of his life almoſt uniformly at Upſala.

He turned the firſt objects of his attention and care to the regulation and improvement of the botanical garden; which, at the time of his appointment to the profeſſorſhip, ſcarcely

* Bæck.

contained

contained 40 exotics; but produced, in 1748, notwithſtanding the obſtructions ariſing from the ſeverity of the climate, 1100 ſpecies, excluſive of indigenous plants and varieties. His own collection of natural hiſtory was rich only in plants; a circumſtance chiefly owing to the number of quadrupeds, ſhells, and inſects, which he preſented to their majeſties for their cabinets at Ulricſdal and Drottningſholm. His herbarium was highly valuable, from the number and arrangement of the ſpecimens.

By his incomparable lectures he raiſed the univerſity to the higheſt repute, and induced many foreigners to reſort to Upſala. He was always attended by a numerous audience; and his great art was not only in ſatisfying the curioſity, but in gaining the affection and eſteem of the ſtudents. His lectures were diſtinguiſhed by the conciſeneſs and preciſion ſo conſpicuous in his works; and yet were delivered with a ſpirit and animation which irreſiſtibly caught the attention of his hearers; for he ſpoke with a perſuaſion which was inſpired by his deep inſight, his juſt conceptions, and his zealous ardour for the knowledge of nature*. He diffuſed a ſudden ſpirit of inquiry;

* Bæck and Fabricius. Nothing can mark the philoſopher's paſſion for natural hiſtory more than theſe expreſſions in a letter to Mr. Pennant on the following occaſion. Having received the firſt notice of the Anomia retuſa (Syſt. Nat. 1151. N° 225.) being found in a recent ſtate, from Mr. Pennant, who obſerved one adhering to a ſea-plant drawn out of the Norwegian ſeas, he wrote to him, "Pro gaudio exultans quod detexeras concham anomiam a nullo mortalium antea viſam, quâque facem accenderas ſcientia naturali lucu-lentiſſimam in deperditis huc uſque concharum generibus. De hâc conchâ die noctuque cogito; de eo loquor hodiè; noctu de eo ſomnio." Dec. 3, 1756.

In another letter to our Engliſh zoologiſt he thus acknowledges a preſent of his Synopſis of Quadrupeds, and candidly allows the merit of the work, although it differed in ſome reſpect from his own method of claſſing animals. "Diu audivi D. Troill ſecum adduxiſſe dona "tua, quæ avidiſſime exſpectavi. Redux tandem pridie ad nos acceſſit, et mihi obtulit "Synopſin tuam of Quadrupeds et Zoologiam "Indicam. Pro ſingulis grates reddo quas "unquam poſſim calidiſſimas. Synopſin tuam "legam et relegam millies. Multa in eo occurrunt lectu mihi jucundiſſima, et maxime "utilia quæ in ſuccum et ſanguinem.——— "Perlecto hoc opere multa a te quæram nec "unquam me ingratum ſentias.—Non de me-thodo

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quiry; and kindled among his ſtudents a new zeal for the ſtudy of natural hiſtory. During the firſt years of his reſidence at Upſala, he gave public herboriſing lectures in ſpring and ſummer, in the neighbourhood of that town. In theſe botanical excurſions he was attended with a band of trumpets and French-horns, and ſallied out at the head of 200 or 300 ſtudents, divided into detached companies. When Linnæus was inclined to explain any curious plant, bird, or inſect, which had either fallen under his own notice, or was brought to him by any of the ſtudents, the ſtragglers were called together by the ſound of muſic, and crouding round their maſter liſtened in reſpectful ſilence while he offered his obſervations *.

His reputation was now ſo widely ſpread in foreign countries, that he received the moſt flattering invitations to Peterſburgh, to Gottingen, and particularly to Madrid, where he was offered by the king of Spain a very conſiderable ſtipend †, the rank of nobility, and the toleration of his religion. But the proſpect even of the moſt ſplendid advantages could not ſeduce him from his native country, where he had acquired the eſteem of his ſovereign, and the general reſpect of his countrymen, which he maintained until the day of his death.

His ſervices in promoting every branch of natural hiſtory were acknowledged in the fulleſt manner, and every aſſiſtance afforded to his endeavours to improve and diffuſe his favourite

"thodo diſputabo; mihi perinde erit utrum "naturæ cultor ſit Lutheranus, Calvinianus, "Judaicus, aut Mahometanus, unice notitiam "ſpecierum quæram.—O utinam viderem re- "liqua tua opera imprimis de avibus, quam "multa inde addiſcerem quæ etiamnum me "fugiunt.—Tua *Indian Zoology* perpulchra "erat; pulcherrimæ figuræ rariſſimarum certe "avium; deſcriptiones etiam exactiſſimæ.— "Vale plura proxime. Upſaliæ, 1773, d. 2. "Maii."

The public are now under freſh obligations to Mr. Pennant, for his long expected work, The Arctic Zoology.

* I am indebted to Sir John Cullum for this anecdote, who received it from Dr. Solander; and it has been ſince confirmed to me by Mr. Dryander, a Swediſh gentleman, who frequently attended theſe botanical excurſions.

† A penſion of 2000 piſtoles. Pulteney, p. 35.

ſcience.

ſcience. A new houſe was raiſed for him, at the public expence, cloſe to the phyſic-garden: he was occaſionally deputed by the ſtates to make excurſions into various parts of Sweden, with a view to the advancement of natural hiſtory. For this purpoſe, he, at different times, viſited the Iſlands of Gothland and Oeland, the provinces of Skone and Weſt Gothland; and communicated to the public, in his native language, the Itineraries of his Travels, which are ſaid to be replete with curious and philoſophical obſervations, the general purport of which was principally directed in adapting natural hiſtory to œconomical uſes. Many of his ſcholars * were alſo, under his auſpices, diſpatched to various parts of the world, at the expence of the public, or of particular ſocieties; and they all ſeem to have caught from their beloved maſter a ſpirit of emulation and zeal for ſcience: the communications which he received from their unremitted labours furniſhed him with ſuch information as enabled his comprehenſive mind to appropriate, as it were, their diſcoveries, and to "exemplify in "a more perfect and detailed manner his ſyſtem of nature †." Thus his genius may be ſaid to have diffuſed itſelf through the moſt diſtant regions of the globe; and his ſpirit ſtill continues to animate the zealous diſciples of the Linnæan ſchool.

The following circumſtances, relative to his deceaſe, are related by his Swediſh biographer ‡. In May 1774, while he was reading lectures in the botanical garden, he was ſeized with an apoplectic ſtroke, that was followed by a debility which he himſelf pronounced the forerunner of death. His limbs were affected to ſuch a degree, that he could not be

* Kalm journeyed to North America; Haſſelquiſt to Smyrna, Egypt, and Paleſtine; Ternſtræm, Tonerius, and Oſbeck, to China; Rolander to Surinam; Læfling to Spain and North America; Forſkæl to Arabia; Thunberg to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and Japan; Sparman to the Cape and South Seas; and above all the much to be regretted Dr. Solander round the world.

† Pulteney, p. 34. ‡ Bæck.

moved

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moved without extreme pain and difficulty. In autumn, however, he was ſomewhat recovered, which he, in the enthuſiaſm of ſcience, imputed to a preſent of ſeveral hundred rare plants, ſent to him by the king. Theſe plants, brought from Surinam by Dahlberg, a Swediſh officer, were ſo well preſerved in ſpirits, that their flowers, fruit, and leaves, were diſtinctly viſible. He found great amuſement and conſolation in arranging and publiſhing a ſhort deſcription of them, under the title of *Plantæ Surinamenſes*, which was his laſt performance. In June 1776, he was afflicted with a ſecond ſtroke of apoplexy, which reduced him to ſo weak a ſtate, that, to uſe his own expreſſions in his Journal, "Linnæus limps, can hardly move, "ſpeaks unintelligibly, and can ſcarcely write." In the ſame year a paralytic ſtroke deprived him of the uſe of his right ſide, and confined him wholly to his bed. His ſtrength gradually forſook him; his mental faculties were impaired; and an ague, attended by a dropſy, brought on a tranquil diſſolution on the 10th of January 1778, in the 71ſt year of his age.

His remains were interred in the cathedral of Upſala, with all the funeral honours which gratitude and reſpect could inſpire. The king of Sweden ordered a medal to be ſtruck expreſſive of the dejection of ſcience upon the deceaſe of Linnæus, and a monument to be erected over his aſhes: his majeſty alſo attended the meeting of the Academy of Sciences, in which his commemoration ſpeech was delivered; and, as a ſtill higher tribute to his memory, lamented, in a ſpeech from the throne to the diet of 1778, the irretrievable loſs which Sweden had ſuffered from his death *.

The moſt trifling anecdotes relative to the perſon and character of ſuch eminent men as Linnæus cannot fail of being particularly intereſting; and our curioſity in theſe reſpects will be highly gratified by the following detail of a † naturaliſt

* Pulteney, p. 212.

† Fabricius.

perſonally

perſonally acquainted with him; who repreſents him chiefly in private and domeſtic ſcenes, which, though they place every character in the trueſt light, yet too often eſcape the notice of biographers.

"I had the good fortune of enjoying the inſtructions, protection, and familiar acquaintance of Linnæus, from 1762 to 1764. No day paſſed in which I did not ſee him; none in which I did not attend his lectures, or converſe with him in the moſt friendly manner. In ſummer I followed him into the country, accompanied by two friends, Kuhn and Zoega, who were foreigners as well as myſelf: in winter we took up our abode oppoſite to his houſe at Upſala; where he viſited us almoſt every day without form, in his red night-gown and green cap lined with fur, and with his pipe in his hand. His converſation was lively and agreeable; he would amuſe us with many anecdotes relative to the naturaliſts both native and foreign, whom he had formerly known; he would frequently reſolve difficulties which occurred to us in the progreſs of our ſtudies, and often favoured us with occaſional inſtructions. During our unreſtrained intercourſe, he would frequently burſt into loud fits of laughter; his countenance would brighten with pleaſure; and his mind would expand with a degree of openneſs and freedom, which ſhowed his natural inclination to ſociableneſs and friendſhip. Not leſs joyous was our country life. We dwelled in a peaſant's cottage at a ſmall diſtance from his habitation. Linnæus in ſummer generally roſe at four*; would frequently call upon us at ſix; and, having breakfaſted, would read lectures upon the *Ordines naturales plantarum* until ten. Then we attended him to the neighbouring rocks, where he had

* "In ſummer," ſays Dr. Bæck, "he uſually ſlept only from 10 to 3; and in winter from 9 to 6. Whenever he perceived himſelf fatigued with too much application, he quitted his ſtudy, and relieved himſelf with ſociety."

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" ſufficient employment in deſcribing and detailing their dif-
" ferent productions till mid-day, the uſual hour of his din-
" ner; after which we repaired to his houſe, and paſſed the
" evening in his company. Every Sunday we received a viſit
" from Linnæus and his whole family; on which occaſion we
" always provided a peaſant who played upon a kind of violin,
" and danced in the barn with infinite ſatisfaction. In truth,
" though our ball was not very ſplendid, our ſociety not nu-
" merous, our muſic not ſuper-excellent, our minuets and
" Poliſh dances not diverſified, yet we amuſed ourſelves not a
" little. The old man, who generally ſat ſmoking his pipe
" with my friend Zoega, and looked on, would now and then
" ſtart up and join himſelf in a Poliſh dance, in which he far
" ſurpaſſed the youngeſt of the company. Thoſe days and
" hours will never be forgotten by me, but will always be re-
" collected with pleaſure.

" Linnæus was ſmall in ſtature, and appeared ſtill ſhorter
" from a habit of ſtooping. He was thin, but well-made;
" and when I knew him, age had already begun to mark his
" forehead with wrinkles. His countenance was open; al-
" moſt always ſerene; and his eyes were the moſt expreſſive I
" ever beheld: they were ſmall indeed, but lively and pier-
" cing beyond deſcription; I do not recollect their colour, but
" their glances would now and then penetrate and read my
" very ſoul. The engraving prefixed to the *Species Plantarum* is
" a very ſtriking reſemblance of him. His mind was noble;
" his underſtanding was quick and acute. His great pre-
" eminence conſiſted in the regular connection of his ideas;
" and all his words and actions were orderly and ſyſtematic.
" In his youth his memory was ſtrong, but began to fail at a
" very early period of his life. I perceived ſeveral inſtances
" of his not being able to remember the names of his neareſt
" acquaintance; and once in particular found him in great
" diſtreſs,

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" diſtreſs, having juſt written a letter to his father-in-law, " whoſe name he had abſolutely forgotten. His heart was " open to every impreſſion of joy; he loved pleaſantry, and " was fond of ſociety; an excellent companion; cheerful and " agreeable in his converſation; of fanciful wit; and poſſeſſed " a happy talent of introducing and applying appoſite anec- " dotes. His paſſions were ſtrong and violent; he was haſty " and choleric, but ſoon appeaſed. His friendſhips were " warm and unalterable, and more particularly to his favourite " ſcholars; his attachment was always founded upon a love " of ſcience; he was ſo fortunate as to experience few in- " ſtances of ingratitude; and it is well known with what zeal " his diſciples returned his friendſhip, and how frequently " they engaged in his defence.

" Though his love of fame was boundleſs, and his common " adage, *Famam extendere factis*, the true image of his ſoul, yet " this ambition had no other object than literary eminence; " and never degenerated into an offenſive and unſocial pride. " Nor was the rank, to which he had been raiſed by the fa- " vour of his ſovereign, any otherwiſe agreeable to him than " as a mark of his high reputation in ſcience. In matters re- " lative to botany he could not eaſily brook any contradiction: " he thankfully, indeed, received and uſed the annotations of " his friends for the improvement of his works; but he diſ- " dained the attacks of his opponents, and, by never reply- " ing, conſigned them to that oblivion in which they have " long been buried. He was himſelf liberal in his encomiums, " and not diſpleaſed with being admired, which ſeems to " have been his principal foible: his love of praiſe, however, " was founded on the ſtrong perception of his own excel- " lence; on his acknowledged improvements of natural hiſ- " tory; and upon the conciouſneſs of being eſteemed the firſt " ſyſtematic writer of the age. Tournefort, as he often aſſured

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"me, he had looked up to from his youth as the maſter whom "he had propoſed to imitate, and whom he ſoon ſurpaſſed in "a very conſiderable degree.

"His way of life was moderate and parſimonious; and he "has been accuſed of covetouſneſs *. I cannot, however, but "hold him in ſome meaſure excuſed, if he placed too high a "value upon money, the want of which he had ſo long and "ſo ſeverely experienced. It may alſo be urged in his de-"fence, that the habits of extreme parſimony, which he had "contracted under the moſt preſſing neceſſities, adhered to "him afterwards; and could not be ſhaken off even in times of "affluence. I never, however, perceived that his frugality de-"generated into ſordid avarice; and I can allege my own ex-"ample as an inſtance to the contrary. He refuſed in ſo per-"emptory a manner to accept the acknowledgement due to "him for reading lectures to us during the whole ſummer, "that we were obliged (after having in vain endeavoured to "force it upon him) to leave it ſecretly behind us."

To the honour of his country and the preſent age, Linnæus reaped the advantage of his ſuperior genius by the unſolicited accumulation of wealth and honours. In 1753 he was created a knight of the Polar-ſtar, and ennobled in 1756.

His writings brought him, on account of their number, no inconſiderable emolument †; while his ſalary as profeſſor, his practice as a phyſician, and the preſents which he occaſionally received from his ſcholars, rendered him eaſy and independent. He purchaſed in the neighbourhood of Upſala two eſtates, at Hammarby and at Sœfja, at the former of which he built a villa; and at his deceaſe bequeathed an ample provi-

* It is a ſufficient refutation of the charge of avarice, that "though he was extremely "ſparing in his own private expences; yet he "was liberal in entertaining his friends, and "in acts of charity; and that he always re-"mitted to poor ſtudents what was due to him "for attending his lectures." Bæck.

† A ducat, or about 9 *s.* each ſheet. Fabricius.

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sion to his widow and children. He left four daughters and one son, Charles Linnæus, who succeeded him in the professorship, and died on the first of November 1783. CHAP. VII.

The name of Linnæus may be classed amongst those of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, Euler, and other great philosophers, who were friends to religion: he always testified in his conversations, writings, and actions, the highest reverence for the Supreme Being; and was so strongly impressed with the idea of omnipresence, that he wrote over the door of his study: *Innocui vivite, numen adest.*

The great merits of Linnæus, as a naturalist, are to be estimated from the rude state in which he found all the branches of natural history, and the perfection to which he carried them; in drawing order from confusion, and perspicuity from darkness: his understanding, comprehensive, yet accurate, was capable of combining and arranging an almost infinite variety of objects, which the magnitude of the greatest could not fatigue, nor the insignificance of the smallest elude. The mere catalogue of his works would make an ordinary pamphlet; and it would require no small volume to trace even the outlines of his system, now distinguished by the appellation of Linnæan, which new methodized and reformed the whole compass of natural history. In these extensive and various pursuits, we know not which to admire most, his intimate knowledge, his fertility of invention, his indefatigable industry, his scientific arrangement, or that wonderful exactness in discriminating, where the minutest shades of difference are scarcely perceptible.

The reader, who is desirous of further intelligence concerning this great naturalist, will find his curiosity amply gratified from the perusal of Dr. Pulteney's "General View "of the Writings of Linnæus." In that excellent publication the ingenious author has detailed a list of his numerous

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works, methodically claſſed according to the æra of their appearance; to which is ſubjoined a critical account of their general contents. He has alſo traced the progreſs, and laid open the leading principles of the Linnæan ſyſtem, with a maſterly preciſion and accuracy, which could only be derived from the moſt perfect knowledge of the ſubject.

CHAP. VIII.

Remarks on the writings of Wallerius, Cronſtedt, *and* Bergman.—*Analyſis of the Sciagraphia Mineralis.*

THE contents of this chapter being at my requeſt communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, I claim no other merit than that of giving it to the public.

"The public revenue and wealth of Sweden being intimately "connected with the mines, particularly thoſe of iron, minera- "logy has been eminently encouraged and cultivated in that "kingdom. To this cauſe we may, in a great meaſure, attri- "bute the acknowledged ſkill of the Swediſh chymiſts, as ſu- "perior to thoſe of many other nations: for how much ſoever "we owe to the labours of Pott and Margraaf, and ſeveral "other Germans, it is to the Swedes that we are indebted for "the firſt rational ſyſtem of mineralogy. Among thoſe who "principally taught the method of arranging theſe unorganized "bodies, we muſt not omit the great Linnæus: he laid the baſis "of what may be called the claſſical foundation of his ſyſtem, "in the chymical analyſis; having early diſtributed the earths "into Calcareous, Vitreſcent, and Apyrous, and eſtabliſhed his "orders and genera, on figure, colour, hardneſs, and other ſen-

"ſible

" fible qualities. This ſyſtem was, in a great meaſure, adopted " by Wallerius. But it is to Cronſtedt that we owe the full and " more preciſe diſpoſition of theſe ſubjects, according to their " conſtituent parts and principles: and it muſt be allowed, that " the diſcoveries of the Swediſh mineralogiſts and chymiſts " have, within a few years, greatly advanced this branch of " knowledge.

" Wallerius publiſhed at Stockholm, in 1747, the firſt ſketch " of his ſyſtem in the Swediſh tongue; and he has preſerved " nearly the ſame arrangement in the ſubſequent editions of " 1754 and 1778. In the following year he gave to the world " a diſſertation 'On the Nature and Origin of Nitre;' and in " 1751, after he had been nominated profeſſor of chymiſtry, " metallurgy, and pharmacy, an academical diſſertation 'On " the principles of Vegetation.' Soon after his appointment to " the profeſſorſhip, he printed, in his native language, 'An " Epiſtle on the true Nature, Utility, and Excellence of Chy- " miſtry.' In the next year, additional to his tract on Vegeta- " tion, he publiſhed another, relative to 'The Methods and Uſe " of rendering Seeds fertile, by waſhing or infuſing them for a " certain Time in various Kinds of Liquors:' and in the reſult " he gives it as his opinion, that ſuch methods are generally " hazardous.

" In the ſame year Wallerius put forth, in the 7th volume of " the *Acta Academiæ Naturæ Curioſorum*, a paper 'On the beſt " Method of making Tar from the Pine and Fir Trees;' in " which he takes occaſion to treat of the principles of tar-water, " the medicinal fame whereof had, by means of the Biſhop of " Cloyne's *Siris*, ſpread over all Europe. In the ſame acts he " has written 'On the ſtellated or arboreſcent appearance on " the *Regulus Antimonii*;' and gives directions to prepare the re- " gulus ſo as to ſucceed in rendering the ſtar viſible; obſerving, " that it depends on the antimony being more or leſs deprived

" of

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"of its ſulphur. This year produced from the profeſſor a "theſis, containing 'Some Strictures on the erroneous Method "of preparing certain Chymical Remedies:' a ſignal proof of "his application of true chymical knowledge to the real ad- "vantage of practical medicine. In the acts of the Royal So- "ciety of Stockholm for 1754, the profeſſor has deſcribed the "method of making, from mercury alone, the *arbor dianæ*, or "what has been called the philoſophical tree. In Vol. XXI. "for 1760, with equal ability, he inquires into 'the nature of "that earth which exiſts in all vegetables and animals as a "principle of their compoſition;' and he here takes occaſion "to ſpeak of the method of obtaining pure earth of this kind, "from water by trituration, as mentioned by Eller: a fact which "has been much doubted, and diſputed, by many ſubſequent "philoſophers and chymiſts. In theſe acts alſo, for the year "1765, we find the reſult of his examination of platina, by "which it appears that he thought it a real metal, and not, as "ſome have judged, either a recrement, or a mixed metal.

"In 1761 he publiſhed an academical diſſertation, under the "title of 'Chymical Principles of Agriculture,' in quarto, nearly "of 300 pages; in which the various methods of fertilizing "different ſoils, by manures, and other proceſſes, are diſcuſſed. "About the ſame time he wrote, in the Swediſh tongue, a "theſis, on occaſion of ſome miſchief done at Upſala by "lightning, intended to prove the perfect ſimilarity be- "tween the matter of lightning and the electrical fire. In "1768 Wallerius gave to the world a large volume in oc- "tavo, in Latin, 'On the Elements of Metallurgy,' in which "he has copiouſly delivered the principles of the docimaſtic "art. The ſame year he alſo put forth what he calls 'Lucu- "brations on all the Syſtems of Mineralogical Writers,' and on "the 'method of conſtructing a rational claſſification of the "foſſil kingdom.' This is a work of much labour and erudi-

"tion;

" tion; and is highly gratifying to a curious ſearcher into na-
" ture. He begins with the earlieſt writers on the ſubject, and
" follows them through each century to the preſent time. He
" has exemplified the latter part of his lucubrations in his own
" ſyſtem, of which he publiſhed the firſt volume in a Latin edi-
" tion in 1772, and the ſecond in 1778. This work muſt be
" conſidered as his capital performance. The French edition of
" 1754 had been in great eſtimation and conſtant uſe: this is
" much enlarged; and, by being rendered into Latin, is become
" more ſcientific, and better adapted to general uſe. The great
" treaſure of erudition and experimental knowledge which it
" contains, makes it unqueſtionably one of the moſt valuable
" books on the ſcience; and, in defiance of all changes of ſyſ-
" tems or circumſtances in mineralogy and chymiſtry, it muſt
" long remain a ſtriking inſtance of the labour, learning, and
" ſcience of its author. Beſide the excellent arrangement given
" to the whole ſubject, and the well-defined characters of each
" claſs, order, and genus, it is enriched at the end of each
" genus with copious *ſcholia*, containing the opinions of pre-
" ceding authors on the ſeveral ſubſtances; and, after all theſe,
" his own idea of the true nature or compoſition of each. One
" of the lateſt of his works is his *Meditationes de Origine Mundi*,
" printed at Stockholm, in octavo, 1779, pp. 242. It is to be
" expected, that many of the principles contained in this work
" relating to fire, light, fixed air, &c. and much of his reaſon-
" ing, particularly on the inflammable, ſaline, and aqueous
" principles in bodies, will not be received by all the philoſo-
" phers of this country; nor his theory of the formation of this
" globe, be thought ſatisfactory. Yet, the learning he has diſ-
" played, and his well-intended ſolicitude to reconcile his ſyſ-
" tem, and the changes of the elements, to the Moſaic account
" of the creation, will enſure his work a candid reception

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" among all who are inclined to ſpeculate on theſe intricate " ſubjects, and are friendly to religion.

" This learned man, after having filled the chair for thirty " years with high reputation, reſigned in 1767 the profeſſorſhip, " and was honoured by his ſovereign with the order of Vaſa. " Wallerius is now above eighty, and ſtill continues to enjoy, " at his houſe near Upſala, a literary retirement.

" Axel Frederic Cronſtedt, the excellent Cronſtedt, as he is " juſtly called, deſcended from a noble German family natural- " ized in Sweden, was a native of Sudermanland, and was born " in 1722. He ſtudied mineralogy under Wallerius, Swab, and " Tilas. He commenced his walk in this field of ſcience by a " diſcovery which ſoon rendered him conſpicuous, that of a " new ſemimetal, called Nickel. He gave the firſt intimation " of it in a paper publiſhed in the Stockholm Acts, for the " year 1751; and he detailed ſome experiments made upon it, " in the ſame work, for the year 1754. In 1753 he publiſhed " Obſervations 'on Gypſum;' and in the ſixteenth volume of " the Acts for 1755, gave a curious account of ſilver precipitated " from water in the Kongſberg mines. In 1756 Cronſtedt diſ- " tinguiſhed himſelf by the diſcovery of the zeolite, which he " firſt named, and ſeparated as a diſtinct ſtone, conſiſting of a " peculiar earth, as its baſis: his obſervations on it were " printed in the Stockholm Acts for that year. Profeſſor Berg- " man has ſince found, by analizing zeolite, that it conſiſts of " a mixture of ſiliceous, argillaceous, and calcareous earth.

" In the ſame Acts, Vol. XVIII. for 1757, he publiſhed an in- " genious paper, with a view to detect the colouring principle " in the cow-wheat (*Meſampyrum arvenſe*), the ſtalks of which, " when faded, acquire a fine blue colour. They yield this co- " lour to water, and it is not deſtroyed either by vinegar, or " ſpirit of vitriol, or by alkalis, unleſs boiled together with

"these latter; which led him to suspect that a vegetable dye, "or pigment, might be extracted from this plant. In 1758, at "which time he was director of the mines of Dalecarlia and "Westmanland, Cronstedt published his 'Essay towards a system "of Mineralogy.' It was printed in the Swedish language, "and without the name of the author. In 1760, it was trans- "lated into German; and in 1770, into English; and is now in "the hands of all diligent inquirers into the knowledge of fos- "sils. Wallerius himself has called it *Opus sine pari*. The au- "thor, not being led away with what he calls *Figuromania*, but "neglecting the external appearances of mineral bodies, has "succeeded beyond all others, in classing them according to "their constituent principles. This method obliges him to "make no distinction between earths and stones; and to throw "into an appendix all that are called figured extraneous fossils, "which had held so distinguished a rank in former systems.

"In the Stockholm Acts for 1761, he has given some instruc- "tions relating to the choice of stone for building; and hints "at the practicability of using the slag of iron smelting houses, "by running it into * moulds for bricks; which hint is prose- "cuted in a subsequent paper of the year 1763, advising, that "the lime which is used should be reduced into fine powder. "In the same volume he communicates some observations 'on "the Physical Geography of the Province of Jemtland in Swe- "den.' In the 25th volume for 1764, Cronstedt delivered in a "process on platina, when melted with nickel and sulphur; "which he found recoverable in the form of a black powder, "by dissolving the mixed substance in aqua-fortis.

"It is to be lamented that this able man did not live longer, "to improve still further that science he so much enlightened. "He died in 1765, in the 43d year of his age."

* This is now practised at the forges at Bristol; and there are long ranges of wall near Bath covered with this material.

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A posthumous work of this accurate mineralogist has lately made its appearance. For some time before his death he was employed in arranging and preparing for the press an account of the mines of Westmanland and Dalecarlia, of which he was superintendent. A copy of this performance, originally written by the author in the Swedish tongue, which he completed but did not live to publish, was fortunately procured by Mr. Georgi, adjunct to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh; who has given to the world a German translation of it under the following title*, "Cronstedt's Mineralogical "Account of the Mines of Westmanland and Dalecarlia, from "his own observations and researches;" a work replete with much curious information, and remarkable for that accuracy and precision, which so highly distinguish all his other writings.

"I regret that it is not in my power to furnish the reader "with more particular anecdotes of professor Bergman. He "very early distinguished himself by a strong attachment to "science; and was, at a young period of his life, made pro- "fessor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the univer- "sity of Upsala. We find him, so early as the year 1756, in the "17th volume of the Stockholm Acts, correcting a mistake of "the celebrated Linnæus; who, for want of more perfect inform- "ation, had described, under the name of *coccus aquaticus*, the "egg of a species of the leech genus; and, in the subsequent "year, he gave an accurate description of that genus, which "was afterwards generally adopted by Linnæus himself.

"In 1759 he published a paper containing 'A Review of the "several Explanations which Natural Philosophers have given "of the Rainbow;' and, in 1760, some thoughts 'on the Origin "of those kinds of Meteors which are not accompanied by any

* "Mineral Geschichte ueber Westman- "landische und Dalecarlische Erdgeburge auf "Beobachtungen und Untersuechungen ge- "gruendet," &c.

"sensible

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" ſenſible ſound or exploſion; and a paper on the opinions held " by philoſophers, relating to the twilight; to which he has " prefixed the account of Mairan's *anticrepuſculum*, or that of the " horizon oppoſite to the ſun. In 1761 and 1762 profeſſor Berg- " man wrote, in the Swediſh Acts, on the ſubject of electricity, " in conſequence of a correſpondence with Mr. Wilſon; and par- " ticularly on the electrical quality of Iceland chryſtal, and " double refracting ſpar. In the year 1763 he again diſtin- " guiſhed himſelf among the entomologiſts, by a paper on the " *tenthredo*, or ſaw-fly, the caterpillars of which had commonly " been confounded with thoſe of the butterfly and moth, until " he diſcovered that the feet in the latter are never more than " ſixteen, but that in the *tenthredo* they always exceed that num- " ber. The ſame year produced from the author, a reſult of " ſome electrical experiments, made with ſilk of various co- " lours, but which did not prove ſatisfactory.

" In 1767, on the reſignation of Wallerius, Mr. Bergman was " choſen to ſucceed him as profeſſor of chymiſtry and metallurgy. " How ably he has filled this chair, ſo honourably occupied by " his venerable predeceſſor, is well known to all who are in- " tereſted in theſe purſuits. In the year 1764 the profeſſor " wrote a paper to aſcertain, from a number of obſervations, " the height in the atmoſphere at which the *aurora borealis* ex- " iſts. He computes, that theſe appearances are ſometimes ſo " low as at 20 Swediſh miles*; at others, that they are raiſed " to 150: the medium he therefore fixes at 72. Theſe obſerva- " tions were afterwards further proſecuted. In 1765 and 1766 " he wrote again on electrical ſubjects, and chiefly on the pro- " perty and laws of electricity in the Tourmalin; which had " been put into his hands, by the Royal Academy of Sciences " of Stockholm, for examination.

" In 1767 the profeſſor publiſhed ſome important hints rela- " tive to the depuration of alum, at the alum-works; obſerving,

* A degree containing $10\frac{1}{2}$ Swediſh miles; a Swediſh mile = about $6\frac{1}{2}$ Engliſh miles.

" that

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" that it was cuſtomary to employ alkali, in order to free it from " the vitriol. He adviſes rather to uſe for that purpoſe the ad- " mixture of a portion of argillaceous earth, and propoſes a to- " bacco-pipe clay. A paper having appeared in the Stockholm " Acts for 1769, on the culture of pine-trees, Mr. Bergman alſo " publiſhed in the ſame, ' An account of the Inſects which de- " ſtroy that Tree in Sweden ;' and he attributes the devaſtation " to the abundance of the *tenthredo* caterpillar. In that king- " dom, where ſuch immenſe quantities of wood are conſumed " in the ſmelting furnaces, theſe matters are deſerving of high " attention. In 1770, in order to induce the Swediſh chymiſts " to prepare corroſive ſublimate, which was then chiefly im- " ported, our author publiſhed a paper, containing a recital of " the various methods hitherto uſed to unite mercury with the " marine acid ; and he proſecutes the hiſtory of this combina- " tion in two ſubſequent volumes of the ſame Acts. Some " buildings at Stockholm having ſuffered by lightning in the " year 1769, our author, and his ſucceſſor in the profeſſorſhip of " natural philoſophy, Mr. Wilkie, both publiſhed ' on the ſub- " ject of conductors to lightning.'

" In 1771, Vol. XXXII. of the Stockholm Acts, profeſſor " Bergman gives ' ſome Inſtructions concerning the beſt Clay " Compoſitions for making Tiles.' In 1773 iſſued his obſerva- " tions on fixed air ; or, as he chuſes rather to call it, the aerial " acid : this paper, and ſeveral others, printed before and after " this time, either ſeparately, or in the Stockholm Acts, have " ſince been collected, and publiſhed by the author in Latin, " in three volumes octavo, 1779, 1780, 1783, under the title of " *Opuſcula phyſica et chemica* * ; *pleraque ſeorſim antea edita jam ab* " *auctore collecta, reviſa et aucta ;* and have further contributed

* The following plan of this work is thus laid down by the author himſelf : " Primo " volumini præfertim Halurgica inſerui, in ſe- " cundo mineralogica et metallurgica prodi- " bunt, in tertio attractionum doctrina, una " cum analyſi quorundam corporum organi- " corum, in quarto varia ad phyſicam et hiſ- " toriam naturalem pertinentia, et in ſequenti- " bus iterum chemica, ſi Deus vitam vireſque " largitur." Opuſ. Phyſ. Præf. p. xvi.

" to

"to extend his fame, and moſt deſervedly raiſe his character to "a high rank throughout Europe. The author propoſes to "carry on this miſcellaneous publication on the ſame plan.

"Dr. Troil's account of Iceland contains a very curious let- "ter from the profeſſor, written in 1776, in which he intro- "duces many judicious obſervations on the effects of ſubter- "raneous fires, on the origin and formation of baſaltes, and "the lavas and foſſil products of Iceland *.

"Profeſſor Bergman has not confined his reſearches and in- "quiries to the mere analyſis of bodies in the laboratory, but "has extended his views to what is called phyſical geography; "and has ventured to give the world his lucubrations on the "ſtructure and formation of the earth, in a profeſſed trea- "tiſe on the ſubject †. His eſſay on the uſefulneſs of chymiſ- "try, lately tranſlated into the Engliſh language, evinces, not "only his extenſive acquaintance with this ſcience in a theo- "retical and practical way, but alſo his comprehenſive view of "the good effects its improvement muſt have on the intereſts "of mankind."

It may be proper to obſerve, that Mr. Bergman has compoſed two academical diſſertations ‡, replete with much accurate information on the origin and progreſs of chymiſtry. In the firſt he treats of the riſe of that art, and its gradual improvement, in a chronological ſeries, to the middle of the 7th century; in the ſecond he carries his inquiries from that period to the middle of the 17th century; and it is to be hoped that he will in the ſame manner proſecute this ſubject to the preſent time.

In the fourth volume of the Upſala Acts, the profeſſor has lately put forth *Meditationes de Syſtemate Foſſilium Naturali*; or,

* See Troil's Letters on Iceland, p. 338. 400.

† "Phyſick Beſkrifnung oefoer Jordklotet," or Phyſical Deſcription of the Earth.

‡ De Primordiis Chemiæ in 1777. Chemiæ Progreſſus a Medio Sæc. VII. ad Medium Sæc. XVII.—1782.

Conſiderations

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Conſiderations on the Natural Syſtem of Foſſils. This learned work is divided into two parts; the firſt, on their arrangement, treats of natural bodies in general, of the criteria of foſſils in general, of their claſſes, genera, ſpecies, varieties; the ſecond lays down rules for giving names to foſſils; a great deſideratum in this branch of natural knowledge; and which will tend to prevent that confuſion and uncertainty derived from the want of preciſe, general, and ſpecific appellations.

"The reader will not wonder that ſuch extraordinary merit "ſhould have been duly noticed by the king of Sweden. That "monarch has honoured profeſſor Bergman with the order of "Vaſa *; and all men of ſcience will join in wiſhing that he "may long fill the chair he now occupies ſo much to the ad-"vancement of ſcience."

The laſt work which I ſhall mention of this great chymiſt, is the *Sciagraphia Mineralis*, or Sketch of the Mineral Kingdom; which may be conſidered as heads of a courſe of lectures drawn up for the uſe of Mr. Ferbar, who obtained the author's

* Having omitted to give an account of the Swediſh orders, I ſhall take this opportunity of mentioning them. There are four orders: the three firſt were inſtituted in 1748, by Frederic I.; and the laſt by the preſent king.

I. The order of the Seraphim, or the blue ribband; which is appropriated to perſons of the firſt rank. It admits only of 24 members, excluſive of the royal family and foreign princes. II. The order of the Sword, or the yellow ribband, for the officers of the navy and army. There are three claſſes of this order: 1. Commanders of the Great Croſs, who wear the ribbands over the ſhoulders, and a ſtar on their coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband in the ſame manner, but without the ſtar. Each of theſe claſſes contains 24 members. 3. Knights, who wear the ſmall croſs pendent from the button-hole. The number of theſe is indefinite, but generally amount to above 1000. III. Polar Star, or the black ribband. Of this order there are two claſſes: 1. Commanders, who wear the great croſs pendent round the neck. There are 24 of this claſs, but the king propoſes to add four for the biſhops. 2. Knights, who wear the ſmall croſs pendent from the button-hole, are, excluſive of foreigners, 48; to whom the king propoſes to add ſix for the clergy. This order, before the inſtitution of the following order of Vaſa, was conferred upon men of letters. IV. The order of Vaſa, or the green ribband, eſtabliſhed at the coronation of the preſent king, is divided into three claſſes: 1. Commanders of the Great Croſs, who wear the ribband over the ſhoulder, and the ſtar on the coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband over the ſhoulder without the ſtar. 3. Knights, who wear the ribband over the neck. This order is conferred upon perſons who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in agriculture, commerce, the arts, and particular ſciences; ſuch as natural hiſtory, chymiſtry, medicine, &c.

permiſſion

permiſſion to preſent it to the world. This ſhort, but able tract, was firſt publiſhed in 1782, at Leipſic and Deſſau, and was immediately reprinted in England and Italy. CHAP. VIII.

I ſhall here ſubjoin the following analyſis of it by the ſame ingenious author to whom I am indebted for the former part of this chapter.

" The *Sciagraphia Mineralis* *, although but the outlines of a " ſyſtem, will be thankfully received by all mineralogiſts. " Cronſtedt laid the baſis of the method purſued in this tract, " and made an extenſive progreſs in the proſecution of it. " Bergman profeſſes to have adopted his ideas; and, after his " example, begins by eſtabliſhing the following firſt prin- " ciples.

" Firſt, That of whatſoever value external appearance may " be in the arrangement of organized bodies, as in animals " and plants, yet it is not to be truſted in the claſſing of " unorganized ſubſtances; colour, conſiſtence, and texture, " being too variable to be depended on as certain character- " iſtics. He by no means, however, diſallows the uſe of theſe " external qualities, ſince, to an experienced eye, they will " greatly aſſiſt us in aſcertaining the nature of foſſils, and " frequently direct to the ſhorteſt method of analizing them. " Secondly, It is only from a knowledge of the internal com- " poſition, that the claſſes, genera, and ſpecies of foſſils are " to be determined, and the external appearance muſt be re- " ferred to the diſtinction of varieties only. Thirdly, In ge- " neral, the principle or matter which abounds moſt in any " ſubſtance, is to determine its place in the ſyſtem. But this " law muſt be ſubject to exceptions, where one of the com- " pounds is, as a baſe, the moſt important part of the mixed " body. This holds in the earths, and particularly in the

* This tract has been lately tranſlated by Dr. Withering. See outlines of Mineralogy &c. from the original of Sir Torbern Bergman,

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" ores of metals. Fourthly, The ſolid principles muſt uſually " be admitted to form the generical character, although it " ſhould exiſt in a leſs proportion than the fluid part. To in- " ſtance in magneſia, gypſum, and alum, in all which the " genus is determined from the ſolid ingredient, or the earth, " and not by the fluid part or vitriolic acid, although the " quantity of the latter greatly exceeds that of the former. " The ſpecific characters are to be deduced from the different " combinations and proportions of the ſeveral principles in " each.

" All mineral bodies fall into four great claſſes: I. Salts; " II. Earths; III. Bitumens; and, IV. Metals.

" CLASS I. SALTS.

" Salts are acid, alkaline, neutral, earthy, and metallic. In " this claſs, to the three well-known acids of vitriol, nitre, " and ſea-ſalt, the author, beſide introducing the phoſphoric " acid as a principle, has joined alſo the fluor acid; the acid " of arſenic; one newly diſcovered in black-lead, called the " acid of *molybdena*; one called the acid of *calx ponderoſa*; the " acid of borax; that of amber; and laſtly, the aerial acid, or " fixed air. The fluor acid, firſt diſcovered by Mr. Scheele, " has, while in the form of vapours, the power of coroding " glaſs, and with water forms ſiliceous earth *. It is found " united to a calcareous baſe in the *fluor mineralis*; and, as pro- " feſſor Bergman ſtrongly ſuſpects, enters into the compoſition " of all ſiliceous bodies. The acid of *molybdena* the profeſſor " conjectures to be of metallic origin; and he thinks there is " reaſon to believe, that each metal has its peculiar acid, " although, as yet, from the ſtronger union of the acid with

* It has been ſince diſcovered and acknowledged by the author, that although the fluor acid diſſolves ſiliceous earths whenever it meets with them; yet, that it does not, as he imagined in this place, when in a ſtate of vapour, actually form ſiliceous earth with water.

" the phlogiſton, it has not been developed, except in arſenic, " where the coheſion is leſs firm.

" To the number of alkaline ſalts there is no addition. The " neutral are divided into perfect and imperfect: the latter, " being thoſe in which one of the component principles exiſts, " either in a ſmaller quantity, or is weaker in its power than is " fully requiſite. The more perfect neutral ſalts, formed by " the union of the three alkalies, with the three primitive mi- " neral acids, are well known. The imperfect are, tincal or " borax, being the mineral alkali partially impregnated with a " peculiar acid; the vegetable alkali united with the aerial " acid, which, he obſerves, is ſeldom found native, except in " the neighbourhood of great woods deſtroyed by fire; the " *alkali minerale aëratum*, or natron; and the alkali volatile *aëra-* " *tum*; for an account of which ſee Phil. Tranſ. Vol. LVII.

" Among the earthy ſalts he has introduced that from which " the firſt of his primitive earths is produced. He calls it *terra* " *ponderoſa vitriolata*. Among the ſalts the profeſſor has alſo " brought the gypſum, or ſelenites, under the name of *calx vi-* " *triolata*; the *calx nitrata*, or terrene nitre, found ſparingly in " waters. He relates, upon this article, that there are ſaid to " be chalk-hills in France ſpontaneouſly impregnated with the " nitrous acid; the *calx ſalita*, or fixed ammoniacal ſalt; the *calx* " *aërata*, or marble, lime-ſtone, &c. of waters; the *magneſia vi-* " *triolata*, or Epſom ſalt; the *magneſia nitrata aërata*; and finally, " the alum, or *argilla vitriolata*.

" The metallic ſalts are, the *cuprum vitriolatum*, or blue vitriol; " *ferrum vitriolatum*, or green vitriol; *ferrum aëratum*, or iron diſ- " ſolved by the aerial acid in mineral waters; *niccolum vitriola-* " *tum*, or vitriol of nickel; *zincum vitriolatum*, or white vitriol; " and the *manganeſium* * *ſalitum*, or manganeſe united to the mu-

* In the original it is magneſium; but Mr. Withering informs us, that it is now changed, by the concurrence of profeſſor Bergman, to *manganeſium*, in order to prevent confuſion from its ſimilarity to magneſia.

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" riatic acid, which has been found diſſolved in ſome waters " by Mr. Hielm.

" The profeſſor cloſes this claſs by enumerating ſome ſpecies " of ſalts, which are compoſed of three or more principles, ſo " ſtrictly combined as not to ſeparate in chryſtallizing. Theſe " *ſales triplices* are the ſalt of the ocean mixed with magneſia; " Epſom ſalt, with martial vitriol; native alum, impregnated " with martial vitriol, and with vitriol of cobalt; blue vitriol " with iron; green vitriol with nickel; and blue vitriol, with " iron and zinc.

" Throughout this claſs are conciſely pointed out the ſeveral " *matrices* and natural modes of exiſtence of all theſe ſubjects; " as well as the method of procuring the pure artificial ones, " and of detecting them when in ſolution; the earthy ſalts be- " ing precipitated by mild, and the metallic by phlogiſticated " alkalies. In all the claſſes profeſſor Bergman, after the man- " ner of Linnæus, Wallerius, and Cronſtedt, has endeavoured to " give names to all the ſubjects expreſſive of the internal cha- " racters or principles of each.

" CLASS II. EARTHS.

" Of theſe he allows only five diſtinct kinds, or ſuch as are " termed primitive earths, being incapable, by any art yet " known, of further decompoſition.

" Theſe are, 1. *terra ponderoſa*, or heavy earth; 2. Calx, or cal- " careous earth; 3. Magneſia; 4. *Argilla*, or argillaceous earth; " and, 5. *Terra ſilicea*, or ſiliceous earth. Cronſtedt had ſtated " nine primitive earths; of which Bergman has reduced the " garnet kind, micaceous, and the zeolitic, to his argillaceous " genus, having diſcovered them to be compounded principally " of that earth, with various proportions of ſome other of his " primitive earths. He has ſince alſo found the aſbeſtine earth " of Cronſtedt to be a compounded earth; and as to the man-

" ganeſe,

" ganeſe, it ſtands no longer in this claſs, but occupies the laſt " place among the ignoble metals.

" 1. The *terra ponderoſa*, which the author firſt detected in " 1774, is procured in its preſent ſtate from the ponderous ſpar, " or *marmor metallicum*; which, with the *lapis hepaticus* (Cronſ. " § 24), appears hitherto to be the only ſubſtance in which it has " been found; though he ſcarcely doubts but that it will be " diſcovered in many others. 2. *Calx*. The moſt pure is yielded " by chalk. Under this genus are ranged, firſt, the limeſtones " of Cronſ. § 5—12. called here *calx aërata*; the *lapis ſuillus*, " which is limeſtone impregnated with *petroleum*; *fluor mineralis*, " or ſparry fluor of Cronſ. § 87—101; marle, which he calls " *calx aërata tam argillaceo quam ſiliceo inquinata*; and ſeveral " others. 3. *Magneſia*, procured from Epſom ſalt. Profeſſor " Bergman enumerates five ſpecies; among which are the ſoap- " rocks, Cronſ. 79—83, which he denominates *magneſia ſiliceo in-* " *time adunata*. All theſe, except the pure magneſia of waters, " are much contaminated by iron. 4. *Argilla*. The pure ele- " mentary earth of this kind is beſt obtained from alum. Un- " der this genus are enumerated ten ſpecies, as having the ar- " gillaceous earth for the principal baſis: the porcelain clay; " bole; marle; *terra lemnia*; white alum ore; alum ſlate; the " gems, ſuch as the ruby, ſapphire, topaz, emerald; the gra- " nites, baſaltes or ſcherle; zeolite; and the talky and mica- " ceous bodies. The diamond is not ranged under this head. " The tourmalin holds a middle place between the genus and " the ſcherles. 5. *Terra ſilicea*, procured in its pureſt ſtate from " rock chryſtal. This earth is inſoluble in all the acids, except " the fluor acid. The profeſſor ſeems to ſuſpect, that it is, ne- " vertheleſs, not a pure primitive or elementary earth. Under " this genus rank all the quartz tribe; chalcedony; probably " alſo the opal; jaſpers; *petroſilex* or chert; feldt ſpat; and the " yellowiſh green cloudy topaz, or *chryſopraſius*. Whether the

" corne-

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" cornelian, and the remaining part of the flinty ſtones, belong " to this genus, he is yet not able to determine.

" CLASS III. BITUMENS;

" Or inflammable bodies; which the author divides only into " two genera, under the names of ſulphur and petroleum. " Among the firſt rank common brimſtone; plumbago; black- " lead or Molybdena, a ſulphur united to a peculiar acid. Un- " der the genera of petroleum he claſſes the naphtha and rock " oils, coal, and amber. Profeſſor Bergman adopts the opinion " of M. Aublet, concerning the vegetable origin of amber- " greaſe*. But it is very lately rendered more probable, that " it is an animal production, being the ſcybala of the whale. " This opinion is ingeniouſly ſupported by reaſon and analogy, " as well as by ſome facts, in a paper written by Dr. Schwedi- " awer, in the laſt volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions †. " Many mineralogiſts will be ſurpriſed to ſee the diamond in " the bituminous claſs; yet profeſſor Bergman confeſſes that " he could not find a more proper ſtation for it; and he juſti- " fies himſelf on the following conſiderations: it remains un- " touched by all the acids; it is evaporable in the open fire, " appearing to diſſipate in a cloud, or lambent flame; and in the " focus of the ſpeculum it leaves ſlight traces of ſooty remains. " This deflagration, howſoever ſlow and gentle, he apprehends, " reduces it to a place among inflammable bodies.

" CLASS IV. METALS.

" In the introductory ſection to this claſs, the profeſſor aſſerts " the great affinity that ſubſiſts between bituminous bodies and " metals, by obſerving, that both zinc and arſenic flame when " properly heated in the fire.

" He divides metals into noble and ignoble; and treats of " them in the order of their ſpecific gravities.

* See Hiſtoire des Plantes de la Guiane Françoiſe, Vol. II. Sup. p. 39. Couma Tab. 392.
† Vol. II. p. 226—241.

" Of

"Of gold he enumerates four ſpecies, found in a native "ſtate; and, though he mentions a *pyrites aureus* (Cronſ. "§ 166. *a)*, has nevertheleſs ſome doubts, as to the reality of "the mineralization of gold. Platina *, he ſays, is always de- "baſed with a martial admixture. Of ſilver he gives ſeven ſpe- "cies as native, and eleven mineralized. He attributes to Mr. "Woulfe the merit of obſerving the vitriolic principle in horn "ſilver; and gives him equal praiſe for his diſcovery, that mer- "cury is mineralized by the muriatic and vitriolic acids. Un- "der lead, the profeſſor mentions a ſpecies found by M. Mou- "net, which is mineralized by means of the vitriolic acid; and "another, detected by Dr. Gahn, which is reduced to ore by "the phoſphoric acid.

"He has exhibited, under the article of copper, a ſpecies "ſent to him by Mr. Werner, which he found to be mineralized "with argillaceous earth and muriatic acid. Only nine ſpecies "of iron † are enumerated in this work; one of which, he ſays, "contains a new metal. This has ſince been further inveſti- "gated, exalted in fact to the rank of a metal, and moſt aptly "named *ſiderum*. The miſpickel of authors is removed from "the arſenic ores to the iron, and deſcribed under the name of "*ferrum nativum arſenico adunatum*. He tells us, that he never ſaw "native tin; and doubts its exiſtence. Two new ſpecies from "Siberia are mentioned in the preface, under the name of *ſtan- "num ſulphuratum*.

"Biſmuth and nickel ſtand nearly as they do in Cronſtedt, "except that Bergman does not notice the nickel of Cronſtedt, "which is ſaid to be mineralized by the vitriolic acid. The

* Count Sickengen has lately diſcovered a means of purifying platina, by which that metal, before ſuppoſed to be to water as 18 to 1, is now proved to be as 21 to 1. Gold is only as 19. 64 to 1. See Verſuche ueber die Platina. Manheim.

† In 1782, was publiſhed by Sweno Rinman, director of the iron manufactories, a moſt able treatiſe, "Foerſoek till Jærnets hiſ- "toria," or Eſſay on the Hiſtory of Iron, the reſult of forty years obſervations. A tranſlation of this work could not fail of being highly uſeful to the Engliſh naturaliſt and manufacturer.

"ſpecies

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"ſpecies of arſenic and cobalt remain nearly the ſame in pro-
"feſſor Bergman's arrangement, as in that of Cronſtedt. The
"profeſſor ſeems to think that the analyſis of arſenic leads fur-
"ther into the true nature of metallic ſubſtances than that of
"any other metal; ſince, from arſenic, not only the redundant
"quantity of phlogiſton is capable of being extricated, ſo as to
"leave it in a calciform ſtate, as in other metals; but, by further
"management, it can alſo be deprived of the remaining por-
"tion, and its peculiar acid thus developed. If art ſhould ever
"be able to deſtroy in other metals, as in this, that ſtrong co-
"heſion which ſubſiſts between the phlogiſton and the acid, it
"muſt, as he obſerves, very greatly improve our knowledge of
"mineral ſubſtances. In treating of zink, he introduces a cu-
"rious kind, communicated by M. Born, which he calls *zincum*
"*aëratum filiceo mixtum*. Of antimony only three ſpecies are enu-
"merated. *Manganeſium*, or manganeſe, which, in the works
"of Cronſtedt and Wallerius, is placed among the earths, hav-
"ing been reduced to a reguline ſtate, is now, for the firſt time,
"brought into the metallic claſs, and occupies the laſt place.
"The author makes two ſpecies, a calciform, and another which
"is mineralized by the aerial acid.

"The *manganeſium*, and the new metal ſince called *ſiderum*, are
"not the only new metals mentioned in this ſketch. He gives
"us, in the 32d ſection, ſeveral reaſons which induced to think
"that the acid of Molybdena was of metallic origin; and re-
"lates, that in conſequence of his directions, M. Hielm has ob-
"tained a regulus from that ſubſtance; though, at the publi-
"cation of this work, it had not been ſufficiently examined.

"It is even ſuſpected by the author, that his *terra ponderoſa* is
"in reality a new metal: for there is great ſimilarity between
"this earth and the calx of lead, and he has lately diſcovered a
"method of precipitating it by means of the phlogiſticated al-
"kali.

" kali. Nevertheleſs, not having hitherto been able to reduce " it to a reguline ſtate, it muſt remain among the earths.

" Although in ſyſtems of mineralogy founded entirely on " chymical characters, ſtones, and petrefactions, have no place " in the body of the ſyſtem, yet profeſſor Bergman does not " mean to exclude a due attention to them; the knowledge of " the former being of the utmoſt importance in the arts of " life; and that of petrefactions leading, perhaps, finally to ex- " plain more intimately, not only the nature of the containing " ſubſtances, but the internal conſtitution of the globe. Hence " he has, in the manner of Wallerius and Cronſtedt, put them " at the end of this work, and very briefly ſuggeſted a method " of arranging them, founded on the claſſical characters of his " own ſyſtem.

" It ſhould ſeem that profeſſor Bergman has not introduced " into this ſketch any articles of the foſſil kingdom, which chy- " miſtry has not ſufficiently aſcertained; and to his own la- " bours many very important diſcoveries and alterations are " owing: yet, from this ſlight view of his work, it is immedi- " ately diſcerned, that the completion of a ſyſtem muſt be " wanting, till the labour and attention of chymiſts have found " the true place of a great number of ſubſtances hitherto not " ſufficiently analized. In the mean time, till that perfection " is attained, it would be highly deſirable to ſee, from the pen " of ſo ſkilful a maſter, the whole mineral kingdom, as far as " is poſſible, arranged agreeably to the plan here laid down; " ſince the ſagacity and penetrating eye of ſo able a chymiſt " would qualify him to aſſign, with great probability, the true " place of many ſubſtances which chymical analyſis might not " have abſolutely fixed: and we are glad to announce, that the " author intends hereafter to publiſh this work on an enlarged " and more perfect plan *."

* Paucis interjectis annis, ſi Deus vitam virefque largitur, et locupletius et adcuratius hoc rudimentum prodituram ſpero.

CHAP. IX.

General deſcription of the country.—Weſteros.—*Tomb of* Eric XIV.—*His impriſonment and death.*—*Account of his family.*—*Singular adventures of his eldeſt ſon* Guſtavus.—Kungſoer.—Arboga.—Orebro.—Marieſtadt.—Lindkioping.—Trolhætta.—*River* Gotha.—*Attempts to join the* Gulf of Bothnia *and the* German Ocean *by an inland navigation acroſs* Sweden.—*Fruitleſs endeavours to render the cataracts of* Trolhætta *navigable.*—*Deſcription of the works.*

BOOK VII.

THE provinces of Upland, Weſtmanland, and Nerike, which I traverſed in my way to Gotheborg, are eſteemed the richeſt and fineſt parts of Sweden; and indeed I can hardly figure to myſelf a more variegated or pleaſing ſcenery than is exhibited by the general face of the country. Hills and dales, rocks and vallies, ſmall plains, numerous lakes, foreſts, meadows and arable land, frequent towns and villages, and ſcattered farm-houſes, are blended together with a conſtant and delightful variety. Thus Sweden, which ſome travellers, forming their judgment merely from the few diſtricts that fell under their immediate obſervation, have deſcribed as a maſs of barren and ungenial ſoil, is evidently not deficient in the moſt pictureſque beauties of rural nature. But I haſten from general to particular deſcription.

March 6. From Upſala I paſſed a tract of country, more open and fertile than I had hitherto obſerved in Sweden, to Endkioping, a ſmall town, ſituated upon a river cloſe to an inlet of the lake Mæler, and conſiſting chiefly of wooden houſes painted for the moſt part red. It ſtands upon a ridge of ground compoſed

poſed of ſand and gravel, which once formed the ſhore of the lake. Beyond it is a ſmall plain, formerly covered with water, in which I obſerved many ſcattered fragments of granite. The two next poſts brought me, at the end of 24 miles, to Weſteros, ſituated likewiſe upon a ſmall river cloſe to the Mæler.

Weſteros, or Weſtern Aroſia, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from Oſtra Aros, or Eaſtern Aroſia, the antient name of Upſala, is eſteemed, by the native writers, a place of very high antiquity. They derive its appellation by a fanciful etymology from the river Ar, and Os, a mouth; and ſuppoſe it to be alluded to by Tacitus*, and by Jornandes the Gothic hiſtorian. But without dwelling upon ſuch etymological inquiries, which are apt to reſt upon ſlender foundations, we may obſerve, that the name occurs in the earlieſt times of Swediſh hiſtory. Weſteros carries on a conſiderable commerce with Stockholm acroſs the lake Mæler; particularly in copper and iron from the neighbouring mines, which abound in the province of Weſtmanland. It is a large ſtraggling town, compoſed of wooden houſes, and contains the ruins of an antient palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden. It is a biſhop's ſee; and the cathedral, which is built with brick, is celebrated for the tower, eſteemed the higheſt in the kingdom: the lower part of this tower is ſquare, and ſupports a hexagon ſpire tapering gradually like a pyramid, and covered with painted metal.

Within the cathedral is the tomb of Eric XIV. whom I have before had occaſion to mention, and whoſe final cataſtrophe I ſhall now relate. We may pity the unfortunate monarch who was ſubject to ſuch dreadful fits of inſanity as may account, in ſome degree, for his actions; yet we cannot, at the ſame time, but confeſs, that he was unworthy to reign. The prelude to his depoſition was the releaſe of his brother John † from the

* Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 193.

† John had been juſtly impriſoned for marrying the daughter of Sigiſmond king of Poland in oppoſition to Eric; and for maintaining a ſecret correſpondence with Sigiſmond had been condemned to death by the ſtates, but was pardoned by the king.

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caſtle of Gripſholm, where he had been confined by Eric during the ſpace of four years. His dethronement, which he had merited by the moſt flagrant enormities, was haſtened by his imprudence in publicly eſpouſing Catharine, a woman of the loweſt extraction, who had formerly been his miſtreſs; and by what he conſidered as the moſt fortunate circumſtance of his life, the birth of a ſon, whom he had compelled his brothers to acknowledge as the heir apparent to the throne. This event excluding his brothers, John and Charles, from all hopes of the ſucceſſion, diſpoſed them to avail themſelves of the general diſcontents, which the capricious conduct of Eric, his miſtruſt of the principal nobility, and his unlimited confidence in perſons of the meaneſt extraction, excited through the kingdom. Accordingly, on the 10th of July 1568, they raiſed the ſtandard of revolt at Wadſtena, and their party rapidly acquired ſuch numbers, that Eric, being beſieged in Stockholm, was ſoon compelled to capitulate, and to make a public abdication of his crown in favour of John. The depoſed monarch was immediately impriſoned in the caſtle of Stockholm, where he endured every ſpecies of perſecution and indignity. To uſe his own pathetic words, which beſt expreſs his ſufferings, "God "knows how cruelly and unworthily I have been uſed theſe "82 weeks laſt paſt. Not a day goes over my head without "leaving behind it ſome affliction. We have been (beſide the "provocations given us from the reproaches of ſlanderous "men) exceedingly tormented with hunger, cold, ſtench, and "darkneſs; and, what is more affecting than all the reſt, my "enemies have more than once attacked us with ſwords and "poniards. Sometimes we have been deprived of the common "refreſhments of reſt and ſleep, becauſe of tumults and noiſe "in the night ſeaſon*." Once, in particular, being rouſed to reſiſtance by the inſults of one of his brutal keepers, the latter

* Account of Livonia, p. 214.

ſhattered

ſhattered his arm with a muſket, and left him for ſeveral hours weltering in his blood without any aſſiſtance.

We are naturally anxious to know in what manner a ſovereign, long uſed to the pomp and pageantry of a court, could amuſe himſelf in a priſon, deprived not only of all the comforts, but even the neceſſaries of life; and hiſtory has, in this inſtance, gratified our curioſity. During the firſt part of his confinement he employed himſelf in writing an apology for his own conduct, as well with reſpect to his brother John, as in relation to the cataſtrophe of the Stures. Several of the papers which he ſketched upon this occaſion ſtill exiſt. They are drawn up in the form of ſyllogiſms *, with the minuteſt attention to the rules of logic; an extraordinary mode of conſolation to a depoſed ſovereign.

In the beginning of 1569 Eric was ſummoned before the ſtates aſſembled at Stockholm, and, like Charles I. of England, brought to a trial before his ſubjects. His two brothers being preſent, the articles of accuſation were read, when Eric, whoſe capacity, naturally good, was quickened by his misfortunes, anſwered the ſeveral charges, with a warmth of eloquence and ſubtlety of argument, which aſtoniſhed his accuſers. In the heat of diſpute, John reproached him with his inſanity: "I "never was inſane but once," the depoſed monarch inſtantly replied, "and that was when I releaſed you from priſon." At the concluſion of this trial he was declared to have forfeited the crown by his miſconduct and tyranny; and, being reconducted to priſon, underwent an additional load of calamities.

* A ſpecimen of theſe ſyllogiſms may, perhaps, not be unacceptable to the reader.

"He who aſſiſts my enemy, declares himſelf my enemy; John aſſiſted my enemies with money; ergo, he declares himſelf my enemy. He who favours the enemies of a kingdom, is an enemy of that kingdom; Nicholas Swanteſſon favoured the enemies of the kingdom; therefore he is an enemy of this kingdom. John is my ſubject, as well according to all the laws, as from his oath of allegiance; therefore he cannot judge me who am his king, becauſe I enjoy the Swediſh law." Hiſt. de Eric XIV. p. 210.

He

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He not only wanted occaſionally common neceſſaries, but, what afflicted him more ſtrongly, he was deprived even of his books, which had hitherto afforded him ſome amuſement, and of the ſociety of his wife and children. In vain he wrote repeated letters to his brother, requeſting ſome alleviation of his diſtreſs; but not the ſlighteſt notice was paid to theſe applications. However tyrannical we may eſteem his conduct while he ſat upon the throne, yet ſuch unnatural cruelties, ſo wantonly inflicted without the leaſt neceſſity, reflect the utmoſt diſgrace upon the memory of his brother; and we almoſt loſe our abhorrence of Eric's former actions in our ſenſe of his calamitous ſituation. The people, at length ſympathizing with the diſtreſs of their depoſed ſovereign, began to condemn the extreme rigour of his treatment, and a ſtrong party even meditated a revolt. Upon its diſcovery and ſuppreſſion, he was transferred to Abo in Finland, where he underwent a ſtill ſeverer confinement. In 1570 he was impriſoned at Caſtleholm, in the iſle of Aland, in a dungeon, which I have deſcribed in a former chapter; and in the autumn of the ſame year was removed to the caſtle of Gripſholm. Here his ſorrows were for a while alleviated by the preſence of his beloved Catharine: but he was again deprived of this comfort in 1573, upon being transferred to Weſteros. In a letter to her, he complains bitterly of this ſeparation, and aſſures her of his unalterable attachment. He laments the miſeries of his own impriſonment; acquaints her that he had been confined in a dark dungeon for ſeven months, and was but juſt removed to a more comfortable apartment. "God forbid," he adds, "wherever you are, that you and your children "ſhould experience any ſimilar ſeverity: forget not your be-"loved Eric, and break not the marriage vow, to which I have "always adhered with ſuch inviolable conſtancy." From Weſteros he was ſent the following year to Orebyhus, near Wendel, in the province of Upland, where he terminated his miſerable exiſtence.

exiſtence. Theſe frequent changes in the places of his impriſonment, were occaſioned by the apprehenſions of John, who perceived that the nation began to compaſſionate his brother's wretched ſituation, and that many attempts had been actually made to reſtore him to liberty. In conſequence of theſe alarms, John, in 1569, ſecretly laid before the ſenate the neceſſity of haſtening Eric's death; but though he found no difficulty in obtaining their conſent to that infamous propoſal, yet he deferred the execution. At length, as Eric had once nearly eſcaped from priſon, and as the number of his partizans encreaſed, he reſolved to inflict the ſentence of death which had been agreed to by the ſenate. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1577, he diſpatched his ſecretary to Oreby with a doſe of poiſon, and with directions in what manner to proceed. If Eric ſhould obſtinately refuſe to ſwallow the draught, the keeper was ordered to open his veins, or to ſtrangle him under a matraſs. There was, however, no occaſion for proceeding to force. The wretched ſufferer received the news of his approaching fate without the leaſt emotion, and prepared for it with the utmoſt reſignation. On the 22d of February he partook of the ſacrament with the moſt fervent devotion; and on the 26th at noon, having ſwallowed the poiſon in a plate of ſoup, expired, in the ninth year of his impriſonment, and in the 45th of his age *. His body was tranſported to Weſteros, and interred in the cathedral, where the biſhop of that ſee preached a funeral ſermon from this remarkable text, "The "kingdom is turned about and become my brother's; for it "was his from the Lord." His tomb is a raiſed monument of plain ſtone: upon the walls of the chapel in which it ſtands are his arms; the three crowns as king of Sweden, the lion as duke

* The circumſtances of Eric's depoſition and impriſonment are principally ſelected from the Hiſtoire d'Eric XIV. by Celſius, Lib. XI. and XII.; and Dahlin's Geſchichte Von Sweden, Vol. III. p. 538 to p. 551.; and Vol. IV. p. 66 to 68.

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of Finland, and the wheat-ſheaf, the device of the Vaſa family. The whole inſcription is E. R. or *Eric Rex*, in large characters, with a crown painted over each letter; and underneath the Latin text of the funeral ſermon preached at his interment, *Tranſlatum eſt regnum*, &c.

Eric, during the firſt part of his confinement, kept a journal of the occurrences which happened to him in priſon; from which it appears, that his wife was the conſtant ſubject of his thoughts. During her abſence, writing to her was his almoſt daily occupation; and his letters breathe the moſt affectionate and warmeſt attachment. He ſoothed many hours of his impriſonment by muſic, in which he excelled both as a performer and compoſer. His books, when he was indulged in the uſe of them, afforded him a pleaſing reſource, and he filled the margins with numerous remarks. He tranſlated into his native tongue, the hiſtory of the Swediſh kings, from the original of John Magnus; to which he added ſome Latin verſes upon the character of each ſovereign. He compoſed two penitential pſalms, which are inſerted in the Swediſh Pſalter. His memorial upon the cauſes of the war between himſelf and Frederic king of Denmark; his aſtronomical, or rather aſtrological obſervations; his treatiſe upon the art of war; all written in the Latin language, prove his capacity and erudition.

Catharine, his wife, ſurvived him. She was the daughter of a peaſant; and, while an infant, being obſerved by Eric, he was ſo ſtruck with her beauty, that he paid great attention to her education, and placed her in the court of his ſiſter Elizabeth. When ſhe arrived at years of maturity ſhe became his miſtreſs, and acquired, in a ſhort ſpace of time, an extraordinary aſcendancy over his capricious diſpoſition; an aſcendancy derived from the graces of her perſon and the endowments of her mind; but, according to the prevailing notions of the age, imputed to philters and love potions. His attachment

ment increaſing, inſtead of diminiſhing, by poſſeſſion, Eric (fruſtrated in his hopes of marrying ſeveral foreign princeſſes) at length eſpouſed her after ſhe had borne to him a natural ſon. During his confinement, Catharine gratefully returned his affection with equal eſteem and tenderneſs; and afforded to her unfortunate lord much conſolation in his miſery. She ſurvived her huſband many years; and ſuch was her prudent deportment, that ſhe conciliated the favour of John and Sigiſmond, from whom ſhe obtained a conſiderable revenue; and was permitted to paſs the remainder of her life in Finland in perfect tranquillity. CHAP. IX.

Eric left two natural daughters by Agda, daughter of a rich merchant of Stockholm, Virginia and Conſtantia, both married in Sweden; and by Catharine four children, of whom only Guſtavus and Sigrida ſurvived their father: Sigrida eſpouſed count Tott, and her deſcendants ſtill ſurvive in that illuſtrious branch.

Guſtavus, born in 1568, and declared ſucceſſor to the Swediſh crown, was, upon his father's depoſition, impriſoned at Stockholm; and when Eric was removed to Abo, was incloſed in a ſack, and delivered to an officer belonging to the court, who had orders to put him to death, and to bury him at the extremity of the town. As the officer was proceeding, before day-break, to carry his barbarous command into execution, he was obſerved by a Swediſh nobleman, who opened the ſack, and diſcovering the infant, reſcued him from immediate deſtruction. Guſtavus, thus preſerved, was conveyed from Sweden by the friends of Eric. He received a wandering education *, in the Jeſuits convent of Braunſberg, at Thorn in Poliſh Pruſſia, and at Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. In theſe different ſeminaries he made a conſiderable progreſs in literature; and, in particular, diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his proficiency

* Meſſ. Scond. Illuſ. Lib. VII. p. 10. Dahlin, IV. p. 158.

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in chemiſtry, that he was called the ſecond Paracelſus *. He was no leſs remarkable for his knowledge of languages, ſpeaking with fluency, beſide his native tongue, French, Italian, German, Poliſh, Ruſſian, and Latin. He was indeed ſo zealous in the proſecution of his ſtudies, that, on account of his indigent circumſtances, after attending the ſchools by day, he uſed in the evening to ply at the inns in the loweſt capacity, in order to procure a ſcanty ſubſiſtence. His literary acquiſitions, however, did not advance his fortune; for he paſſed a wandering life in the greateſt miſery; and was reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that he frequently had recourſe to charity; and, at other times, earned his livelihood by the meaneſt occupations †.

His diſtreſs was ſo great, that he even ventured to implore the aſſiſtance of his couſin Sigiſmond, king of Poland and Sweden, who perſuaded him to enter into the church, and conferred on him an abbey, from the revenues whereof he ſubſiſted for ſome time at Thorn. Induced, however, to quit Poland from a ſuſpicion of Sigiſmond, he accepted the preſſing invitations of the tzar Boris Godunof, who offered his daughter Irene in marriage, and his aſſiſtance to aſcend the throne of Sweden. Guſtavus, allured by theſe promiſes, repaired in 1599 to Moſcow, where he was received with thoſe honours, which, according to the Ruſſian ceremonial, were only paid to ſovereign princes. But the tzar ſoon withdrew his friendſhip, broke off the intended alliance, and, in 1601, removed Guſtavus to Uglitz. It is uncertain whether this change in the tzar's ſentiments was occaſioned by the refuſal

* Dahlin, IV. p. 157.

† Meſſenius ſays, Tom. VII. p. 10. "Et "quamvis ob nimiam puſillanimitatem, nec "ſceptro, nec pedo eſſet ille idoneus tamen "mediocres in litteris fecit progreſſus, libris "annis aliquot indefeſſus in tanta rerum om- "nium penuria adhærens, ut interdiu ſcholas "frequentaret, noctu autem in publicis Tu- "roniæ Vilnæque diverſoriis, ſuam hoſpitibus "operam in mundandis ocreis, phaleris, et "curandis equis, locando tenuem victum "amictumque ſibi compararet."

of the Swediſh prince to embrace the Greek religion; by his unwillingneſs to enter into hoſtilities againſt Sweden, and to diſmember Eſthonia and Finland in favour of Ruſſia; whether becauſe he appeared a prince of no ſpirit, and too puſillanimous * to proſecute any enterprize with vigour; or becauſe the contract of marriage between John prince of Denmark and the princeſs Irene, made his removal from Moſcow neceſſary. He reſided at Uglitz † until the acceſſion of Demetrius, who impriſoned him at Yaroſlaf for favouring Charles XI. king of Sweden. He was again releaſed by Vaſſili Shuiſki, upon the aſſaſſination of Demetrius, in May 1606, and permitted to reſide at Kaſkin, where he expired in the following year; but whether by poiſon, or by a natural death, is not aſcertained. CHAP. IX.

March 7. Between Weſteros and Arboga I changed horſes at the ſmall village of Kungſær, where, being tempted by the beauty of the ſituation, I roved about the environs, and upon the banks of the Mæler. This lake is extremely beautiful; it contains ſeveral iſlands rich in wood and paſture; its ſhores are hilly, feathered with trees, and diverſified with gentlemen's

* Meſſenius, when praiſing his piety and charitable diſpoſition, adds, "Tantaque fuerit "plenus commiſeratione, ut nè paſſeris qui-"dem, multò minus hominis, intueri potuerit "internecionem. Hincque plus æquo fuerit "puſillanimis, quæ ſubmiſſio mentis, non rarò "illius poſuit fortunæ obſtaculum." Scond. Illuſt. Tom. VIII. p. 100.

† The Swediſh hiſtorians aſſert, that Guſtavus was ſo attached to his native country, that no motives could induce him to enter into hoſtilities againſt it, and that this was the ſole cauſe of his removal. The Ruſſians, on the contrary, affirm, that Boris, finding him a prince without ſpirit and vigour, readily accepted the offer of the prince of Denmark to marry Irene; and therefore ſent Guſtavus to Uglitz. The Ruſſian and Swediſh hiſtorians differ alſo about his ſituation. The former ſay, that Uglitz was granted to him as a fief, and that he reſided there in great ſtate: the latter, that he was treated as a priſoner. Perhaps both are in the right. He might reſide in ſtate, and yet be watched as a kind of ſtate priſoner. As a confirmation of this account of the caſe, Margaret, who was at Moſcow at the time, ſays, "that he was ſent in diſgrace "to Uglitz; but had a revenue aſſigned to "him of £800 per annum." Etat de la Ruſſ. p. 96. For the hiſtory of this Guſtavus, ſee Dahlin, Vol. IV. paſſim. Meſſ. Scond. III. paſſim. Celſius Hiſt. d' Eric XIV. p. 245 and 274. Muller S. R. G. V. p. 95 to 101, and 295.

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ſeats and farm houſes. The lake, at leaſt that part which I ſaw, was ſtill covered with ice, but no longer capable of bearing carriages. It is uſually frozen over during a few weeks in winter; and opens an eaſy communication, by means of ſledges, between theſe parts and Stockholm.

Kungſær ſtands upon the mouth of the ſmall river Ulviſon, which flows into the weſtern extremity of the Mæler: this ſtream, which comes from Arboga, helps to form the communication between the lakes Mælar and Hielmar, by its junction with the canal of Arboga. Near Kungſær there is an old wooden building, or kind of palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden, with a manage and ſtables for the royal ſtud. From Kungſær ſtretches, about nine miles, almoſt as far as Arboga, a long narrow plain of rich paſture, which belongs to the king: it is watered by the Ulviſon, and ſkirted with gently riſing hills tufted with wood; produces great quantities of fine hay; and feeds a large number of cattle. I paſſed, in ſight of this ſmall plain, which is ſcarcely more than half a mile in breadth, through an undulating country, and arrived at the canal of Arboga, which I croſſed over a draw-bridge. The following inſcription informed me that the ſluice was begun by Charles XI. and finiſhed under the reign of his ſon Charles XII.

" Hoc aquarum repagulum juſſu Auguſtiſſimi quondam Sue-
" corum Regis Caroli XI. nunc in cœlis beati anno MDCXCI.
" inchoatum, ultimam manum ſceptra gerente Suevica Auguſ-
" tiſſimo Carolo XII. feliciter recepit MDCIC." This canal will be more properly deſcribed in this chapter on the inland navigation of Sweden.

Finding little worthy of notice in Arboga, I haſtened to Orebro, the capital of Nerike, where I paſſed the night: it ſtands near the weſtern extremity of the lake Hielmar; and is the largeſt town which I viſited ſince I quitted Stockholm. The houſes

houſes are chiefly conſtructed with wood; and, though only of one ſtory, are for the moſt part large and commodious. CHAP. IX.
Upon a ſmall iſland in the middle of the town, formed by two branches of the Swart, ſtands the caſtle, formerly a royal reſidence: it is an old ſquare building of brick and ſtone white waſhed, and is appropriated to the governor of the province. The inhabitants of Orebro ſend iron, vitriol, and red paint to Stockholm; and the trade which they carry on with that capital acroſs the Hielmar and Mæler, by means of the canal of Arboga, is very conſiderable. The town poſſeſſes manufactures of fire-arms, cloth, and tapeſtry. Upon quitting Orebro, I traverſed that part of the province of Nerike, which lies between the lakes Hielmar and Wenner; a fertile diſtrict, abounding in corn, paſture, and foreſt. Towards the cloſe of the day, I entered the province of Weſt Gothland, and paſſed the night in a peaſant's cottage at Hofva, a ſmall place, not far diſtant from the lake Skager.

March 9. About noon I arrived at Marieſtadt, a town built by Charles IX. ſituated upon the Tidla, a ſmall rivulet, and the lake Wenner. A new priſon of brick, ſtuccoed white, makes a finer appearance than any of the other houſes, which are moſtly built with wood, and painted of a red colour. From Marieſtadt I continued my route, for ſome time, at a ſmall diſtance from the Wenner, the largeſt lake in Sweden, being nearly ninety miles in length, and forty in breadth. Its ſhores in this part are low and level, ſo that the view over the ſurface of the water appears boundleſs like a ſea. I paſſed through Lindkioping, the inhabitants whereof carry on a conſiderable inland trade acroſs the Wenner, and down the river Gotha to Gotheborg. I ſtopped the night at the ſmall village of Malby, and arrived the next morning at Trolhætta, through an exceedingly dreary country, conſiſting chiefly of barren heaths, with ridges of rock almoſt naked, which exhibited

few

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few marks of vegetation. This village, containing ſcarcely a dozen houſes, is ſituated cloſe to the cataracts of the river Gotha; and is well known, on account of its ſtupendous works, with a view to open a paſſage for veſſels, by means of a navigable cut, called, from this place, the Canal of Trolhætta.

This canal forms part of a plan, long projected by the Swedes, to unite the Baltic and the German Ocean by an inland navigation, as well for the purpoſe of improving the interior trade of the provinces, as of preventing the interruption of their foreign commerce, which is always the conſequence of a war with Denmark. For as all veſſels ſailing out of the Baltic muſt neceſſarily paſs through the Sound, they are expoſed to the Daniſh privateers, who ſhelter themſelves under the batteries of Elſinoor, which command the paſſage of that ſtrait, unleſs a Swediſh fleet ſhould ride maſtreſs of the Gulf.

Guſtavus Vaſa was the firſt ſovereign who ſaw the utility of ſuch an inland navigation, when he made Lodeſe (now Gotheborg) a ſtaple town of trade, that the merchant ſhips coming to Sweden might not be obliged to ſail through the Sound; and he conceived hopes, that, in ſome future period, the merchandize might be tranſported from thence to Stockholm, by means of the Wenner, Hielmar, and Mæler, when the rivers and lakes uniting with them ſhould be rendered navigable *. Eric XIV. deſirous to carry his father's deſigns into execution, gave orders for ſurveying the waters communicating with theſe lakes, and directed plans to be formed for joining them by artificial canals †. But the execution of his great ſchemes was fruſtrated by the turbulence and misfortunes of his reign.

Several ſucceeding ſovereigns had this great object in view. Charles IX. promoted it by the Carliſgraf canal; and Charles XI.

* Dahlin, Vol. III. p. 115.

† Hiſt. d' Eric XIV.

by

by that of Arboga. The undertaking, however, of forming a water communication acroſs the whole country, was always conſidered as a work of extreme difficulty. Motraye ſays, that Guſtavus Adolphus was inclined to encourage the deſign, but that no perſon could be found in Sweden bold enough to engage in the enterprize: he adds, that Charles XI. ſent for ſome Dutch engineers, who, after they had meaſured the fall of the waters between the Wenner and the Hielmar, declared it to be impracticable. Difficulties, however inſurmountable as they might appear to perſons of more ſober underſtanding, were no barrier to the genius of Charles XII. The ſame author informs us, that the celebrated engineer, Polheim, laid before that king a propoſal for rendering the cataracts of Trolhætta navigable; and for opening a communication, not only between Gotheborg and Stockholm, but alſo with the Wenner, the Vetter, and Nordkioping, ſufficient for the paſſage of very large veſſels *. Polheim's plan was immediately approved, and begun by Charles, fond of extraordinary projects; and, though interrupted for ſome time by the king's death, was again revived with freſh vigour under the late ſovereign Adolphus Frederic.

This plan may be divided into three principal parts. 1. The junction of the Mæler and the Hielmar. 2. Of the Hielmar with the Wenner. 3. Of the Wenner with the German Ocean.

1. Of the junction of the Mæler with the Hielmar. Theſe two lakes are united by the ſmall river Ulviſon, and the canal of Arboga. The former riſes to the weſt of Arboga, flows through the town, and falls into the Mæler at Kungſær. The canal of Arboga is cut from the Hielmar, and continued to the Ulviſon about half a mile to the eaſt of the town. It was begun in the reign of Chriſtina; but being only calculated for

* Voyages de Motraye, vol. II. p. 282. 306.

ſmall

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ſmall veſſels, was widened and deepened by order of Charles XI. and completed under his ſucceſſor Charles XII. It belonged to the crown until 1769; at which period it had been ſo much neglected as to be ſcarcely of any uſe: but a company of ſeven merchants of Orebro undertook to cleanſe and repair it at their own expence, upon condition of receiving the toll of all veſſels which ſhould paſs through it. The canal is, excepting in a few parts, ſufficiently broad to receive two barks a-breaſt: its loweſt depth is 8 feet *. It is chiefly ſupplied with water from the lake Hielmar, the ſurface of which is 80 feet perpendicular higher than its level. It conſiſts of eight ſluices. The veſſels it admits are the ſame which navigate the lakes; they are decked and ſingle maſted; 76 feet long; about 43 tons burden; and draw between ſix and ſeven feet of water.

2. In order to join the Hielmar and Wenner, it was propoſed to open the navigation of the Swart-an, which falls into the weſtern extremity of the Hielmar at Orebro; to make a cut from that river to the lake Morken; from thence by the Let-an to the Skager; and from the Skager by the Gullſpang to the Wenner. Not having myſelf been in thoſe parts, I could only obtain the moſt authentic intelligence from perſons who have inſpected them: from their accounts I have reaſon to conclude, that the above-mentioned rivers are for the moſt part ſo ſhallow and ſtony, that it would be extremely difficult and expenſive to render them navigable; and as the faint attempts hitherto made upon the Gullſpang have all failed of ſucceſs, it has been propoſed to cut a canal directly from the lake Morken to Chriſtianham, which is ſituated upon the eaſtern ſhore of the Wenner. But as no part of this project had been as yet taken in hand, and the whole would be attended

* The foot uſed in this chapter is the Swediſh, which differs but little from the Engliſh. The proportion of the Engliſh being to that of the Swediſh as 1000 to 1027.

with

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with great difficulties; there is little proſpect that this branch of the great undertaking, the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, will ever be completed *.

3. The junction of the Wenner with the German Ocean comes next into conſideration: and this might be accompliſhed by the river Gotha, which iſſues from the ſouthern extremity of the lake near Wennerſborg, and, after a courſe of ſeventy miles, falls into the ſea near Gotheborg; provided that river could be made navigable throughout its whole courſe. But as, on account of ſhoals and cataracts, its ſtream is greatly impeded, the communication has been attempted by the Carlſgraf canal, the canal of Trolhætta, and the ſluices of Akerſtræm and Edit, which, therefore, I ſhall ſeparately deſcribe.

The channel of the river Gotha not being open and free upon its firſt iſſuing from the Wenner, a cut, from a bay of that lake to the river, was begun under Charles IX. but was not entirely completed before the reign of Charles XII. Polheim, whom I have already mentioned, erected, by order of that monarch, a ſluice; which, not being conſtructed upon a firm foundation, was ſcarcely finiſhed before it was undermined, and carried away by the water. From that time the Carlſgraf canal remained without a ſluice, and conſequently without a veſſel paſſing it, until the reign of Adolphus Frederic. In 1754 a new ſluice was finiſhed, which received the appellation of Teſſin, in honour of the prime miniſter of that name. It was formed by a ſubterraneous paſſage, 40 feet long, 18 broad, and 12 high. But theſe dimenſions were too ſmall for the admiſſion of veſſels of more than 40 tons burden; and

* From the almoſt inſuperable difficulties attending the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, a plan was projected of forming an inland navigation from the eaſtern coaſt of Sweden ſouth of the Mæler, by means of the Wetter to the Wenner; and in 1774 a map was publiſhed for the purpoſe of proving the ſcheme to be practicable.

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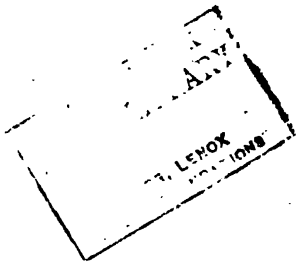
it frequently happened that even theſe could not paſs whenever there was either too much or too little water. In relief of theſe difficulties another ſluice, called, in honour of the preſent king, the ſluice of Guſtavus, was completed in 1768. This ſuperb work is a cut of 400 feet (half of which was perforated through the ſolid rock), and conſiſts of two locks, each 200 feet in length, and 36 in breadth: the ſides are ſtrongly faced with brick and ſtone. The greateſt depth of water is 13, the loweſt 6 feet. The uſual veſſels which navigate this canal are of 80 tons burden; but when the water is high, larger may paſs: in 1777 one of 133 tons worked its way through.

From the end of this canal to the village of Trolhætta, which includes a ſpace of about five miles, the navigation of the river is uninterrupted: it flows in a gentle current; varies in its breadth from 300 yards to a mile; and is, in a few parts, prettily ſprinkled with iſlands, ſome whereof are barren rock, others tufted with wood and covered with arable ſoil. Near Trolhætta two ridges of mountains, which on each ſide run at a ſmall diſtance from the river, approach its banks, and confine its ſtream in a narrow channel. In this ſpot it is about 400 feet in breadth, as ſmooth as a lake, and without any viſible ſtream: a fine contraſt to the roaring of the torrent below. This ſmoothneſs of the water continues till it burſts at once into the cataracts of Trolhætta, called the Gulfs of Hell, which render all farther navigation impoſſible. The bed of the river is ſolid rock; the banks are perpendicular; and, at the beginning of the fall, ſeveral granite iſlands, thinly ſtrewed with underwood, junipers, and ſtubbed pines, riſe in the midſt of the ſtream, forming ſmall ſtraits, down which the water daſhes with increaſing impetuoſity.

From the firſt opening of the fall to the part where the river again becomes navigable, is about two miles; but it does

not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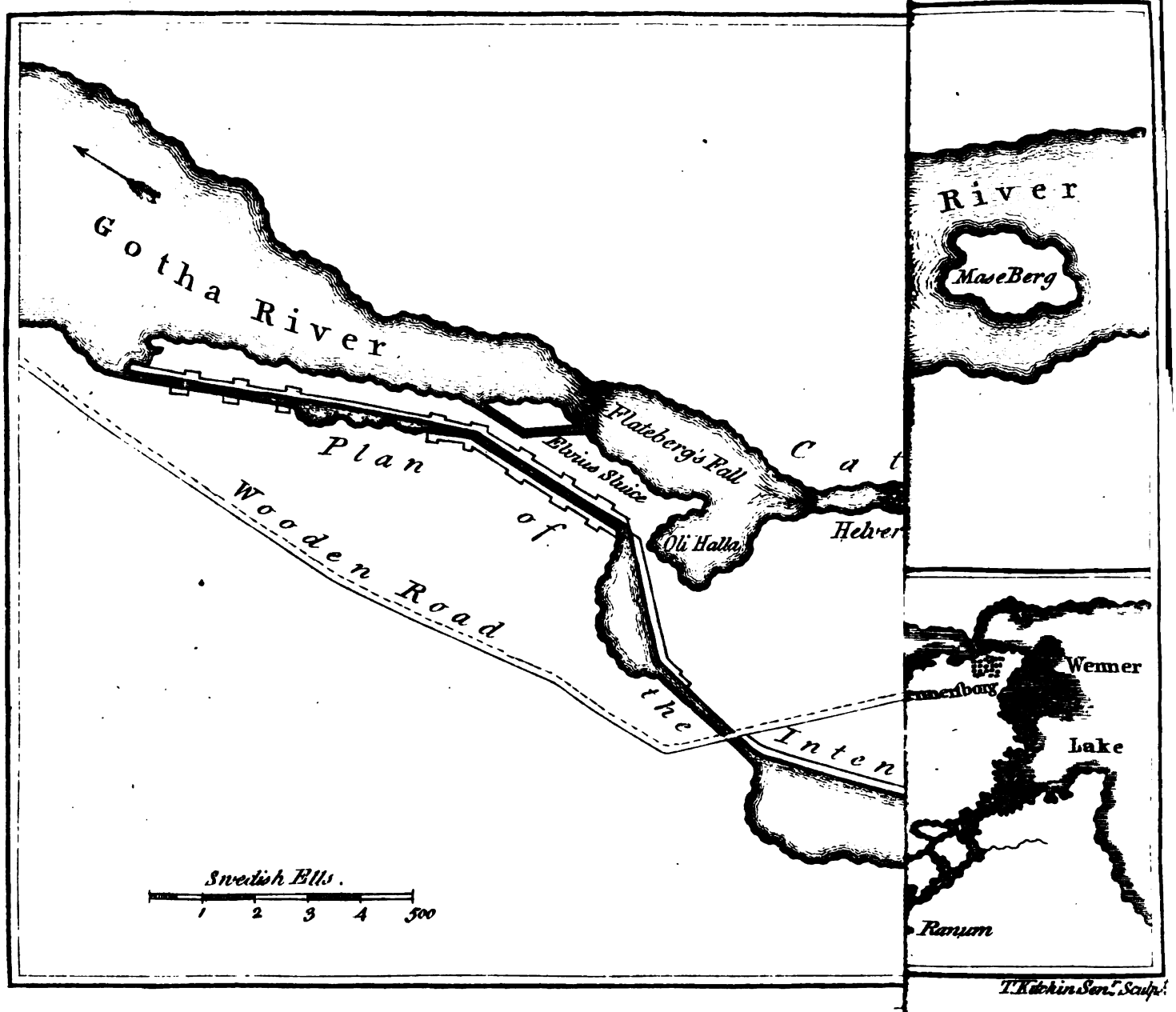
Gotha River
Plan of Wooden Road
Platebergs Fall
Elwius Sluice
Oli Halla
Cat
Hebver
the Inten
Swedish Ells.
1 2 3 4 500
River
Maseberg
Wenner
Lake
Ranum
T. Kitchin Sen.r Sculp.t

not roll through the whole of this ſpace in one uniform ſheet of water, or with equal rage and violence. It is divided into four principal cataracts, each whereof is ſeparated by whirlpools and eddies, forming, during the whole way, the moſt awful ſcenes, ever varying, and too ſublime to be accurately deſcribed. The perpendicular height of all the falls, conſidered as one, is about 100 feet. From this deſcription the reader will readily conceive the extreme difficulty of rendering theſe cataracts navigable; and yet it was even through the midſt of them that the daring projector attempted to form a canal, by the following works, which are marked in the annexed plan.

Juſt above the firſt cataract, called Praſtenkeſdet Fall, ſeveral dams were conſtructed, which turned the ſtream, and left the main bed of the river quite dry. In this part ſome rocky iſlands were cut through, or blown up; the bed was rendered level, and the cataract nearly turned into ſtill water. To continue the navigation, an iſland of red granite, called Malg, which riſes in the midſt of the great cataract, was divided, and a canal formed through it of 340 feet in length, including a ſluice of 30: the depth of the fall, and, of courſe, the depth of the perforated rock, is $23\frac{1}{3}$ feet; the breadth 18. This is called Ekerbrad ſluice, and was deſigned to conſiſt of two locks. At a ſmall diſtance another canal was formed on the ſide of the ſecond great cataract, through a kind of promontory which projects into the ſtream; the ſolid granite was hollowed 860 feet in length, $56\frac{1}{2}$ in depth, and 18 in breadth. This ſluice, called Polheim's ſluice, was to conſiſt of three locks, by which veſſels were to be let down a fall of $56\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At the diſtance of 2920 feet, a third cut was made cloſe to Flateberg's fall, terminating in the ſluice of Elvius, the laſt of this projected plan. The length of the cut is 28 feet; the breadth 18; and the depth or height of the fall $34\frac{1}{4}$.

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In order to form ſome idea in what manner the navigation was to be continued from the ſluice of Polheim to that of Elvius, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort delineation of the intervening ſpace.

A little below the ſluice of Polheim the river daſhes through a narrow paſs, called Stampſtræm; from thence it gradually widens into a kind of bay, named Hoyon's Warp; it is again cramped into a narrow channel by the nearer approach of the rocks on each ſide, and forms a cataract, called Helvert's Fall; at the extremity of which it expands itſelf into a ſmall baſon, called Oli-Halla; and then again precipitates itſelf at Flateberg's Fall; from whence it becomes navigable. Inſtead of continuing any works through the cataracts, or by the ſide of the river, the communication between the ſluices of Polheim and Elvius was attempted in the following manner. A dyke of ſtone was conſtructed acroſs the river juſt below Flateberg's Fall and the ſluice of Elvius, with a view of raiſing the water 34 feet and $\frac{1}{4}$, turning its courſe through the ſluice of Elvius, and forming a level with the bottom of that of Polheim. This chimerical project, which ſeems rather too ridiculous to have been ſeriouſly entertained, was however attempted. The king himſelf viſited the work, and all Sweden was in eager expectation, that their favourite national hopes would at length be realized. The dyke was built; the river had riſen 12 feet of the 34; when, in an inſtant, the weight of waters burſt the barrier, too feeble to reſtrain them, and ſwept away, in one moment, the labours and expence of ſeveral years *. Large ſubſidies had been annually raiſed for the proſecution of the work; and the national bank had readily advanced ſtill greater loans; the ſum total whereof has never been divulged. The failure of the project, after ſuch immenſe labour and enor-

* The immenſity of the expence will be beſt conceived by conſidering that all the cuts were made through the ſolid granite, the hardeſt of all ſtones.

mous

mous expence, occaſioned great diſcontents among the people; many of whom to this day believe, though there ſeems no foundation for the ſuppoſition, that the projectors, bribed by the Danes, purpoſely proceeded upon a plan which they knew could not ſucceed. But thus much is evident, that, throughout the whole undertaking, the works, ſtupendous in themſelves, were conducted without reaſonable care and attention; for after all, the cuts, which had been excavated with ſuch difficulty, being only 18 feet in breadth, would have been too narrow to have admitted veſſels of ſuch ſize and burthen as uſually navigate the Wenner. In a word, ſeveral ill-judged meaſures ſeem to have been taken; otherwiſe, although there were many natural obſtructions to the ſucceſs of the enterprize, yet greater obſtacles have been ſurmounted. But Polheim was not a Brindley.

In conſequence of this failure, all the works and ſluices hitherto raiſed were neglected, as totally uſeleſs, and a new plan for the canal of Trolhætta has been projected; according to which, inſtead of being carried, as before, along the channel of the river, it is to be cut through the ſolid rock that forms its banks. The plan of this laſt project is laid down in the annexed engraving. The length is to be 4700 feet, the breadth 36, and the depth in ſome parts above 50. It is to conſiſt of nine ſluices; and when we reflect that the whole of this cut muſt be hollowed through the red granite, it is evident that it will be attended with as many, if not more difficulties, than were experienced in the former attempt. It muſt by no means, however, be condemned as impracticable. The canal of the duke of Bridgewater, that of Languedoc, and the road through the mountain Gemmi in Switzerland, prove that ſcarcely any thing is impoſſible to human induſtry.

The chief queſtion, in this reſpect, ſeems to be, whether the enormous expence attending the execution of the work would

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would be compenſated by the advantages reſulting from its completion. And here, if we merely take into conſideration the navigation from the Wenner to Gotheborg, we may venture to decide in the negative. But if we preſume, that at any future period the communication ſhould be formed from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Wenner, as in that caſe the cataracts of Trolhætta would be the only remaining interruption to the inland navigation from the eaſtern to the weſtern coaſt of Sweden, the accompliſhment of this canal could not ſurely be obtained at too dear a rate.

His preſent majeſty, who, ſoon after his acceſſion, viſited theſe works at Trolhætta, wiſely ordered them for the preſent to be ſuſpended; but that the ſluices of Guſtavus and Aker ſhould be finiſhed without delay. Meanwhile, in order to facilitate the tranſport of the merchandize from the diſtricts bordering upon the Wenner to Gotheborg, a wooden road has been conſtructed on the ſide of the river, from the beginning to the end of the cataracts. It is ſupported upon poſts over the rocks, which, from their irregularity and roughneſs, would have been almoſt impaſſable for horſes.

About a mile below the cataracts, the courſe of the Gotha is again interrupted by a fall, called Akerſtræm: there a canal has been made through a rock which projected into the river; the length of it is 182 feet, including the ſluice; depth 26; and breadth 36. This cut was begun in 1774; it was far advanced when I ſaw it, and, it was expected, would be opened in 1781.

From Akerſtræm the river is clear to Gotheborg, excepting at Edit, where its paſſage is ſtopped by a bed of rocks riſing in the midſt of the ſtream. On one ſide of theſe rocks another cut has been made, 600 feet in length, 20 in depth, but only 18 in breadth. The work is ill executed; and, when I was there,

there, was in bad order. A petition had been preſented to the king, that it might be repaired and improved to the ſame breadth as Aker-ſluice; and there was no doubt of its being effected. CHAP. IX.

The iron and other merchandize, is now tranſported acroſs the lake to Wennerſborg; and from thence through the Carlſgraf canal, and down the river Gotha to Trolhætta. Upon coming to the cataracts, the goods are unloaded, and carried over the wooden road about two miles to the end of the falls. There they are again embarked, and paſſing through the Akerſtræm and Edit ſluices, upon a ſuppoſition that they are by this time completed, arrive without further impediment at Gotheborg. In return, ſalt, ſpices, corn, tea, and other commodities of interior conſumption, are ſent up by the ſame channel into the provinces about the Wenner.

CHAP. X.

Gotheborg.—*Its trade.*—Eaſt India *Company.*—*Herring Fiſhery.*—*General remarks on the commerce of* Sweden.—*Journey from* Gotheborg *to* Carlſcrona.—*Cottages, food, manners, &c. of the peaſants.*

THE ſcenery of the country from Trolhætta to Gotheborg is wild and romantic beyond deſcription. Innumerable ridges of barren rocks ſtretch in all directions; and between them lie the moſt fertile plains, which ſeldom exceed a mile in breadth, watered by the river Gotha: The mountains, which are compoſed of granite, are entirely deſtitute of trees,

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and many of them ſcarcely exhibit the ſmalleſt appearance of vegetation. In this part of Sweden I obſerved none of thoſe detached fragments of granite, which ſo abundantly overſpread as well many of its inland provinces, as the coaſt bordering on the Gulf of Bothnia.

In moſt places the river flows with a gentle current, and in a narrow channel, and is in ſome parts navigable only for ſmall craft of about 20 tons burden. About ten miles from Gotheborg it divides itſelf into three branches; two of which unite again after having encircled a ſmall rocky iſland, upon the top of which ſtands the fort of Bohus, a pictureſque object, much celebrated in the early hiſtory of Sweden, and at that time eſteemed impregnable. The ſtream formed by the union of theſe two branches is called the Northern River, and falls into the ſea after a courſe of about ten miles. The third branch, which I followed to Gotheborg, retains its original name of Gotha: the ſpace included between the Northern River and the Gotha is named the iſland of Hiſingen.

Gotheborg, which is diſtinguiſhed by a commodious port, occupies the ſcite of an ancient town, named Lodeſe, that was built by Guſtavus Vaſa; and being endowed with conſiderable privileges, ſoon became the great emporium for the trade of the weſtern provinces. Charles IX. when duke of Gothland, having, in 1604, laid the foundations of a new town in the iſland of Hiſingen at no great diſtance from Lodeſe, called it Gotheborg, in honour of his duchy. Upon his acceſſion to the throne, he erected in his new town a trading company; drew thither many foreigners, particularly the Dutch, to whom he allowed an exemption from all duties of export and import during twenty years; a corps of Engliſh and Scotch troops, under the command of William Stewart; and granted to the Calviniſts eſtabliſhed therein the free exerciſe of their religion, the firſt place in Sweden where this toleration

was

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was permitted. By theſe means Gotheborg ſoon became a flouriſhing port*; and, next to Stockholm, the moſt commercial town in Sweden. The town, being in 1611 reduced to aſhes by the Danes, was rebuilt in the reign of Guſtavus Adolphus in its preſent ſituation, and obtained a confirmation of its antient rights, with the grant of ſeveral additional privileges.

Gotheborg is built in a very ſingular ſituation. At a ſmall diſtance from the ſea is a marſhy plain, ſcarcely more than half a mile in breadth, watered by the rivers Gotha and Moldal, and almoſt entirely incloſed with high ridges of rocks, ſo bare and rugged, that they ſcarcely produce a ſingle blade of graſs, and exhibit as barren an appearance as the ſummits of the loftieſt Alps. Gotheborg ſtands partly upon the ridges, and partly in the plain; and is divided, from theſe different ſituations, into the Upper and Lower Town. The latter is entirely level, interſected by ſeveral canals in the manner of the Dutch towns; and its houſes are all conſtructed upon piles: the upper part hangs on the declivities; and rows of buildings riſe one above the other like the ſeats of an amphitheatre. The whole is regularly fortified; and its circumference is near three miles, excluſive of the ſuburbs, called Haga, which lie towards the harbour. The ſtreets are all uniformly ſtraight: a few of the houſes are of brick; but the generality are conſtructed with wood painted red. The harbour is formed by two chains of rocks, and is about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Its entrance is defended by the fort of New Elfſborg, which ſtands upon a ſmall rocky iſland, and contains a garriſon of 250 men.

* A medal was ſtruck in 1610, comparing this ſudden increaſe of Gotheborg to the growth of a tree from a ſlip: on one ſide the king's name and title, with an inſcription, "Gotheb. "Prin. Fund. & Condit." On the reverſe a large tree, from which hang ſuſpended the arms of Gotheborg: beneath are the river Gotha, and the fortreſs Elfſborg, with the following motto:

Quæ præbet latas arbor ſpatiantibus umbras,
Quo poſita eſt primum tempore virga fuit. Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 422.

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There has been lately eſtabliſhed at Gotheborg, a Royal Society of Sciences and Literature, upon the plan of that of Upſala. Its Acts, which are written in the Swediſh tongue, and printed in the octavo form, contain various ſubjects in the ſeveral branches of ſcience, natural hiſtory, antiquities, hiſtory, and polite letters *.

I was informed by a merchant who had reſided two and twenty years at Gotheborg, that, during that period, its population has increaſed conſiderably, and that it now contains about 30,000 inhabitants. This flouriſhing ſtate is undoubtedly owing to the extenſion of its commerce, particularly its Eaſt India Company, and the ſucceſs of the herring fiſhery.

In 1731 a company of merchants was eſtabliſhed, with the excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies for 15 years; and after various alterations of their charter, the monopoly was, at the laſt renewal, confirmed for 20 years, on condition that the company ſhould advance to government a loan of £ 124,980, one third whereof without intereſt; and ſhould pay £ 3,125 for every veſſel proceeding on a trading voyage to the Eaſt Indies. This company is merely a ſociety of merchants, who ſend annually two or three veſſels to China. As the port of Stockholm, in the Gulf of Bothnia, is cloſed with ice until the ſeaſon is too far advanced for ſhips to take their departure from thence to the Eaſt Indies, the company carries on its commerce from Gotheborg, whoſe harbour, being ſituated in the German ocean, is always open. The following is the nature of this traffic: Sweden containing little ſpecie, and few manufactures for exportation, the captain of each veſſel firſt proceeds to Cadiz, where he borrows, in the company's name, 100,000 piaſtres, at the intereſt of 30 per cent; he then ſails to

* At Lund was alſo inſtituted, in 1776, a Royal Phyſiographical Society, which was incorporated by the king in 1778. The ſubjects treated of in its Acts relate only to natural hiſtory, chymiſtry, and agriculture.

Canton,

Canton, and purchaſes tea, porcelain, and other Chineſe commodities, which, upon his return to Sweden, are diſpoſed of to great advantage. The uſual net profit upon the whole cargo being 70 per cent.; the gain, when the intereſt is deducted, amounts to about 40 per cent. CHAP. X.

In 1740, the herrings, which had hitherto never approached the weſtern ſhore of Sweden, flocking in ſhoals to that coaſt, the inhabitants of Gotheborg eſtabliſhed a fiſhery, which has been attended with conſiderable advantage. Its increaſing produce will appear from the following table:

In 1752 it yielded only 1000 barrels * of herrings.

In 1753	- -	20,766	In 1762	- -	142,091
1754	- -	52,828	1763	- -	186,614½
1755	- -	74,791	1764	- -	99,616¼
1761	- -	117,212¼	1768	- -	151,483

An Engliſh conſul and ſeveral merchants of our nation reſide at Gotheborg: and a chapel, with a regular chaplain, is appropriated to their uſe.

As I did not remain a ſufficient time in Sweden to gain accurate and circumſtantial information concerning the commerce, I can only add the following particulars in addition to what has been already laid down upon the trade of Gotheborg.

By the navigation act paſſed in the diet of 1722, foreign veſſels are not allowed to bring into Sweden any productions but thoſe of their own countries, or to tranſport them from one port to another. The principal exports of Sweden are copper, iron, ordnance ſtores, maſts, planks, pitch and tar, train-oil, alum, pot-aſh, ſalt-petre, gunpowder, ſalt, ſalted fiſh, ſoap, vitriol. Its imports, tin, lead, grain, tobacco, ſnuff, wines, hardware, ſilk and ſilken ſtuffs, paper, tea and coffee, ſugar, ſpices, drugs, thread, hemp, wool. Cantzler †, whoſe accurate ac-

* A barrel contains 1000 herrings.

† Memoires ſur les Affaires Polit. et Econom. de Suede, p. 374.

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count of Sweden cannot be too much recommended to the curious reader, informs us, that of the export trade Stockholm carries on $\frac{7}{11}$, Gotheborg $\frac{2}{11}$, and the other ſtaple towns $\frac{4}{11}$; and of the import commerce, Stockholm $\frac{1}{2}$, Gotheborg $\frac{1}{4}$, and the other towns $\frac{1}{4}$.

As the diſtricts which I paſſed from Upſala to Trolhætta are eſteemed the fineſt and moſt populous parts of Sweden, thoſe which I traverſed from Gotheborg to Carlſcrona, through the province of Smoland, are ſaid to be the wildeſt, leaſt inhabited, and the moſt uncultivated regions of this kingdom. The diſtance between Gotheborg and Carlſcrona is 38 Swediſh, or 247 Engliſh miles; and in this extent of ground only one place dignified with the name of a town preſented itſelf. The villages, for the moſt part, conſiſted of ſix or ſeven houſes; and ſometimes, where I ſtopped to change horſes, I found nothing but a ſingle ſolitary cottage: yet, along this ſeemingly inhoſpitable track, I met with good roads, tolerable accommodations, and a cheerful and contented peaſantry.

March 15. I quitted Gotheborg, and paſſed over a ſucceſſion of barren rocks with few trees, ſimilar to thoſe which ſtretch along the coaſts of the German Ocean near Gotheborg. As I advanced, the country became ſomewhat more fertile. Hills of granite appeared leſs frequent, but large maſſes were ſcattered over the face of the country. The region which I traverſed in this and the following day, though wild, and not capable of much cultivation, was yet infinitely diverſified. It was an hilly diſtrict, in many parts overſpread with foreſts of pines, beech, and oak, interſperſed with paſture and ſmall plains of arable land, ſprinkled with ſeveral pictureſque lakes, and watered by numberleſs rivulets, clear as chryſtal, and gurgling over their ſtony channels.

During one poſt of this day's route I was driven by a peaſant's daughter; and as the roads were in many parts exceedingly

ingly ſteep, it required ſome ſtrength, and much dexterity, to direct the horſes, and to prevent the carriage from being overturned; I propoſed that my ſervant, who was an expert driver, ſhould take the reins: the girl, however, offended at my queſtioning her ſkill, peremptorily rejected my propoſal; and, placing herſelf in the poſtillion's ſeat, drove off at full ſpeed, governing the horſes in ſuch a ſkilful manner, that ſhe ſoon quieted my apprehenſions, and we arrived at the end of the poſt without the ſlighteſt alarm; nor was I for the future in the leaſt apprehenſive of truſting myſelf to the guidance of a Swediſh country girl. CHAP. X.

I paſſed the night at Hunnaryd in a peaſant's cottage, and ſet off early in the morning; but had not proceeded far before I was obliged to ſtop at Giſſavy, to repair a wheel of my carriage: the place contained but one ſmith, and he had lately become blind; and as none of the wheels in the village would fit the axle-tree, I purchaſed a new axle-tree and four wheels, for the ſum of £ 1. 16s. upon which the body of my cart being placed, I proceeded on my journey. A little beyond Giſſavy, I croſſed a rivulet near an iron foundery. The native ore is procured in ſmall round pieces, about the ſize of pea-ſhot, from the bottom of a neighbouring lake, and forged into excellent iron.

Soon afterwards, I quitted the mountainous diſtrict, and deſcended gradually into a ſandy plain, diverſified with woods, lakes, and corn-fields. About ſeven miles from Vernamo, where I took my ſtation for the night, I again came into a hilly country, and advanced to Wexio, a town ſeated upon the banks of a pleaſant lake, which contained a group of woody iſlands. The town, though a biſhop's ſee, is exceedingly ſmall: the houſes are moſtly conſtructed with wood; the inhabitants chiefly ſubſiſt by the traffic in cattle, that graze in the luxuriant paſtures, with which the intervals of the moſt barren mountains and extenſive foreſts are occaſionally enriched.

As

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As in the courſe of this route I conſtantly took my repaſt during the day, and paſſed every night in the cottages, I had frequent opportunities of obſerving the euſtoms, manners, and food of the peaſants. Upon entering a cottage, I uſually found all the family employed in carding flax, ſpinning thread, and in weaving coarſe linen, and ſometimes cloth. The peaſants are excellent contrivers, and apply the coarſeſt materials to ſome uſeful purpoſe. They twiſt ropes from ſwines' briſtles, horſes' manes, and bark of trees, and uſe eel-ſkins for bridles. Their food principally conſiſts of ſalted fleſh and fiſh, eggs, milk, and hard bread. At Michaelmas they uſually kill their cattle, and ſalt them for the enſuing Winter and Spring. Twice in the year they bake their bread in large round cakes, which are ſtrung upon files of ſticks, and ſuſpended cloſe to the cielings of the cottages. They are ſo hard as to be occaſionally broken with a hatchet, but are not unpleaſant. The peaſants uſe beer for their common drink, and are much addicted to malt ſpirits. In the diſtricts towards the weſtern coaſts, and at no great diſtance inland, tea and coffee are not unuſually found in the Swediſh cottages, which are procured in great plenty, and at a cheap rate, from Gotheborg.

The peaſants are well clad in ſtrong cloth of their own weaving. Their cottages, though built with wood, and only of one ſtory, are comfortable and commodious. The room in which the family ſleep is provided with ranges of beds in tiers (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf), one above the other: upon the wooden teſters of the beds in which the women lie, are placed others for the reception of the men, to which they aſcend by means of ladders. To a perſon who has juſt quitted Germany, and been accuſtomed to tolerable inns, the Swediſh cottages may perhaps appear miſerable hovels; to me, who had been long uſed to places of far inferior accommodation, they ſeemed almoſt palaces. The traveller is able to procure many conveniences,

ences, and particularly a ſeparate room from that inhabited by the family, which could ſeldom be obtained in the Poliſh and Ruſſian villages. During my courſe through thoſe two countries, a bed was a phænomenon which ſeldom occurred, excepting in the large towns, and even then not always completely equipped; but the pooreſt huts of Sweden were never deficient in this article of comfort: an evident proof that the Swediſh peaſants are more civilized than thoſe of Poland and Ruſſia. After having witneſſed the ſlavery of the peaſants in thoſe two countries, it was a pleaſing ſatisfaction to find myſelf again among freemen, in a kingdom where there is a more equal diviſion of property; where there is no vaſſalage, where the loweſt order enjoy a ſecurity of their perſons and property; and where the advantages reſulting from this right are viſible to the commoneſt obſerver.

On the 18th at noon I quitted the province of Smoland, and entered that of Blekinge. As I approached the ſhores of the Baltic towards Carlſcrona, ridges of granite again made their appearance, ſometimes bare, ſometimes covered with heath, or clothed with foreſt. About half a mile from Carlſcrona we came upon a fine view of that town, ſtanding in an iſland.

During a fortnight's progreſs from Stockholm to Carlſcrona, through a tract of about 500 Engliſh miles, the weather was ſo clear, dry, and delightful, that I felt no inconvenience from performing the journey in an open cart. There was a gentle froſt at night and morning; but the remaining part of the day was cheered with a genial ſun. The Spring, indeed, of that year was remarkably forward and exceedingly mild. The port of Carlſcrona, which is frequently cloſed with ice until the month of April, was open early in March. The peaſants of Upland and Weſtmanland ſeldom till their lands before April*; but I obſerved, during my paſſage through thoſe provinces in

* Am. Acad. p. 372; alſo Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 153.

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the beginning of March, that the husbandmen had already begun to plough the fields, and to sow their barley and oats. The rapid progress of vegetation in these northern regions was extremely visible from the quick shooting of the pasture and young corn, which, though the snow had only been melted three weeks, were in a flourishing state.

I was greatly surprized to find that Sweden would produce sufficient grain for the interior consumption of the inhabitants, if such large quantities were not employed in the distillation of malt spirits. The northern parts of Sweden and Finland produce excellent rye; and the southern provinces yield wheat, oats, and barley. The wheat and rye are sown in the middle of August, and are reaped in the same month of the following year. Barley and oats are consigned to the ground in Spring immediately upon the melting of the snow: the former is cut down towards the end of August; and the oats about the middle of September.

CHAP. XI.

Carlscrona.—*New docks.*—Swedish *fleet.*—*Sailors.*—Christianstadt.—Helsingborg.—*General remarks on the mode of travelling in* Sweden.—*Post-horses.*—*Roads.*—*Similarity between many general expressions in the* English *and* Swedish *tongues.*

CARLSCRONA derives its origin and name from Charles XI. who first laid the foundations of a new town in 1680, and removed the fleet from Stockholm to this place, on account of its advantageous situation in the center of the Swedish seas, and the

the ſuperior ſecurity of its harbour. The greateſt part of Carl- CHAP. XI.
ſcrona ſtands upon a ſmall rocky iſland, which riſes gently in a bay of the Baltic; the ſuburbs extend over another ſmall rock, and along the mole cloſe to the baſon where the fleet is moored. The way into the town from the main land is carried over a dyke to an iſland, and from thence along two long wooden bridges joined by a barren rock. The town is ſpacious, and contains about 18,000 inhabitants. It is adorned with one or two handſome churches, and a few tolerable houſes of brick; but the generality of buildings are of wood. The ſuburbs are fortified towards the land by a ſtone wall. The entrance into the harbour, which by nature is extremely difficult from a number of ſhoals and rocky iſlands, is ſtill further ſecured from the attack of an enemy's fleet by two ſtrong forts built on two iſlands, under the batteries of which all veſſels muſt paſs.

During our ſtay at Carlſcrona, we received great civilities, and were entertained in the moſt hoſpitable manner by many perſons of the firſt diſtinction; and had no difficulty in obtaining permiſſion to inſpect the dock-yard, and the whole fleet.

Formerly veſſels in this port, when careened and repaired, were laid upon their ſides in the open harbour, until a dock, according to a plan given by Polheim, was hollowed in the ſolid rock: it was begun in 1714, and finiſhed in 1724; but, as it was too ſmall for the admiſſion of men of war, it has lately been enlarged, and is now capable of receiving a ſhip of the firſt rate. Its dimenſions are in length 190 Swediſh feet; in depth 33; and in breadth 46. It contains 300,000 cubic feet of water, and is uſually emptied in ten hours. Ninety men are employed in pumping at the ſame time, and are relieved every half hour by the ſame number. This being at preſent the only receptacle for the repairing of ſhips, new docks have been begun upon a ſtupendous plan worthy of the antient Romans.

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According to the original ſcheme, it was intended to conſtruct thirty docks, for building and laying up the largeſt ſhips, at the extremity of the harbour.

A large baſon, capable of admitting two men of war, is deſigned to communicate, by ſluices, with two ſmaller baſons, from each of which are to extend, like the radii of a circle, five rows of covered docks: each row is to be ſeparated by walls of ſtone; and each dock to be provided with ſluice-gates, ſo as to be filled or emptied by means of pumps. Cloſe to the docks, magazines for naval ſtores are to be conſtructed, and the whole to be encloſed with a ſtone wall.

The project was begun in 1757, but was much neglected until the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, who warmly patronized the arduous undertaking. At the commencement of the works, £25,000 were annually expended upon them; which ſum has been leſſened to about £6,000 per annum; and the number of docks reduced to twenty.

The following was the ſtate of theſe works in March 1779.

The firſt large baſon was finiſhed. Its dimenſions are 250 feet in length, 110 in breadth, and 32 in depth. The greateſt part has been hollowed out of the rock, which was perforated under water, and the excavations filled with gun-powder introduced and exploded through hollow tubes. The rock being thus blown up and removed, the bottom and ſides were afterwards ſmoothed, cemented with puzzulana brought from Naples, and nicely finiſhed to an even ſurface. Three of the ſides are faced with hewn granite; and the fourth is defended from the violence of the waves by a pier of the ſame material. The two entrances into the ſmaller baſons were nearly completed, and the ſluice-gates, of a ſingular conſtruction, were building: they are hollow machines, and are ſo contrived, that, when filled with water, they afford a paſſage to the ſhip by ſinking, and riſe again when emptied. The principle of mechanics by which they

they act is ſomewhat ſimilar to that of the kameels employed in conveying large veſſels over the bars at Amſterdam and Peterſburgh *. The two ſmaller baſons, formed by excavations of the rock, and of a ſemi-circular ſhape, were partly finiſhed. CHAP. XI.

With reſpect to the docks, the materials were prepared for their conſtruction; and the rock in ſome places had been blown away, and in others the earth had been removed. The bottom of one was already completed; its ſhape was elliptical; the platform and lower part of the walls were compoſed of hewn granite, and cemented with puzzulana; and the ſtones, upon which the keel of a new ſhip was to be laid down, were adjuſted. It was expected that this dock would be entirely covered in before the end of 1779. It was computed, that one new dock would be annually finiſhed; and that in twenty years this grand undertaking would be carried into execution. The water will be introduced, and pumped out, by windmills, or by hands, as occaſion requires.

The primary view and intention of this grand plan was to obtain dry docks, for the purpoſe of keeping the whole fleet entirely covered from wind and weather. It has, however, been a queſtion much agitated in Sweden, whether large veſſels are not more effectually preſerved in water, than when ſecured in dry docks; a ſolution of which can only be given by perſons well experienced in naval affairs. But ſhould this be allowed, yet theſe docks will ſtill be greatly ſerviceable for the conſtruction and repairing, if not for the preſervation of ſhips.

The ſhips are built at Carlſcrona, chiefly by Engliſh artizans. Though the provinces of Blekinge and Skone abound with oaks, yet, as there is not a ſufficiency for a continued ſupply, the Swedes procure their ſhip-timber from Germany. They made their two laſt contracts with the king of Pruſſia; the firſt

* See p. 207 of this volume.

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for 400,000 Swediſh cubic feet *; the laſt for 200,000. The latter were delivered in 1778, at the rate of 5*s.* 10*d.* per cubic foot. They are ſupplied from their own territories with maſts and deals, pitch and tar, and the greateſt part of the flax uſed in the navy; and manufacture their own ropes and ſails from hemp chiefly imported from Riga. They caſt their own cannon, and make their own gunpowder with Swediſh ſaltpetre. The harbour of Carlſcrona, in which the Swediſh fleet lies at anchor, is large and commodious, with depth of water ſufficient for ſhips of the firſt rate to carry their lower tier of guns.

Upon paper, the Swediſh navy, in 1779, amounted to 30 ſhips of the line, including thoſe of 40 guns, and 15 frigates, beſide gallies, prames, and xebecs. But as ſeveral of theſe veſſels were very old and exceedingly out of repair, we could not eſtimate thoſe fit for ſervice at that period to have been more than 20 ſhips of the line, and 10 frigates.

Though I was not able to obtain a complete catalogue of the whole navy; yet the following liſt of all the ſhips then in commiſſion, and fitting out for a cruiſe in the Baltic in 1779, the æra of the armed neutrality, will help to ſupply the deficiency.

Veſſels fitting out in March 1779.

Names.	Guns.	Names.	Guns.
Sophia Magdalena, new	74	Vaſa, new	60
Guſtavus III. new	74	Upland, ſtationed at Gotheborg	40
Prince Guſtavus	74	Jaramas	40
Gotha Lyon	74	Swart Orn	40
King Adolphus Frederic	70	Illerin, bound to Morocco	36
Frederic Adolphus, new	64	Prince Guſtavus, new	32
Sophia Albertina	64	Trolle, in Finland	32
Enigheten	64	Erenſvard, in Finland	32
Finland	60		

The ſeamen belonging to government are regiſtered, and amount to 18,000; of theſe ſome receive their pay in money; and others are diſtributed in the ſame manner as the national militia, ſmall portions of land in the iſlands and upon the ſea-

* 1027 Swediſh feet = 1000 Engliſh feet.

coaſt

coaſt being aſſigned to them for their ſubſiſtence. Of theſe 18,000 ſailors, according to the moſt favourable accounts, only about 6000 are reputed to be experienced ſeamen: the reſt are mere peaſants. Upon an emergency, the king enjoys the power of preſſing ſailors from the merchantmen, but only in exchange for the regiſtered ſeamen. CHAP. XI.

At Carlſcrona, I rejoined my companions, whom I had quitted at Stockholm, exchanged my open cart for a more commodious vehicle, and continued my journey from thence to Helſingborg, which cloſes my travels in Sweden. Our route lay through the provinces of Blekinge and Skone. For the firſt two or three poſts the country was hilly and rocky, and covered with foreſt; afterwards it changed to a level and fertile plain. Our road lay near the ſhore, and we had many fine ſea views, with numerous rocks and ſmall iſlands ſcattered in all directions. About twelve miles from the village of Felkinge, where we took our ſtation for the night, we entered Skone, called by foreigners Scania, the moſt level, the moſt ſandy, and yet the moſt fertile of all the Swediſh provinces. We paſſed through Chriſtianſtadt, a ſtrong fortified town, built in 1614 by Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, when this province belonged to the Danes; and finally ceded to the Swedes by the peace of Roſkild in 1658. The town is ſmall, but neatly built, and is eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Sweden. The houſes are all of brick, and moſtly ſtuccoed white. It ſtands in a marſhy plain cloſe to the river Helge-a, which flows into the Baltic at Ahus, about the diſtance of 20 miles, and is navigable only for ſmall craft of 7 tons burden. Engliſh veſſels annually reſort to this port for alum, pitch, and tar. The inhabitants have manufactures of cloth and ſilken ſtuffs; and carry on a ſmall degree of commerce.

A little beyond Chriſtianſtadt, as we approached the coaſts of the ſound, the country roſe into ſmall inequalities, covered at

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intervals with trees: the ſoil was chiefly ſand mixed with vegetable mould. We arrived, late in the evening of March the 21ſt, at Helſingborg, the place of embarkation upon the ſound for Denmark.

Before I conclude my travels into Sweden, I ſhall throw together a few remarks upon the mode of travelling, and other general heads, which I had no occaſion to touch upon in a particular manner.

Travelling in Sweden is perfectly commodious to a perſon acquainted with the uſual method of procuring horſes. At the different towns and villages upon the high roads, poſt-horſes are not always regularly ſtationed; but if the traveller ſends forward a peaſant to appoint relays, at a certain ſtipulated place and time, his orders are punctually executed. The neglect of this precaution has cauſed frequent delays to inexperienced foreigners, as it did to us upon our firſt arrival in the country; for we were obliged to wait at each poſt-houſe until horſes could be obtained from the adjacent villages. The uſual practice of ſupplying poſt-horſes is regulated in a manner very convenient and cheap to travellers, yet extremely burdenſome to the natives*. All perſons poſſeſſing land of a certain tenure are bound to ſend one or more horſes two or three times in the month to the neighbouring poſt-houſe: if they are not wanted, they return, after waiting 24 hours, without any compenſation

* Cantzler makes the following judicious remarks upon this ſubject. In enumerating the obſtacles to the improvement of agriculture in Sweden, he mentions, among others, "Les "voiturages publics et le tranſport des voya- "geurs, à faire tour-à-tour par les payſans aſ- "ſignés aux relais de poſte les plus voiſins. "Ceux-ci ſont extrêmement onéreux aux cul- "tivateurs, obligés, chacun au moins trois fois "par mois, d'envoyer un valet oü garçon avec "un ou deux chevaux à l'endroit de relais, qui "leur eſt aſſigné, pour s'y tenir une journée "entiére prêt au tranſport des poſtes, ſans que "les payſans en reçoivent aucune compenſa- "tion, à moins qu'il ne ſurvienne de voyageur. "Cette corvée s'appelle Hollsſkjuts et il s'y "perd chaque fois un jour et demi. Mr. Mo- "deer, ſecretaire de la ſociété patriotique, ſup- "poſe 700 endroits de relais dans tout ce roy- "aume, et ſept chevaux journellement aſſignés "à chaque endroit de relais. En ne comptant "même que 300 endroits de relais, et 4 che- "vaux pour chacun, ce qui fait 1200 chevaux "par jour, ou 432,000 chevaux par an, à 360 "jours, cette ſorte de corvées cauſe pour l'agri- "culture une perte annuelle de 216,000 journées "d'ouvrage à faire par un valet et deux che- "vaux." See Cantzler's Memoires, &c. p. 202.

for their labour and loſs of time; and, if employed, receive a very inadequate recompence*. I found, indeed, travelling ſo exceedingly cheap in Sweden, that, during a courſe of 500 miles, from my departure from Stockholm to my arrival at Carlſcrona, my whole expences, including the prime coſt of my cart, the hire of poſt-horſes, the gratuities to the drivers, and the accommodations on the road, did not amount to £20, although my Swediſh ſervant occaſionally taxed me with want of œconomy. The drivers being the peaſants themſelves, who uſually attend with their own horſes, are contented with a ſmall acknowledgement of about 2*d.* or 3*d.* for each poſt. The horſes are ſmall, but lively and active; two were uſually the complement for my cart; and they went generally at the rate of ſix or ſeven miles in an hour: the poſtilion never rode, but ſat upon a ſmall bench at the extremity of the cart.

The high roads of Sweden wind agreeably through the country, are made with ſtone or gravel, and are as good as our turnpikes in England; and yet not a ſingle toll is exacted from the traveller. Each landholder is obliged to keep in repair a certain part of the road in proportion to his property; and, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining their reſpective portions, ſmall pieces of wood, or ſtone, marked with numbers and capital letters, are placed at different diſtances on each ſide of the way.

In no kingdom, ſince I quitted England, have I obſerved ſo many ſeats ſcattered over the face of the country as I perceived in Sweden, where the gentlemen of moderate fortunes, as with us, are accuſtomed to reſide upon their eſtates in rural plenty. Theſe ſeats, being compoſed of an aſſemblage of wooden buildings and painted red, make a neat appearance: occupying a

* When we firſt entered Sweden, we only paid 24 ſtivers = 7½*d.* for each horſe per Swediſh mile from the towns, and 12 ſtivers, or = 3¾*d.* from the villages: this price was ſo exceedingly low, that at the laſt diet the ſtates increaſed it: the new regulation took place on the 16th of March 1779; from which time 32 ſtivers = 10*d.* was paid in the towns for each horſe for a Swediſh mile, and 16 or 5*d.* in the villages. Even according to this advanced price, the higheſt ſum is not quite 1½*d.* and the loweſt not a penny, per horſe, for an Engliſh mile.

large

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large extent of ground, they look at ſome diſtance like ſmall villages, and contribute greatly to the ornament of the country; they are moſt frequent near the lakes, and are not uncommonly ſituated, in the midſt of hanging woods, or broken rocks ſuſpended over the water.

During my progreſs through this kingdom, I could not avoid being ſtruck with a ſurprizing reſemblance between the Engliſh and Swediſh languages, not only in ſingle words, but in whole phraſes, ſo that a quick Engliſh ear may comprehend many expreſſions in common converſation. Among other inſtances of this kind, I heard the poſtilions cry out, "Come, let us go;" "let us ſee;"—"ſtand ſtill;"—"hold your tongue;"—"go "on *." I naturally inquired their meaning of my interpreter, and found that they had the ſame ſignification as in our own language. They are for the moſt part pronounced more like the Scottiſh † than the Engliſh accent; and indeed, in general, the Swedes appeared to me as if they were talking broad Scotch. Nor is this any matter of wonder; for it is probable, that the Scottiſh mode of ſpeaking is the ſame as was formerly uſed in England; and that, while we have gradually ſoftened our pronunciation, the Scots have retained it. With reſpect to the ſimilarity between the Swediſh and Engliſh tongues ‡, we may remark that they are both dialects of the Teutonic or German; and if in pronunciation they reſemble more to each other than to their original ſtock, it is owing to this circumſtance, that we are certainly deſcended from the Swedes and Danes; whoſe languages are only different dialects; and the old Saxon, which gave riſe to the Engliſh, was probably firſt introduced into our iſland by ſettlers, or invaders, from theſe northern kingdoms.

* Theſe words are thus written in the Swediſh tongue: "*Kom let oſs go*"—"*Let oſs ſe*"—"*Stand ſtill*"—"*Hold din tunga*"—"*Go an.*"

† A Swediſh gentleman of my acquaintance made the ſame remark during a tour in Scotland; that there was a much nearer reſemblance between the Scotch and Swediſh, than between the Swediſh and Engliſh, both in words and general pronunciation. The ſame gentleman alſo informed me, that there are ſeveral obſolete Swediſh words which are very common in Scotland.

‡ That the affinity between the Swediſh and Engliſh languages was more obvious in former times appears from an anecdote mentioned in p. 367 of this volume.

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Elſinoor is a well-built town, and makes a better appearance than thoſe to which we had lately been accuſtomed: the houſes are of brick, ſimilar to thoſe in the United Provinces. It was a ſmall village, containing a few fiſhermen's huts, until 1445, when it was made a ſtaple town by Eric of Pomerania; who conferred upon the new ſettlers conſiderable immunities, and built a caſtle for their defence*. From that period it gradually increaſed in ſize and wealth; and is now the moſt commercial place in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It contains about 5000 inhabitants, amongſt whom are a conſiderable number of foreign merchants, and the conſuls of the principal nations trading to the Baltic. The paſſage of the Sound is guarded by the fortreſs of Cronborg, which is ſituated upon the edge of a peninſular promontory, the neareſt point of land from the oppoſite coaſt of Sweden. It is ſtrongly fortified towards the ſhore by ditches, baſtions, and regular entrenchments; and towards the ſea by ſeveral batteries, mounted with 60 cannon, the largeſt whereof are 48 pounders. Every veſſel, as it paſſes, lowers her top-ſails, and pays a toll at Elſinoor. It is generally aſſerted, that this fortreſs guards the Sound; and that all the ſhips muſt, on account of the ſhoal waters and currents, ſteer ſo near the batteries, as to be expoſed to their fire, in caſe of refuſal. This, however, is a miſtaken notion. On account, indeed, of the numerous and oppoſite currents in the Sound, the ſafeſt paſſage lies near the fortreſs; but the water in any part is of ſufficient depth for veſſels to keep at a diſtance from the batteries, and the largeſt ſhips can even ſail cloſe to the coaſt of Sweden. The conſtant diſcharge, however, of the toll, is not ſo much owing to the ſtrength of the fortreſs, as to a compliance with the public law of Europe. Many diſputes have ariſen concerning the right by which the crown of Denmark impoſes ſuch a duty. The kings of Swe-

* Meſſenii Scandia Illuſtrata, Lib. III. p. 50.

den,

den, in particular, claiming an equal title to the free paſſage of the Strait, were for ſome time exempted by treaty from paying it; but in 1720, Frederic I. agreed that all Swediſh veſſels ſhould, for the future, be ſubject to the uſual impoſts. All veſſels, beſide a ſmall duty, are rated at $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of their cargoes, except the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Swediſh, which pay only one per cent.; and in return, the crown takes the charge of conſtructing light-houſes, and erecting ſignals to mark the ſhoals and rocks, from the Categate to the entrance into the Baltic. The tolls of the Sound, and of the two Belts, ſupply an annual revenue of above £ 100,000.

The palace of Cronborg, which ſtands in the fortreſs, is a ſquare Gothic building of free-ſtone; as appears from an inſcription over the gate, it was begun by Frederic II. and has been ſince repaired and augmented by ſucceeding ſovereigns. It contains nothing worthy of particular deſcription, excepting two good portraits of Frederic II. and his ſon Chriſtian IV. and ſeveral battle-pieces, repreſenting the wars of the latter, a prince of conſummate courage and eminent abilities, the greateſt, yet the moſt unſucceſsful, among the Daniſh monarchs.

In this palace was impriſoned the late unfortunate queen Matilda. During her confinement ſhe inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permiſſion to walk upon the ſide-batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her; and had great reaſon to apprehend, that the party which had occaſioned her arreſt meditated ſtill more violent meaſures. When the Engliſh miniſter at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his ſpirited conduct, ſhe was ſo ſurprized with the unexpected intelligence, that ſhe inſtantly burſt into a flood of tears, embraced him in a tranſport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a ſhort conference, the miniſter propoſed,

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that her majeſty ſhould immediately embark on board of a ſhip that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom, in which ſhe had experienced ſuch a train of misfortunes. But, however anxious ſhe was to depart, one circumſtance checked the exceſs of her joy: a few months before her impriſonment ſhe had been delivered of a princeſs, whom ſhe ſuckled herſelf. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and ſhe had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the conſtant companion of her miſery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the meaſles; and, having nurſed it with unceaſing ſolicitude, ſhe was deſirous of continuing her attention and care. All theſe circumſtances had ſo endeared the child to her, rendered more ſuſceptible of tenderneſs in a priſon than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princeſs was intimated to her, ſhe teſtified the ſtrongeſt emotions of grief, and could not, for ſome time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after beſtowing repeated careſſes upon this darling object of her affection, ſhe retired to the veſſel in an agony of deſpair. She remained upon deck, her eyes immoveably directed towards the palace of Cronborg, which contained her child that had been ſo long her only comfort, until darkneſs intercepted the view. The veſſel having made but little way during night, at day-break ſhe obſerved with fond ſatisfaction that the palace was ſtill viſible; and could not be perſuaded to enter the cabin as long as ſhe could diſcover the faineſt glimpſe of the battlements. It is well known that her majeſty reſided at Zell, where ſhe was carried off, by a ſcarlet fever, on the ſixteenth day of her illneſs. Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively diſpoſition, until her misfortunes brought on a ſettled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company ſhe endeavoured to diſſemble her ſorrows, and aſſume a cheerfulneſs to which her heart was a ſtranger. She became extremely

fond of ſolitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the moſt bitter lamentations. She retained, to her laſt moments, the moſt unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent ſhe made repeated inquiries after them, and was delighted with receiving the minuteſt accounts of their health, amuſements, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, ſhe placed them in her moſt retired apartment, often apoſtrophized them as if they were preſent *, and addreſſed them in the tendereſt manner.

Adjoining to a royal palace, which ſtands about half a mile from Cronborg, is a garden, which our curioſity led us to viſit, as it is called Hamlet's Garden, and is ſaid, by tradition, to be the very ſpot where the murder of his father was perpetrated. The houſe is of modern date, and is ſituated at the foot of a ſandy ridge near the ſea. The garden occupies the ſide of the hill, and is laid out in terraſſes riſing one above another. Elſinoor is the ſcene of Shakeſpeare's Hamlet; and the original hiſtory from which that divine author derived the principal incidents of his play is founded upon facts, but ſo deeply buried in remote antiquity, that it is difficult to diſcriminate truth from fable. Saxo-Grammaticus, who flouriſhed in the 12th century, is the earlieſt hiſtorian of Denmark, that relates the adventures of Hamlet. His account is extracted, and much altered, by Belleforeſt, a French author; an Engliſh tranſlation of whoſe romance was publiſhed under the title of the "Hiſtorye of Hamblet †:" and from this tranſlation Shake-

* I received this anecdote from a perſon at Zell, who had more than once overheard this affecting ſcene.

† The only copy I ever ſaw of this work is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the curious collection relative to the School of Shakeſpeare, given by the late Mr. Capell to that ſociety. It is in black letter, entitled, The Hyſtorye of Hamblet; Imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier.—The heads of the chapters are given in Mr. Capell's poſthumous work, the School of Shakeſpeare, Vol. III. p. 90.; and a few extracts in Malone's Supplement to Johnſon's and Steevens's Shakeſpeare.

ſpeare

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ſpeare formed the ground-work of his play, though with many alterations and additions.

As Saxo-Grammaticus is an author whoſe works are in the hands of but few perſons, and as I never met with an Engliſh tranſlation, it cannot be unacceptable to give a ſhort ſketch of Hamlet's Hiſtory, as recorded in the Daniſh Annals *, that the reader may compare the original character with that delineated by Shakeſpeare.

Long before the introduction of Chriſtianity into Denmark, Horwendillus, Prefect, or King of Jutland, was married to Geruthra, or Gertrude, daughter of Ruric king of Denmark, by whom he had a ſon, called Amlettus, or Hamlet. Fengo murders his brother Horwendillus, marries Gertrude, and aſcends the throne. Hamlet, to avoid his uncle's jealouſy, counterfeits folly; and is repreſented as ſuch an abhorrer of falſehood, that, though he conſtantly frames the moſt evaſive and even abſurd anſwers, yet artfully contrives never to deviate from truth. Fengo, ſuſpecting the reality of his madneſs, endeavours, by various methods †, to diſcover the real ſtate of his mind: amongſt others, he departs from Elſinoor, concerts a meeting between Hamlet and Gertrude, concluding that the former would not conceal his ſentiments from his

* Sax. Gram. Lib. III. and IV.

† Among other attempts, Fengo orders his companions to leave him in a retired ſpot, and a young woman is placed in his way, with a view to extort from him a confeſſion that his folly was counterfeited. Hamlet would have fallen into the ſnare, if a friend had not ſecretly conveyed to him intelligence of this treachery: he carries the woman to a more ſecret place, and obtains her promiſe not to betray him; which ſhe readily conſents to, as ſhe had been brought up with him from her infancy. Being aſked, upon his return home, if he had indulged his paſſion, he anſwers in the affirmative; but renders himſelf not believed by the moſt artful ſubterfuges, which, though true, ſeemed evidently to mark a diſordered underſtanding, and by the poſitive denial of the woman. "Upon this woman," as Capell obſerves, "is grounded Shakeſpeare's "Ophelia; and his deliverance from this "ſnare by a friend, ſuggeſted his Horatio"— "the rude outlines," as Mr. Malone remarks, "of thoſe characters." "But in this piece "there are no traits of the character of Polo- "nius: there is, indeed, a counſellor, and he "places himſelf in the queen's chamber be- "hind the arras; but this is the whole. The "ghoſt of the old Hamlet is likewiſe the off- "ſpring of our author's creative imagination." See Capell's School of Shakeſpeare, Vol. III. p. 20.; and Malone's Supplement, p. 353.

own

own mother; and orders a courtier to conceal himſelf, unknown to both, for the purpoſe of overhearing their converſation. The courtier repairs to the queen's apartment, and hides himſelf under a heap of ſtraw *. Hamlet, upon entering the cabinet, ſuſpecting the preſence of ſome ſpy, imitates, after his uſual affectation of folly, the crow of a cock; and, ſhaking his arms like wings, jumps † upon the heap of ſtraw, till, feeling the courtier, he draws his ſword, and inſtantly diſpatches him. He then cuts the body to pieces, boils it, and gives it to the hogs. He then avows to his mother, that he only perſonated a fool, reproaches her for her inceſtuous marriage with the murderer of her huſband; and concludes his remonſtrances by ſaying, "Inſtead, therefore, of condoling "my inſanity, deplore your own infamy, and learn to lament "the deformity of your own mind ‡." The queen is ſilent; but is recalled to virtue by theſe admonitions. Fengo returns to

* The reader will recollect, that ſtraw uſed formerly to be ſpread over the floors as an article of great luxury.

† This part ſtands thus in the Engliſh account: "The counſellor entered ſecretly into "the queene's chamber, and there hid him-"ſelfe behind the arras, and long before the "queene and Hamlet came thither: who be-"ing craftie and politique, as ſoone as he was "within the chamber, doubting ſome treaſon, "and fearing, if he ſhould ſpeake ſeverely and "wiſely to his mother, touching his ſecret "practiſes, hee ſhould be underſtood, and by "that means intercepted, uſed his ordinary "manner of diſſimulation, and began to come "(r. crow) like a cocke, beating with his "arms (in ſuch manner as cockes uſed to "ſtrike with their wings), upon the hangings "of the chambers, whereby, feeling ſome-"thing ſtirring under them, he cried, *a rat!* "*a rat!* and preſently drawing his ſworde, "thruſt it into the hangings; which done, he "pulled the counſellor (halfe deade) out by "the heels, made an end of killing him; and, "being ſlain, cut his body in pieces, which he "cauſed to be boiled, and then caſt it into an "open vault or privie." Malone's Supplement, Vol. I. p. 357.

‡ The cloſet ſcene, which is ſo beautiful in Shakeſpeare's Hamlet, is thus conciſely, but not leſs finely, deſcribed by the Daniſh hiſtorian:

"Cumque mater magno ejulatu queſta præ-"ſentis filii ſocordiam deflere cæpiſſet: 'quid,' "inquit, mulierum turpiſſima graviſſimi cri-"minis diſſimulationem falſo lamenti genere "expetis, quæ ſcorti more laſciviens nefariam "ac deteſtabilem thori conditionem ſecuta "viri tui interfectorem pleno inceſti ſinu am-"plecteris: et ei qui prolis tuæ parentem ex-"tinxerat obſcœniſſimis blandimentorum ille-"cebris adularis. Ita nempe equæ conjugum "ſuorum victoribus maritantur. Brutorum "natura hæc eſt; ut in diverſa paſſim conjugia "rapiantur: hoc tibi exemplo prioris mariti "memoriam exoleviſſe conſtat. Ego vero non

"ab

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to Elſinoor, ſends Hamlet to England under the care of two courtiers, and requeſts the king, by a letter, to put him to death. Hamlet diſcovers and alters the letter; ſo that, upon their arrival in England, the king orders the two courtiers to immediate execution, and betroths his daughter to Hamlet, who gives many aſtoniſhing proofs of a moſt tranſcendent underſtanding. At the end of the year he returns to Denmark, and alarms the court by his unexpected appearance, as a report of his death had been ſpread, and preparations were making for his funeral. Having re-aſſumed his affected inſanity, he purpoſely wounds his fingers in drawing his ſword, which the by-ſtanders immediately faſten to the ſcabbard. He afterwards invites the principal nobles to an entertainment, makes them intoxicated, and in that ſtate covers them with a large curtain, which he faſtens to the ground with wooden pegs; he then ſets fire to the palace, and the nobles, being enveloped in the curtain, periſh in the flames. During this tranſaction he repairs to Fengo's apartment, and, taking the ſword which lay by the ſide of his bed, puts his own in its place; he inſtantly awakens, and informs him, that Hamlet is come to revenge the murder of his father. Fengo ſtarts from his bed, ſeizes the ſword, but, being unable to draw it, falls by the hand of Hamlet. The next morning, when the populace were aſſembled to view the ruins of the palace, Hamlet ſummons the remaining nobles, and in a maſterly ſpeech, which is too long to inſert in this place, lays open the motives

" ab re ſtolidi ſpecien gero, cum haud dubitem quin is qui fratrem oppreſſerit, in affines quoque pari crudelitate debacchaturus ſit: unde ſtoliditatis quæ induſtriæ habitum amplecti præſtat, et incolumitatis præſidium ab extremâ deliramentorum ſpecie mutuari. In animo tamen paternæ ultionis ſtudium perſeverat; ſed rerum occaſiones aucupor, temporum opportunitates opperior. Non idem omnibus locus competit. Contra obſcurum immitemque animum altioribus ingenii modis uti convenit. Tibi vero ſapervacuum ſit meam lamentari deſipientiam, quæ tuam juſtius ignominiam deplorare debueras. Itaque non alienæ ſed propriæ mentis vitium defleas neceſſe eſt. Cætera ſilere memineris." Tali convitio laceratam matrem ad excolendum virtutis habitum revocavit, præteritoſque ignes præſentibus illecebris præferre docuit."

of

of his own conduct, proves his uncle to have been the aſſaſſin of his father, and concludes in the following words: "Tread "upon the aſhes of the monſter, who, polluting the wife of "his murdered brother, joined inceſt to parricide; and ruled "over you with the moſt oppreſſive tyranny. Receive me as "the miniſter of a juſt revenge, as one who felt for the ſuf- "ferings of his father and his people. Conſider me as the "perſon who has purged the diſgrace of his country, extin- "guiſhed the infamy of his mother, freed you from the deſ- "potiſm of a monſter, whoſe crimes, if he had lived, would "have daily increaſed, and terminated in your deſtruction. "Acknowledge my ſervices; and if I have deſerved it, preſent "me with the crown: behold in me the author of theſe advan- "tages; no degenerate perſon, no parricide, but the rightful "ſucceſſor to the throne, and the pious avenger of a father's "murder. I have reſcued you from ſlavery, reſtored you to "liberty, and re-eſtabliſhed your glory; I have deſtroyed a "tyrant, and triumphed over an aſſaſſin. The recompence is in "your hands; you can eſtimate the value of my ſervices, and "in your virtue I reſt my hopes of reward." This ſpeech has the deſired effect; the greater part of the aſſembly ſhed tears, and all who are preſent unanimouſly proclaim him king amid repeated acclamations. CHAP. I.

Hamlet, ſoon after his elevation, ſails to England, and orders a ſhield to be made, on which the principal actions of his life are repreſented. The king receives him with feigned demonſtrations of joy, falſely aſſures him that his daughter is dead, and recommends him to repair to Scotland as his embaſſador, and to pay his addreſſes to the queen Hermetruda. He gives this inſidious advice with the hopes that Hamlet may periſh in the attempt; as the queen, who was remarkable for her chaſtity and cruelty, had ſuch an averſion to all propoſals of marriage, that not one of her ſuitors had eſcaped

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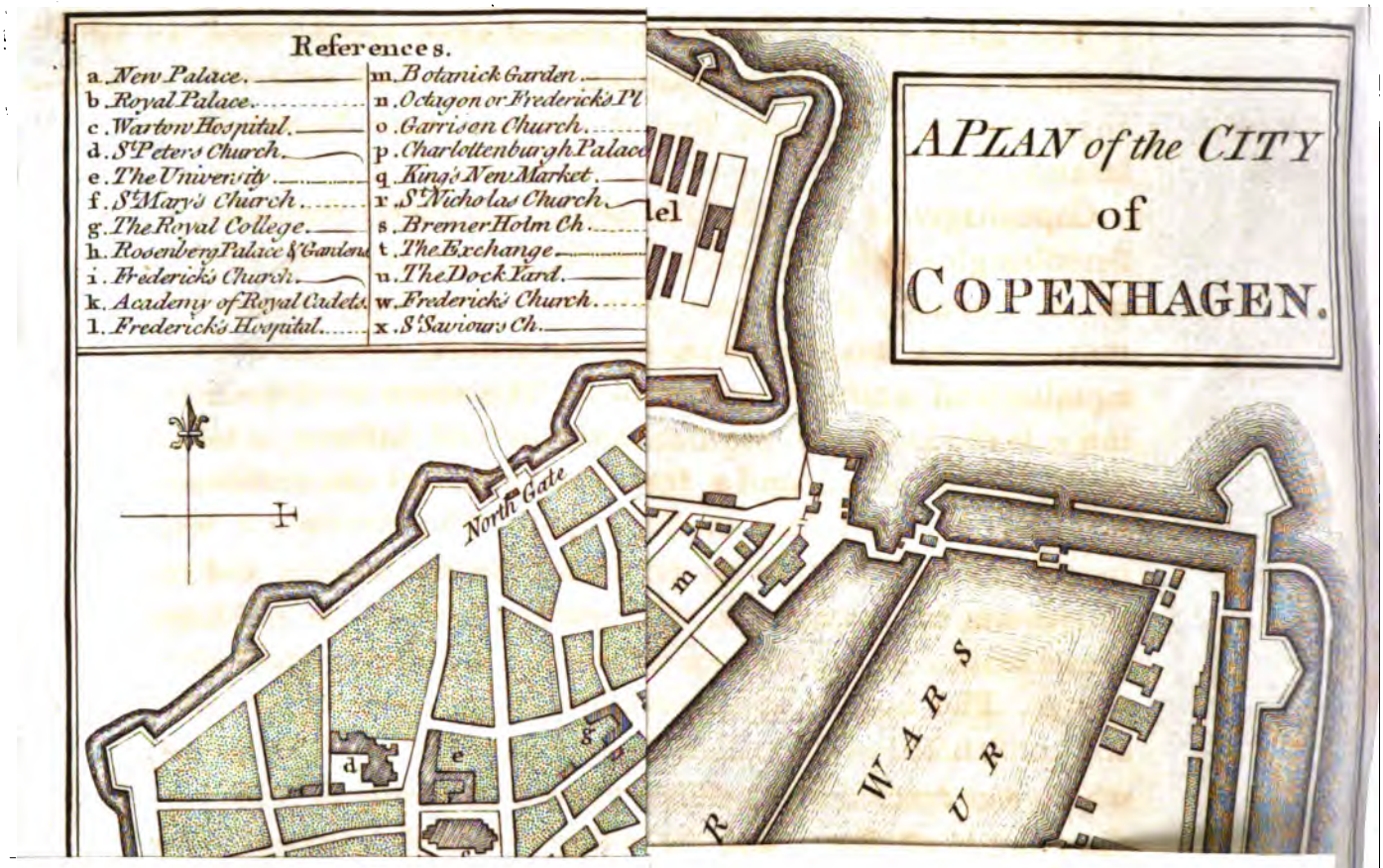
falling a ſacrifice to her vengeance. Hamlet, in oppoſition to all difficulties, performs the embaſſy; and, by the aſſiſtance of his ſhield, which inſpires the lady with a favourable opinion of his wiſdom and courage, obtains her in marriage, and returns with her to England. Informed, by the princeſs to whom he had been betrothed, that her father meditates his aſſaſſination, Hamlet avoids his fate by wearing armour under his robe; puts to death the king of England, and ſails to Denmark with his two wives, where he is ſoon afterwards killed in a combat with Vigletus, ſon of Ruric. Hamlet, adds the hiſtorian, was a prince, who, if his good fortune had been equal to his deſerts, would have rivalled the gods in ſplendour, and in his actions would have exceeded even the labours of Hercules*.

The diſtance from Elſinoor to Copenhagen is about 20 miles; our route lay occaſionally by the ſide of the ſea, ſometimes through ſmall woods of beech and oak, and at other times through an open country riſing into acclivities; the ſoil is ſandy mixed with loam, well cultivated, and yields all ſorts of grain. The cottages are numerous and neat, built with brick, and many of them white-waſhed. We had an excellent road, for which convenience we paid ſeveral tolls; a tax from which we had been exempted in Poland, Ruſſia, and Sweden. We reached the metropolis towards the cloſe of the evening.

Copenhagen ſtands upon a ſmall promontory on the eaſtern coaſt of the Iſle of Zealand; the ſcite is flat, and rather marſhy. It formerly belonged to the biſhop of Roſkild, and was not diſtinguiſhed by the royal reſidence until 1443, during the reign of Chriſtopher of Bavaria; ſince which period it has been gradually enlarged and beautified, and is become the capital of Denmark.

* Hic Amlethi exitus fuit; qui ſi parem fuiſſet, æquaſſet fulgore ſuperos; Herculea naturæ atque fortunæ indulgentiam expertus virtutibus opera tranſcendiſſet.

ASTOR, LENOX


References.
a. New Palace.
b. Royal Palace.
c. Warton Hospital.
d. St Peters Church.
e. The University
f. St Mary's Church.
g. The Royal College.
h. Rosenberg Palace & Garden
i. Frederick's Church.
k. Academy of Royal Cadets
l. Frederick's Hospital.
m. Botanick Garden.
n. Octagon or Frederick's Pl
o. Garrison Church.
p. Charlottenburgh Palace
q. King's New Market.
r. St Nicholas Church.
s. Bremer Holm Ch.
t. The Exchange.
u. The Dock Yard.
w. Frederick's Church.
x. St Saviours Ch.
A PLAN of the CITY of COPENHAGEN.
North Gate
WARS
VR

The annual liſt of births in Copenhagen being, upon an average of ſeveral years, eſtimated at 2830, and of deaths at 2955, we may compute that it contains near 80,000 inhabitants.

Copenhagen is the beſt-built city of the north; for although Peterſburgh excels it in ſuperb edifices, yet, as it contains no wooden houſes, it does not diſplay that ſtriking contraſt of meanneſs and magnificence, but in general exhibits a more equable and uniform appearance. The town is ſurrounded towards the land with regular ramparts and baſtions, a broad ditch full of water, and a few outworks: its circumference meaſures between four or five miles. The ſtreets are well paved, with a foot-way on each ſide, but too narrow and inconvenient for general uſe. The greateſt part of the buildings are of brick; and a few are of free-ſtone brought from Germany. The houſes of the nobility are in general ſplendid, and conſtructed in the Italian ſtyle of architecture; the palace, which was erected by Chriſtian VI. is a large pile of building; the front is of ſtone, and the wings of brick ſtuccoed: the ſuite of apartments is princely; but the external appearance is more grand than elegant.

The buſy ſpirit of commerce is viſible in Copenhagen. The haven is always crowded with merchant ſhips; and the ſtreets are interſected by broad canals, which bring the merchandize cloſe to the warehouſes that line the quays. This city owes its principal beauty to a dreadful fire in 1728, that deſtroyed five churches and ſixty-ſeven ſtreets, which have been ſince rebuilt in the modern ſtyle. The new part of the town, raiſed by the late king Frederic V. is extremely beautiful, ſcarcely inferior to Bath. It conſiſts of an octagon, containing four uniform and elegant buildings of hewn ſtone, and of four broad ſtreets leading to it in oppoſite directions. In the middle of the area ſtands an equeſtrian ſtatue of Frederic V. in bronze,

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as big as life, which is juſtly admired. It was caſt at the expence of the Eaſt India Company by Saly, and coſt £ 80,000 ſterling.

On the 25th of March we acompanied Mr. Delaval, our miniſter, to court, and were honoured with private audiences by his majeſty Chriſtian VII. the queen dowager Juliana-Maria, her ſon prince Frederic, and his conſort the princeſs Sophia-Frederica. We were deprived of the honour of paying our reſpects to the prince royal, as he was at that time indiſpoſed. During our ſtay at Copenhagen there were only two public meetings at court: the company aſſembled about ſix o'clock in the evening. At one of theſe meetings was a concert, in which a Daniſh tranſlation of Pergoleſi's *Stabat Mater*, with the original muſic, was performed. His majeſty afterwards ſat down to Loo with the queen dowager, prince Frederic, princeſs Sophia, count Bernſdorff the prime miniſter, and the Pruſſian embaſſador.

As our ſtay at Copenhagen was very ſhort, and principally during paſſion-week, which the natives obſerve with great ſtrictneſs, we had not many opportunities of experiencing the hoſpitality of the Daniſh nobility, though they were much inclined to honour us with all thoſe marks of attention and civility which are uſually paid to ſtrangers. Amongſt other inſtances of politeneſs, we received an invitation to an aſſembly and ſupper from count Molck, who was favourite and prime miniſter to the late king Frederic V. The count's houſe, which ſtands in the octagon, is a magnificent building ſuperbly furniſhed. He poſſeſſes ſeveral fine pictures; amongſt which I chiefly admired a painting by Nicholas Pouſſin, two excellent Vanderwerfs, and a Teniers. His collection of foſſils, ſhells, minerals, and petrefactions, deſerves the notice of the naturaliſt: it is particularly rich in native productions of Denmark; and exhibits many fine ſpecimens of the gold, ſilver,

ver and copper mines, from Norway; and of lava from Mount Hecla in Iceland.

Among the moſt curious collections in Copenhagen, the Royal Muſeum, or Cabinet of Rarities, merits the firſt place. This collection, which was begun by Frederic III. is depoſited in eight apartments, and ranged in the following order: animals; ſhells; minerals; paintings; antiquities; medals; dreſſes; arms and implements of the Laplanders. The ſhort time which I employed in examining theſe apartments did not permit me to take a minute and accurate account of the principal curioſities, which the reader will find deſcribed in *Muſeum Regium Jacobæi.*

Part of Copenhagen, which is called Chriſtianſhafen, is built upon the iſle of Amak, which generally attracts the curioſity of foreigners. Amak is about four miles long, and two broad; and is chiefly peopled by the deſcendants of a colony from Eaſt Frieſland, to whom the iſland was conſigned by Chriſtian II. at the requeſt of his wife Elizabeth, ſiſter of Charles V. for the purpoſe of ſupplying her with vegetables, cheeſe, and butter. From the intermarriages of theſe colonies with the Danes, the preſent inhabitants are chiefly deſcended; but as they wear their own dreſs, and enjoy peculiar privileges, they appear a diſtinct race from the natives. The iſland contains about ſix villages, and between 3 and 4000 ſouls. It has two churches, in which the miniſters preach occaſionally in Dutch and Daniſh. The inhabitants have their own inferior tribunals; but in capital offences are amenable to the king's court of juſtice at Copenhagen. The old national habit, brought by the original colony when they firſt migrated to the iſland, is ſtill in uſe amongſt them. It reſembles the habit of the antient quakers, as repreſented in the pictures of the Dutch and Flemiſh painters. The men wear broad-brimmed hats, black jackets, full glazed breeches of the ſame colour, looſe at the knee, and tied round the

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the waiſt. The women were dreſſed chiefly in black jackets and petticoats, with a piece of blue glazed cloth bound on their heads. The iſland is laid out in gardens and paſtures; and ſtill, according to the original deſign, ſupplies Copenhagen with milk, butter, and vegetables.

CHAP. II.

Form of government antiently eſtabliſhed in Denmark.—*Cauſes and events which preceded and effected the revolution of* 1660.—*Change of the conſtitution from an elective and limited, to an hereditary and abſolute, monarchy.*

UNTIL the middle of the laſt century the crown of Denmark was elective; the ſupreme legiſlative authority reſided in the three eſtates of the realm, the nobles, clergy, and commons, aſſembled in a diet by means of their repreſentatives; and the executive power was veſted in the king, and ſenate, compoſed of the principal nobles. The king was little more than preſident of the ſenate, and commander of the army; the regal prerogative being circumſcribed by a capitulation or charter of privileges, which the ſovereign ſigned at his acceſſion. Although the crown was always continued in the ſame family, and uniformly conferred upon the eldeſt ſon, yet the new prince was conſtrained to purchaſe his ſucceſſion to the throne by the grant of farther immunities.

Such was the ſtate of affairs until the ſingular revolution of 1660 eſtabliſhed, almoſt without the concurrence of the ſovereign,

reign, an hereditary and abſolute monarchy; exhibiting an inſtance, which ſtands unparalleled in the annals of hiſtory, of a people, who ſpontaneouſly renounced their freedom, and inveſted their limited governor with the moſt unbounded authority. The incidents and circumſtances which occaſioned ſo ſurprizing a revolution are too important to be paſſed over in ſilence. CHAP. II.

Frederic III. who, upon the death of his father Chriſtian IV. aſcended the throne by the free election of the ſtates, ſigned a charter of rights, conſiſting of 54 articles; among which ſeveral new privileges were confirmed to the ſenate, whereby they were enabled to engroſs nearly to themſelves the whole adminiſtration of affairs. Frederic poſſeſſed in the ordinary occurrences of life a mild and equable temper of mind, acquieſcing in every event with perfect compoſure, and apparently indifferent to ambition or glory. If his dominions had not been invaded by a powerful rival, he would have ſcarcely been noticed by his contemporaries. But as, during his reign the very being of Denmark, as a kingdom, was at ſtake, and he was called to action by the moſt imminent danger which a ſovereign could experience, he ſuddenly ſurmounted his natural coldneſs; his mind acquired unuſual vigour; and he exhibited proofs of courage, prudence, and perſeverance, not inferior to the moſt conſummate heroes of his time. Theſe circumſtances ſerved to place his character in an exalted point of view; while, at the ſame time, his gentleneſs and moderation prevented the umbrage which is apt to be conceived by a free people againſt their ſovereign. Thus, from being thought incapable of any intereſted deſigns, and yet equal to the taſk of carrying the moſt adventurous into execution, he became, from the accidental ſituation of his affairs, the innocent inſtrument of accompliſhing an important revolution, which totally changed the form of the Daniſh government.

When

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When Charles Guſtavus of Sweden broke the treaty of Roſkild, which he had juſt ſigned, and in 1658 appeared ſuddenly before Copenhagen at the head of a powerful army, he eſteemed himſelf ſo ſecure of ſucceſs, that he made a preſent of Zealand to admiral Wrangel; nay, he even publicly boaſted, that he would unite the three crowns of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in his own perſon; and would then march, like another Alaric, into Italy, at the head of the Gothic nations. The infernal weakneſs and civil commotions of Denmark ſeemed almoſt to juſtify theſe proud vaunts: the fate of the whole kingdom depended on the ſafety of Copenhagen; and yet, ſuch was the deplorable condition of that capital, that Frederic was adviſed to retire from a place which ſeemed abſolutely untenable, and to make his eſcape either to Holland or Norway. For, the fortifications had been long neglected; it contained a garriſon of only a thouſand regular troops; had not ſufficient proviſions to ſtand a ſiege; was almoſt deſtitute of every means of reſiſtance; and crowded with inhabitants and fugitives of all ranks. But that monarch, of whoſe military capacity no expectation could be formed, rouſed by this dangerous criſis of affairs, diſcovered at once the moſt undaunted courage: he declared his reſolution of defending his capital to the laſt extremity; and, rather than be a witneſs to its ſurrender, of burying himſelf under its ruins. His conduct during the ſiege anſwered theſe profeſſions; he gave his orders with calmneſs and intrepidity; he was among the firſt in all places of danger; and among the laſt who retreated. His zeal was ſeconded by the undaunted ſpirit of his queen, Sophia Amelia, princeſs of Brunſwic Lunenburgh *, who, during the whole conteſt, was indefatigable in animating the beſieged; ſhe partook of their fatigues; rode night and day round the ramparts, and obſerved every occurrence with the vigilance of a centinel, and the coolneſs of a veteran. The pre-

* Memoires de Terlon, p. 333.

ſence

fence and activity of both their ſovereigns gave freſh vigour to the garriſon and citizens of Copenhagen; they braved every danger, and even bound themſelves, by an oath, to periſh, rather than ſurrender the capital. Their zeal was ſtill further raiſed by the policy of Frederic, who extorted from the nobles an increaſe of the citizens immunities; and paſſed an edict, ſigned by himſelf and the principal ſenators, permitting them to poſſeſs lands, and to enjoy all the rights of nobility. Thus animated and encouraged, the burghers formed themſelves into companies, and vied with the regular ſoldiers in ſubmitting to the rigour of military diſcipline. In a word, by their invincible ſpirit, Copenhagen held out from the 8th of Auguſt 1658, to the concluſion of the peace, on the 27th of May 1660, when the Swediſh army evacuated Zealand. CHAP. II.

Upon the ſignature of this treaty a diet was ſummoned at Copenhagen, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, exhauſted with debts, and deſolated by the miſeries of war. The imminent danger which had threatened the ruin of Denmark had no ſooner ſubſided, than Frederic relapſed into his conſtitutional indolence; and ſeems, if we may judge from the moſt authentic accounts, to have had but a ſmall ſhare in the ſubſequent revolution: it appears, indeed, to have been as caſual as it was ſudden, the effect only of the imperious conduct of the nobles, of the jealouſies and reſentments of the other orders, and of the high opinion which the people had conceived of their king, to whom they juſtly imputed the preſervation of Copenhagen, and the ſafety of the kingdom; while they attributed to the violence and factions of the nobles all the evils which they had lately experienced.

The diet, which was the laſt ever convened in Denmark, aſſembled at Copenhagen on the 8th of September 1660. The nobles, inſtead of endeavouring to conciliate the other orders by a moderate conduct, increaſed the public diſcontents by the

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moſt arrogant behaviour. The deputies of the clergy and commons united againſt them; and the citizens of Copenhagen, who, having acquired great credit by the glorious defence of the capital, formed a very conſiderable party, were highly diſguſted with them for remonſtrating againſt the immunities granted by the king during the ſiege. In this ſtate and temper of the parties, when the neceſſary ſupplies were brought forward, the nobles propoſed an exciſe upon all articles of conſumption*, and expreſſed themſelves willing to ſubmit to it, although their order was by law exempted from all taxes: they accompanied this offer with a remonſtrance to the king, in which they endeavoured, not only to reclaim many obſolete privileges, but to add freſh immunities, and to introduce many other regulations which tended to diminiſh the royal prerogative, and to check the riſing influence of the two eſtates of the commons and clergy. The propoſal of ſuch a tax, and this imprudent remonſtrance, excited great heats in the diet; the clergy and commons contended that the offer was inſidious, as the nobles would only pay the exciſe during their reſidence in the towns, and refuſed ſubmitting to it while they reſided upon their eſtates. Upon this ground they objected to the tax itſelf in its preſent form; nor would admit it on any other condition than that it ſhould be levied equally upon all ranks without any reſerve or reſtriction. The nobles not only perſiſted in the plea of exemption, but even refuſed to be ſubject to it for more than three years, under the pretence that every impoſt was an infringement of their privileges. Being however intimidated by the deciſive refuſal of the other deputies, they

* All the Daniſh hiſtorians agree in this circumſtance, that the nobles offered to tax themſelves; therefore Lord Moleſworth is wrong, when he ſays, "the nobility, according to "their uſual practice, debated how the ſums of "money requiſite might, with greateſt eaſe "and conveniency, be levied upon the com-"mons, without the leaſt intention of bearing "any proportionable ſhare themſelves." Account of Denmark, p. 32. See Mallet, Hiſt. de Dannemarc, III. p. 446.

ſhifted their ground, propoſed new duties upon ſtamped paper and leather; and offered, inſtead of the exciſe upon conſumption, to pay a poll-tax for their peaſants. The clergy and commons at firſt approved theſe additional impoſts, but afterwards retracted, under pretence that they would not produce a ſum adequate to the wants of the nation. It is not certain from what cauſe this alteration of their ſentiments was derived*; whether the taxes would really have been inadequate, or were to be granted for too ſhort a time; or whether, urged by other motives, they were ſecretly deſirous of obtaining more eſſential and durable advantages againſt the nobles. Probably all theſe motives operated upon different perſons; but the latter eſpecially ſeems to have had great influence, becauſe, in lieu of the above-mentioned duties, the deputies propoſed that the royal fiefs and domains, which the nobles had excluſively poſſeſſed at a very moderate rent, ſhould be farmed to the higheſt bidders. This propoſal irritated the nobles, who juſtly deemed it an infraction of their deareſt privileges; as, by the 46th article of the coronation oath taken by Frederic, the poſſeſſion of the royal fiefs was guarantied to their order. In the heat of the conteſt upon this article, one of the chief ſenators imprudently threw out reproachful expreſſions againſt the commons, which raiſed ſuch a general ferment in the aſſembly, that the deputies of the clergy and commons broke up the meeting.

In this ſtruggle the friends of the court began to interpoſe. It was eaſily ſeen that the deputies were ſo diſguſted with the nobles, that they would cheerfully embrace that occaſion of humbling the whole order; and no way ſeemed more likely to enſure ſucceſs than rendering the crown hereditary, and exalting the regal prerogative upon the ruin of the nobility. They never could expect that ſo favourable an opportunity ſhould again occur; the diet was aſſembled in a fortified town; the

* Mallet, p. 447.

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citizens were ſtill in arms, and all of them, as well as the garriſon, were devoted to the king.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to trace, at this diſtance of time, all the ſecret ſprings which actuated the deputies upon this extraordinary occaſion. It only appears, from good authority, that the two perſons who had the principal ſhare in the revolution were the creatures of the court; and had, previouſly to the meeting of the diet, preconcerted ſomething of a general plan of lowering the nobility, with a confidential * ſervant of the crown. Theſe perſons were Svane, biſhop of Zealand and preſident of the order of the clergy, and Nanſen, burgomaſter of Copenhagen and ſpeaker of the commons: we have no reaſon however to conclude that they intended to proceed further than to humble the ariſtocratical party, and to make ſome neceſſary changes in the conſtitution; but the obſtinacy of the nobles enlarged their views, and induced the deputies, not only to think of rendering the crown hereditary, but of veſting the whole power in the hands of the king. While the deſign was in agitation, Frederic felt, or affected to feel, an almoſt total indifference to the event; and though he expreſſed himſelf inclined to accept the offer of an hereditary ſucceſſion, if it could be obtained by the unanimous conſent of all the eſtates, yet he refuſed to take any active part in the whole proceeding. The queen endeavoured to rouſe him from this ſupineneſs; but her influence, which had never before been exerted in vain, proved now ineffectual: being not inclined, however, to follow his example, ſhe caballed with the leaders of the clergy and commons; and diſplayed that ſpirit of intrigue and daring enterprize, which had ſo long marked her character in contraſt with the mild and paſſive acquieſcence of the king.

* Moleſworth ſays, with Hannibal Seheſted, and Holberg with Gabel the king's favourite. Probably they were both in the right, as it is eaſy to ſuppoſe that both were conſulted on the occaſion.

Upon

CHAP. II.

Upon the ſeceſſion of the deputies, which the obſtinacy of the nobles had provoked, the hint of rendering the crown hereditary was firſt ſuggeſted by the biſhop of Zealand; and when ſeveral partizans were gained, a numerous meeting was held at his palace, on the 6th of October, in which the ſcheme was laid open and approved. The act for declaring the crown hereditary was drawn up, and the beſt method of publicly producing it was taken into conſideration. The mode of proceeding was now concerted between the chiefs of the party and Gabel the favourite of the king, who held a ſeparate conference with the biſhop and Nanſen that very afternoon. The whole night and the following day repeated meſſages paſſed between ſome of the deputies and the emiſſaries of the queen, as the king ſtill continued neutral, and could not be prevailed upon to take any active ſhare in an event which ſo nearly concerned him.

On the morning of the 8th of October*, the biſhop of Zealand, having obtained the conſent and ſignature of the eccleſiaſtical deputies to the declaration of hereditary ſucceſſion, delivered it to Nanſen. The latter, in a moſt perſuaſive ſpeech, expatiated upon the wretched ſtate of the kingdom, the oppreſſive power of the nobles, and the virtues of the king; and concluded with exhorting the commons to ſubſcribe the act as the only means of ſaving their country. Having firſt ſigned it himſelf, his example was followed by each deputy, without one diſſenting voice.

During theſe intrigues the nobles remained in full ſecurity, and without the leaſt ſuſpicion; as the commons had, the ſame day in which they ſigned the declaration, debated upon the taxes, and drawn up a remonſtrance againſt the nobles, without any alluſion to the more ſecret tranſaction. On the 9th this remonſtrance was preſented in form to Frederic by the biſhop and Nanſen; and as they were returning from the palace, they

* Holberg, III. p. 479.

had

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had a violent altercation with the ſame chief ſenator who had before offended the commons, and who then threatened them with impriſonment for preſuming to approach the king without acquainting the order of nobles. This threat ſerved only to fix them the more firmly in their reſolution; and the ſingle circumſtance which now remained was, to conſult upon the ſureſt means of extorting the aſſent of the nobles.

Rumours of this project had by this time reached them; but they had ſcarcely aſſembled to conſider the moſt efficacious methods of rendering it ineffectual *, before the deputies of the clergy and burghers entered the hall, and, having taken their ſeats, Nanſen, after a ſhort ſpeech, delivered to them the declaration for rendering the crown hereditary in his majeſty's family. The nobles, although they were in ſome degree apprized that ſuch a meaſure was intended, were nevertheleſs thrown into a general conſternation by its being communicated to them in ſo ſudden and deciſive a manner. Conceiving it, however, imprudent in their preſent ſituation to negative the propoſal, they endeavoured to gain time, and replied accordingly, that though they willingly gave their aſſent to the declaration, yet that, as it was a matter of great conſequence, it deſerved the moſt mature diſcuſſion. Nanſen, perceiving the drift of this delay, anſwered, that they came not to deliberate, but to act: they had already taken their reſolution; they would loſe no time in debate; if the nobles refuſed to concur with them, they would themſelves repair immediately to the palace, not doubting but the king would graciouſly accept their proffered declaration. While this was paſſing in public, the nobles had ſecretly diſpatched a meſſage to the king, that they were willing to render the crown hereditary in the male line of his iſſue, provided it was done with all accuſtomed formalities; a propoſal his majeſty rejected as a circumſtance not deſirable, unleſs the

* Probably on the 10th of October, as Mallet conjectures.

right

right of ſucceſſion was extended to the females alſo; adding, with great appearance of moderation, that he by no means wiſhed to preſcribe rules for their conduct; they were to follow the dictates of their own judgement; as for his part, he would owe every thing to their free conſent, but that he could not accept the offer with the limitation propoſed. CHAP. II.

The nobles, who were waiting with anxiety for the return of their meſſenger, kept the buſineſs in ſuſpence by declining their direct aſſent to the declaration, and propoſing a further conſideration of the ſubject; upon this, the other deputies, apprehenſive of their ſecret cabals, and ſtill further exaſperated againſt them for their obſtinate refuſal of concurrence, quitted the aſſembly, and repaired in ſolemn proceſſion to the court, leaving the nobles in a ſtate of irreſolution and diſtraction, more eaſily conceived than related.

The deputies being admitted to the king, the biſhop of Zealand addreſſed his majeſty on the reſolution taken by the clergy and commons, offering, in their name, to render the crown hereditary, and to inveſt him with abſolute authority; adding, that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in defence of an eſtabliſhment ſo ſalutary to their country. The king, in his anſwer, thanked them for their favourable intentions; but mentioned the approbation of the nobles as a neceſſary condition, though he had no doubt of their concurrence when they ſhould have had time to accompany the declaration with all the neceſſary formalities; he aſſured them of his protection, promiſed a redreſs of all grievances, and diſmiſſed them with an exhortation to continue their ſittings, until they ſhould have brought their deſign to perfection, and he could receive their voluntary ſubmiſſion with all due ſolemnity.

The reader will obſerve, with much ſurpriſe, that in all the public occurrences previous to this audience, the only affair apparently in agitation, was to change the form of government from

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from an elective to an hereditary monarchy; no mention had been made of enlarging the powers of the crown, or of the ſtill more extraordinary ſcheme of making the king abſolute. Is it probable, if the nobles had immediately conſented to the declaration, that this ceſſion might not have taken place? Was there not a medium between hereditary right and arbitrary power? or can we ſuppoſe, that, according to the ſyſtem of the Daniſh law, the latter was neceſſarily implied in the former? Something like this, probably, muſt have been the caſe, as it is hardly poſſible to conceive, that when the deputies of the commons and clergy had voted only for the declaration, the biſhop, of his own accord, ſhould have added the gift of unlimited authority. It often happens that people are more affected by appearances than realities. The bare mention of arbitrary power would have revolted the deputies, while the ſubſtance, being included in the popular expreſſion of hereditary right, was adopted and paſſed without reſerve.

But to return to the nobles; when the deputies had abruptly quitted the aſſembly, they could not agree amongſt themſelves what plan was to be purſued in this alarming criſis. They were not, indeed, unanimous in their motives of oppoſition, being divided into three principal parties*: the firſt conſiſted of thoſe who were devoted to the court, and favoured the declaration of the commons; the ſecond, of thoſe who were conſcious that ſome change in the conſtitution was requiſite, but uncertain how far they ſhould proceed; the third, by far the moſt conſiderable in number, was compoſed of thoſe who ſeemed determined to aſſert their own privileges to the laſt extremity, and who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the leaſt alteration. It was no wonder, therefore, that they broke up without coming to any reſolution, but put off their final determination to their next meeting in the afternoon. While they were thus waver-

* Holberg.

ing

ing and irreſolute, the court and popular party took the neceſſary precautions in order to force them to a concurrence. It was feared that the enterprize might fail of ſucceſs, if the nobles ſhould reſolve to quit Copenhagen, and to break up the diet, from the juſt pretence that it was held in a fortified town, under awe of a garriſon devoted to the court. Indeed ſeveral had already made their eſcape, and others ſeemed inclined to follow them. In conſequence of theſe apprehenſions, the king iſſued orders to ſhut the gates of the town; and this ſpirited meaſure had ſuch an inſtant effect upon the nobles, that they abandoned all thoughts of further reſiſtance, and diſpatched deputies to the court, that they were ready to concur with the commons, and ſubſcribe to all the conditions of the royal pleaſure *. CHAP. II.

Accordingly, on the 16th of October, the eſtates annulled, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the capitulation, or charter, ſigned by the king at his acceſſion, abſolved him from all his engagements, and cancelled all the limitations impoſed upon his ſovereignty. The whole was finally cloſed by the public ceremony of doing homage, and of taking the new oath, which was performed on the 18th. On that day ſeveral ſcaffolds were erected before the palace, adorned with ſcarlet cloth and tapeſtry, and furniſhed with rows of benches: on a platform, more elevated than the reſt, were placed two chairs of ſtate, under a canopy of velvet, for the king and queen, and theſe ſcaffolds communicated with the palace by an open gallery. At the appointed time, the citizens of Copenhagen, forming twelve companies, were drawn up on each ſide of the gallery; the garriſon ſurrounded the platform, and the avenues leading to it; while the regiment of guards ſecured the rear. At midday the king and queen, attended by the royal family, preceded by the nobles, and accompanied by the officers of ſtate,

* Holberg.

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repaired in ſolemn proceſſion, amid drums and trumpets, to the platform; and when the nobles, the deputies of the clergy, and commons, had taken their places, &c. the chancellor proclaimed *:

" Since it has pleaſed the Almighty, by the unanimous and voluntary re-
" ſolution of the ſtates, that this kingdom ſhould be rendered hereditary in
" the perſon of his Majeſty our Lord the King, and of his poſterity male and
" female; his Majeſty, after thanking the ſtates for this proof of their af-
" fection and zeal, not only promiſes to all his good and faithful ſubjects, to
" govern them as a Chriſtian and merciful prince ought to do; but alſo to
" eſtabliſh a form of government, under which they ſhall be ſecure of enjoy-
" ing the ſame advantages under his ſucceſſors; and as this unanimous reſo-
" lution of the ſtates requires a new oath of allegiance, his Majeſty diſcharges
" the ſtates from all thoſe oaths which they had formerly taken; aſſuring
" each perſon in particular of his royal favour and protection." After which all perſons who were preſent took the new oath of allegiance.

" I A. B. do promiſe and declare, that I will be true and faithful to your
" majeſty, as my moſt gracious king and lord, as alſo to your royal family;
" that I will endeavour to promote your Majeſty's intereſt in all things, and,
" to the beſt of my power, defend you from all danger and harm; and that I
" will faithfully ſerve your Majeſty, as a man of honour and an hereditary
" ſubject ought to do. So help me God †," &c.

The revolution being thus accompliſhed, a new form of government was promulgated, under the title of The Royal Law of Denmark. It conſiſts of 40 articles: the moſt remarkable whereof are the following ‡:

" The hereditary kings of Denmark and Norway ſhall be in effect, and
" ought to be eſteemed by their ſubjects, the only ſupreme head upon earth;
" they ſhall be above all human laws, and ſhall acknowledge, in all eccle-
" ſiaſtical and civil affairs, no higher power than God alone. The king
" ſhall enjoy the right of making and interpreting the laws, of abrogating,
" adding to, and diſpenſing with them. He may alſo annul all the laws
" which either he or his predeceſſors ſhall have made, excepting this Royal
" Law, which muſt remain irrevocable, and be conſidered as the fundamental

* Mallet. † Moleſworth. ‡ Lettres ſur le Dannemarc. Mallet.

" law

" law of the ſtate. He has the power of declaring war, making peace, im- CHAP. II.
" poſing taxes, and levying contributions of all ſorts," &c. &c.

Then follow the regulations for the order of ſucceſſion, the regency in caſe of minority, the majority of the king, the maintenance of the royal family; and, after having enumerated all the poſſible prerogatives of regal uncircumſcribed authority, as if ſufficient had not yet been laid down, it is added in the 26th article: " All that we have hitherto ſaid of power and " eminence, and ſovereignty, and if there is any thing further which has not " been expreſsly ſpecified, ſhall all be comprized in the following words. " The king of Denmark and Norway ſhall be the hereditary monarch, and " endued with the higheſt authority, inſomuch that all that can be ſaid and " written to the advantage of a Chriſtian, hereditary, and abſolute king, " ſhall be extended under the moſt favourable interpretation to the hereditary " king or queen of Denmark and Norway," &c. &c. *

Upon reviewing the principal circumſtances which led to this revolution, we cannot but remark, that the nobles were the victims of their own imprudence and obſtinacy. Had they yielded in due time, they might have ſecured many of their privileges; but as they did not comply until their concurrence was ſcarcely neceſſary, they could not command any compenſation for what they could not keep, and ſurrendered with the moſt evident reluctance: the deputies of the clergy and of the towns were hurried away by their reſentment againſt that order, whoſe tyranny they had long experienced, and whoſe future aſcendancy they dreaded; and they were ſo warmly animated by their admiration of the king, that they thought no ſacrifice too great which could aſſure him of their confidence, and teſtify their gratitude. Strange infatuation, that they ſhould diſcover no means of humbling their oppreſſors, and ſecuring their own immunities, without the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute government! Might they not have looſened the king's ſhackles, without tearing them off? The re-

* The reader will find an abridged extract of the ſeveral articles in Moleſworth, p. 186; and a French tranſlation in Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, p. 118; which tranſlation is alſo inſerted in Mallet's Hiſt. de Dannemarc, Vol. III. p. 475.

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ſerve of the legiſlative power, and right of taxation in the three eſtates, would ſufficiently have ſecured the freedom of the people, as well againſt the encroachments of the crown as the inſolence of a proud nobility. But the voice of reaſon is ſeldom heard amid the tumult of public animoſities and the uproar of faction. Self-intereſted and deſigning perſons, who have previouſly ſettled their end, and the mode of purſuing it, take advantage of every caſual incident; and the generality are blindly led away by their paſſions to effect what they ever afterwards regret.

"Thus this great affair," concludes Lord Moleſworth, "was "finiſhed, and the kingdom of Denmark, in four days time, "changed, from an eſtate little differing from ariſtocracy, to "as abſolute a monarchy as any is at preſent in the world." But theſe expreſſions have been conſidered as too ſtrong by ſeveral of the native hiſtorians; and even one of our own countrymen*, who wrote againſt his account of Denmark by deſire of the Daniſh miniſter, has contradicted his concluſion; becauſe Frederic III. did not abuſe his power, and becauſe he confirmed the privileges to the different orders. But ſurely when the ſovereign, according to the expreſſions of the Royal Law, is declared "independent upon earth, acknowledging "no higher power than God; when he has an unlimited autho-"rity to make, alter, repeal, and diſpenſe with laws; when he "alone can make peace and declare war; form alliances and "levy taxes; when, in a word, he enjoys all the rights and pre-"rogatives which an hereditary, abſolute, deſpotic king can en-"joy;" what ſignify privileges which he can annul at pleaſure? of what force are laws which he can repeal with a word? Allowing, what is true, that the kings of Denmark have ſeldom abuſed their authority; and without pretending to deny that the

* King's Animadverſions on a pretended Account of Denmark, in which the author animadverts upon ſeveral miſrepreſentations of Lord Moleſworth.

tyranny of the nobles had riſen to an exceſſive height, yet we CHAP. II. ſurely may conclude, that it would have been happier for the kingdom, if the power of the crown had been in ſome due degree limited, while the rights of the nobles had been qualified, not aboliſhed; and the people continued ſubjects of a limited monarchy, not enſlaved to arbitrary will and dominion.

CHAP. III.

I. Remarks on the population.—II. Finances.—III. Army.—IV. Navy.—V. Church eſtabliſhment in Denmark.

I. THE following table exhibits the population in the Daniſh dominions.

				No. of Inhabitants.	
Denmark.	Dioceſe of Zealand, including the iſles of Zealand, Moen, and Bornholm	—	Iſlands.	283,466	785,540
	Dioceſe of Funen, including the iſles of Funen, Langeland, Lolland, and Falſter	—	Iſlands.	143,988	
	Dioceſe of Aarhuus	—	Jutland	117,942	
	Ditto Ribet	—	Jutland	99,923	
	Ditto Aalborg	—	Jutland	80,872	
	Ditto Viborg	—	Jutland	59,399	
Iſles of Feroe		—		—	4,754
Norway.	Dioceſe of Agerhuus	—		215,043	723,141
	Ditto Chriſtianſand	—		113,024	
	Ditto Berghen	—		130,352	
	Ditto Drontheim	—		164,722	
Iceland.	Dioceſe of Scalholt	—		34,216	46,201
	Ditto Holun	—		11,985	
Duchy of Sleſwick		—		—	243,605
Duchy of Holſtein belonging to the king		—		—	134,665
Duchy of Gluckſburgh		—		—	10,072
Diſtrict of Kiel		—		—	75,000
Number of ſouls in the Daniſh dominions				—	2,023,028

II. Finances.

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II. Finances.—The revenues of Denmark are principally derived from the cuſtoms, duties upon exports and imports, exciſe on proviſions and liquors, poll-tax *, tax on ranks, on places, penſions, and perquiſites, on marriages †, land-tax, quit-rents from the royal demeſnes, licences on public houſes, privilege of diſtilling ſpirits, for leave to hunt and ſhoot in the royal manors, leaſes on farms and ſaw-mills, profits of the mines, ſtamped paper, duty on ſnuff, on cards, &c. &c. Buſching, who, as I am informed from perſons well verſed in this ſubject, has given a very accurate account of the Daniſh finances for the year 1769, informs us, that the groſs receipt amounted to £ 1,252,454. The expences, of which he has alſo laid down an exact detail, are rated at £ 936,130; of which ſum the army eſtimates came to £ 350,000; and thoſe of the navy to £ 180,000. The debts, in 1771, were only £ 3,418,009; the intereſt of which was diſcharged by an annual payment of £ 131,392; which muſt be added to the yearly expenditure ‡.

III. The army of Denmark is compoſed, 1. of the troops of Denmark and Holſtein; and, 2. of Norway.

1. The forces of Denmark and Holſtein are divided into, 1. Regulars; 2. National or militia. Theſe forces (the foot and

* The poll-tax takes place only in Denmark: it was at firſt laid upon the inhabitants of Norway, but has been ſince aboliſhed, and another impoſt ſubſtituted in its room; the peaſants, who are all free in that kingdom, having conſidered it as a badge of ſlavery. The towns of Altona and Bornholm are alſo exempted from it, upon the payment of an annual compenſation.

† The tax upon marriages, as I am informed, has been aboliſhed ſince my departure from Denmark; a tax which no wiſe legiſlature will ever think of impoſing; and if impoſed by inadvertence, would take the firſt opportunity of repealing, as highly detrimental to the real intereſts of the community. This tax was as equitably laid on in Denmark as ſo injudicious an impoſt was capable of being diſtributed, the peaſants and lower claſs of people being exempted from the payment of it.—"La por-" tion la plus nombreuſe," ſays the author of Les Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, "et la plus "pauvre de la ſocieté, les payſans, les mate-"lots, et les ſoldats, n'y ſont pas aſſujettis: "mais ſi le marriage doit être encouragé par "toutes les voies poſſibles, à plus forte raiſon "mérite-t-il d'être libre de toute charge. Celle "qui ſe paye ici eſt ſi modique, qu'elle ne "forme pas un grand obſtacle à la popula-"tion." p. 165.

‡ For further particulars ſee Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XIV. p. 1 to 92; and Erd-beſ. Vol. I. p. 143.

horſe

horſe guards excepted, who are all regulars) are not ſeparated, as in our army, into diſtinct regiments, but are formed in the following manner: CHAP. III.

To begin with the infantry. Before the late augmentation, every regiment, when complete, conſiſted of 26 officers, and 1632 privates, divided into ten companies of fuſileers, and two of grenadiers. Of theſe 1632 privates, 480, who are chiefly foreigners enliſted in Germany, are regulars. The remaining 1152 are the national militia, or peaſants, who reſide upon the eſtates of their landholders, each eſtate furniſhing a certain number in proportion to its value. Theſe national troops are occaſionally exerciſed in ſmall corps upon Sundays and holidays; and are embodied once every year, for about 17 days, in their reſpective diſtricts. By a late addition of 10 men to each company, a regiment of infantry is increaſed to 1778, including officers. The expence of each regiment, which before amounted to £ 6000, has been raiſed, by the late augmentation, to £ 8000. The cavalry is upon the ſame footing; each regiment conſiſting of 17 officers, including ſerjeants and corporals, and 565 privates, divided into five ſquadrons. Of theſe about 260 are regular, and the remainder national troops. The regiments of foot and horſe guards are regulars; the former is compoſed of 21 officers, and 465 men, in five companies; and the latter of 7 officers, and 154 men, in two ſquadrons.

2. The forces of Norway are all national troops or militia, excepting the two regiments of Sundenfield and Nordenfield. And as the peaſants of that kingdom are free, the forces are levied in a different manner from thoſe of Denmark. Norway is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, each whereof furniſhes a ſoldier. All the peaſants are, upon their birth, regiſtered for the militia; and the firſt on the liſt ſupplies the

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vacancy for the diſtrict to which he belongs. After having ſerved from ten to fourteen years, they are admitted among the invalids; and, when they have attained the ſeniority of that corps, receive their diſmiſſion. Theſe troops are not continually under arms, but are only occaſionally exerciſed, like the national forces of Denmark. A fixed ſtipend is aſſigned to the officers, nearly equal to that of the officers in the regulars: but the common ſoldiers do not receive any pay, except when they are in actual ſervice, or performing their annual manœuvres.

The Academy of Land Cadets, inſtituted by Frederic IV. ſupplies the army with officers. According to this foundation, 74 cadets are inſtructed in the military ſciences at the expence of the king.

Liſt of the Daniſh Army.

Infantry.—Daniſh and Holſtein.—Regulars and militia.	
Foot guards, reg.	486
Daniſh royal regiment, mixt	1778
Norway ditto, mixt	1778
King's ditto, mixt	1778
Queen's ditto, mixt	1778
Prince Royal's ditto, mixt	1778
Prince Frederic's ditto, mixt	1778
Jutland ditto, mixt	1778
Oldenburg ditto, mixt	1778
Bornholm ditto, mixt	1778
Sleſwic ditto, mixt	1778
Holſtein ditto, mixt	1778
Falſter ditto, mixt	1778
Moen ditto, mixt	1778
Delmenhorſt's ditto, mixt	1778
Total of Daniſh and Holſtein Infantry	25,378

Infantry of Norway.	
Regiment of Sunderfield, reg.	1376
Ditto of Nordenfield, reg.	1376
Firſt reg. of Agerhuus, national	1956
Second ditto, nat.	1956
Firſt ditto Smaalchen, nat.	1800
Second ditto, nat.	2082
Firſt ditto Drontheim, nat.	2082
Second ditto, nat.	1916
Third ditto, nat.	2089
Firſt ditto Oplande, nat.	2075
Second ditto, nat.	1916
Firſt ditto of Bergenhuus, nat.	1916
Second ditto, nat.	1916
Firſt ditto Verterbeck, nat.	1916
Second ditto, nat.	1916
Corps of light troops, nat.	960
Regiment of artillery, mixt	2771
Corps of engineers, reg.	34
Total of Infantry of Norway	31,053

Cavalry

Cavalry Daniſh and Holſtein.	
Horſe guards, regulars	161
Royal Daniſh regiment, mixt	582
Norway ditto, mixt	582
Firſt regiment of Zealand, mixt	582
Second ditto, mixt	582
Of Jutland, mixt	582
Funen, mixt	582
Sleſwick, mixt	582
Holſtein, mixt	582

Cavalry of Norway.	
Firſt regiment of dragoons, nat.	1168
Firſt ditto of Sundenfield, nat.	1168
Second ditto, national	1167
Third ditto, nat.	1079
Regiment of Nordenfield, nat.	1079
Total of Cavalry	10,478
Total of Infantry	56,431
Total of the Daniſh troops	66,909

IV. Navy. From their inſular ſituation the Danes have always excelled as a maritime people. In the earlier ages, when piracy was an honourable profeſſion, they were a race of pirates, and iſſued from the Baltic to the conqueſts of England and Normandy. And though, ſince the improvement of navigation by the invention of the compaſs, other nations have riſen to a greater degree of naval eminence, ſtill, however, the Danes, as they inhabit a cluſter of iſlands, and poſſeſs a large tract of ſea-coaſt, are well verſed in maritime affairs, and are certainly the moſt numerous, as well as the moſt experienced, ſailors of the North. During my ſtay at Copenhagen I viſited the dock, and inſpected, with great attention, the fleet at anchor in the harbour. The following reſult of my enquiries upon the ſtate of the Daniſh navy, is here laid before the reader.

The expence of building the hulk amounts to £200 per gun, and to £1000 when the veſſel is completely rigged, and ready to ſail, with four months proviſions. The greateſt part of the oak is procured from Germany by contract with the king of Pruſſia *. All the cannon, ſhot, anchors, and iron-work, are caſt in Norway. The Danes procure flax, hemp, and maſts from Ruſſia, and pitch and tar from Sweden; they

* Holſtein produces oaks, but not a ſufficient quantity; and they are preſerved in caſe of extreme neceſſity.

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have manufactures of cordage and ſails, but not ſufficient for the uſe of the fleet: the overplus is obtained from Ruſſia and Holland.

The greateſt part of the Daniſh navy is ſtationed in the harbour of Copenhagen, which lies within the fortifications: the depth of water being only 20 feet, the ſhips have not their lower tier of guns on board, but take them in when they get out of port. Beſide large magazines, each veſſel has a ſeparate ſtorehouſe, on the water's edge, oppoſite to which ſhe is moored when in harbour, and may by this means be inſtantly equipped. The number of regiſtered ſeamen are near 40,000, and are divided into two claſſes; the firſt comprizes thoſe inhabiting the coaſts, who are allowed to engage in the ſervice of merchant-ſhips trading to any part of the world. Each receives 8*s.* annually from the crown as long as he ſends a certificate of his being alive; but is ſubject to a recal in caſe of war. The ſecond comprehends the fixed ſailors, who are conſtantly in the employ of the crown, and amount to about 4000, ranged under four diviſions, or 40 companies: they are ſtationed at Copenhagen for the ordinary ſervice of the navy, and work in the dock-yard. Each of them, when not at ſea, receives 8*s.* per month, beſide a ſufficient quantity of flour and other proviſions; every two years a complete ſuit of clothes; and every year breeches, ſtockings, ſhoes, and a cap. Some of them are lodged in barracks. When they ſail, their pay is augmented to 20*s.* per month. The marine artillery conſiſts of 800 men, in four diviſions.

Liſt

List of the Daniſh Navy in 1779.

SHIPS of the LINE.

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1	Chriſtian VII.	90 —	Copenhagen	1767.
2	Superb	80 —	Ditto	1768.
3	Sophia Frederica	74 —	Ditto	1775.
4	Juſtitia	74 —	Ditto	1777.
5	Vandal	70 —	Ditto	1742. For Parade
6	Queen Louiſa	70 —	Ditto	1744.
7	Copenhagen	70 —	Ditto	1744. Condemned
8	Queen Juliana	70 —	Ditto	1752. Ditto
9	Prince Royal	70 —	Ditto	1756.
10	Denmark	70 —	Ditto	1757.
11	Jutland	70 —	North Sea	1760.
12	Prince Frederic	70 —	Copenhagen	1761.
13	Oere-Sund	70 —	Ditto	1766.
14	Northern Lyon	70 —	Ditto	1765.
15	Elephant	70 —	Ditto	1769.
16	Oldenburg	60 —	Ditto	1740. Condemned
17	North Star	60 —	Ditto	1746. For Parade
18	Zealand	60 —	Ditto	1750. Ditto
19	Neptune	60 —	Ditto	1750. Ditto
20	Storman	60 —	Ditto	1751. Ditto
21	Iceland	60 —	Ditto	1751. Ditto
22	Victory	60 —	Ditto	1754.
23	Princeſs Sophia Magdalena	60 —	Ditto	1763.
24	Princeſs Wilhelmina	60 —	Ditto	1764.
25	Danebrog	60 —	Ditto	1772.
26	Holſtein	60 —	Ditto	1772.
27	Wagria	60 —	Ditto	1773.
28	Infoeds Retten	60 —	Ditto	1776.
29	Ditmarſſen	50 —	Ditto	1742. Condemned
30	Delmenhurſt	50 —	Ditto	1743. Ditto
31	Ebenezer	50 —	North Sea	1758.
32	Nettleblad	50 —	Copenhagen	1746. Condemned
33	Funen	50 —	Ditto	1746. Parade
34	Greenland	50 —	North Sea	1756.
35	Sainte Croix	50 —	Ditto	1758.
36	Mars	50 —	Copenhagen	1760.
37	Sleſwick	50 —	Ditto	1766.
38	Diſco	44 —	Ditto	1778.

FRIGATES.

Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1 Pearl	34 —	Copenhagen	1772.
2 Kiel	36 —	Ditto	1775.
3 Bornholm	36 —	Ditto	1774.
4 Moen	36 —	Ditto	1777.
5 Croneborg	34 —	Ditto	1776.
6 Chriſtiana	34 —	Ditto	
7 Dockin	24 —	Ditto	1750. Parade
8 Moen	28 —		1752.
9 Blue Eagle	30 —		1753. Parade
10 Savage	18 —		1754. Parade
11 Chriſtianborg	34 —	North Sea	1758.
12 Sea Horſe	18 —	Copenhagen	1758.
13 Langeland	18 —	Ditto	1758.
14 Falſter	30 —	Ditto	1760.
15 Syren	—	Ditto	
16 Tranquebar	34 —	Ditto	1761.
17 Alſen	—	Ditto	
18 Chriſtiana	30 —	Ditto	1766.
19 Feroe	34 —	Ditto	1766.
20 Sanroe	22 —	Ditto	1770.
	Swivels		
Eagle Royal Yacht	26 —	Ditto	1756.

Bomb Ketches.—Bravery; Serious; Comet; Courage; Dragon.

Recapitulation: 38 ſhips of the line, including 9 of fifty guns and one of 44, and 20 frigates; but if we except thoſe which are condemned, and thoſe which are allotted only for parade, we cannot eſtimate that, in 1779, the fleet conſiſted of more than 25 ſhips of the line, and 15 frigates fit for ſervice; a number, however, fully adequate to the ſituation of Denmark; and, if we include the excellence of the ſailors, it muſt be eſteemed as complete a navy as any in the North.

A ſhip of 90 guns, with its full complement, carries 850 men; of 70 guns 700; of 64 guns 600; of 50 guns 450; and a frigate of 36 guns 250. Moſt part of this fleet is generally moored at Copenhagen, except four or five ſhips of the line in the ports of Norway; a frigate ſtationed off Elſinoor; another lying off the iſle of Funen; and a ſmaller veſſel upon the Elbe; beſide a frigate or two which annually make a cruize.

The

The year 1779 being celebrated for the riſe of the armed neutrality, the northern powers ſent out naval armaments; that of Denmark, which was fitting out in the ſpring of that year, conſiſted of ten ſhips of the line, four frigates, and two ſloops of 20 guns; and the expence of the equipment was chiefly ſupplied by an additional duty of one per cent. laid upon all imports, and half per cent. upon exports. For the manning of this fleet 1000 fixed ſailors were ſelected, 3500 regiſtered from the country, and 1000 marines.

The chief nurſery * for the officers of the navy is the Academy of Marine Cadets, inſtituted by Frederic IV. in 1701. The foundation is for 60 cadets, who are maintained and inſtructed in the theory of navigation at the expence of the crown. Every year they make a cruize on board of a frigate. Beſide the original number, other youths are admitted into this academy, under the name of volunteers, at their own expence.

V. The eſtabliſhed religion of Denmark is the Lutheran. The hierarchy conſiſts of 12 biſhops, or ſuperintendants; ſix in Denmark, four in Norway, and two in Iceland. There is no archbiſhop; but the biſhop of Zealand, who is firſt in rank, and the biſhop of Aggerhuus, are metropolitans.

The annual revenues of the ſees are as follow. In Denmark: Zealand £1000; Funen £760; Aarhuus £600; Aalborg £400; and Ripan £400. In Norway: Chriſtiana, or Aggerhuus £400; Chriſtianſand £600; Berghen £400; and Drontheim £400. In Iceland: Skalholt £150; and Holun £150. Theſe two laſt biſhoprics, although far inferior in nominal value to the former, are, if we take into conſideration the cheap manner of living in Iceland, perhaps equal in real profits to the largeſt of the others.

The other clergy are provoſts or archdeacons, pariſh-prieſts, and chaplains. Each dioceſe is divided into a certain number

* Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, p. 10.

of

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of diſtricts, over which the provoſts have the inſpection, and each diſtrict into pariſhes. A large pariſh, beſide the principal church, has one or more additional chapels of eaſe. The pariſh-prieſts receive their ſalaries principally in glebe, tithes, and ſurplice fees; and in ſome places from the voluntary contributions of their pariſhioners. The profits vary in the different parts according to the cheapneſs of proviſions and other incidental circumſtances. In Denmark the livings ſeldom exceed £400, or fall ſhort of £60 per annum, Jutland excepted, in which peninſula there are a few ſcarcely worth £20. In Norway the higheſt may be rated at £200, and the loweſt at £60. In Iceland ſome pariſhes ſcarcely bring in £3 or £4 a year. A clergyman's widow uſually receives the whole profit of her huſband's cure for the year immediately following his deceaſe; and a penſion from his ſucceſſor, amounting to the eighth of the annual income.

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Univerſity of Copenhagen.—*Royal Academy of Sciences.*—*Royal Society for the improvement of Northern hiſtory and languages.*—Latin *ſchools in the* Daniſh *dominions.*—*Reſearches into the origin and progreſs of* Icelandic *literature.*—Flora Danica.—Oeder *and* Muller.—Regenfuſs *on ſhells*, &c. &c.

COPENHAGEN contains, among other literary inſtitutions, an Univerſity, and an Academy of Sciences. The former was founded in 1479, by Chriſtian I. and has ſince been augmented

mented and amply endowed by his ſucceſſors; amongſt whom Chriſtian VI. was its greateſt benefactor. Under that monarch the univerſity was newly modelled, and ſeveral regulations eſtabliſhed, which were calculated for the encouragement and diffuſion of general learning. It has a very conſiderable fund; the profeſſors have liberal ſalaries; and many ſtudents are inſtructed gratis.

The Royal Academy of Sciences * owes its inſtitution to the zeal of ſix literati, whom Chriſtian VI. in 1742, ordered to arrange his cabinet of medals. Theſe perſons occaſionally meeting for that purpoſe, extended their deſigns; aſſociated with them others who were eminent in ſeveral branches of ſcience; and forming a kind of literary ſociety, employed themſelves in ſearching into, and explaining the hiſtory and antiquities of their country. The count of Holſtein warmly patronized this ſociety, and recommended it ſo ſtrongly to Chriſtian VI. that, in 1743, his Daniſh majeſty took it under his protection, called it the Royal Academy of Sciences, endowed it with a fund, and ordered the members to join to their former purſuits, natural hiſtory, phyſics, and mathematics. In conſequence of the royal favour, the members engaged with freſh zeal in their purſuits; and the academy has publiſhed 15 volumes of tranſactions in the Daniſh language, ſome whereof have been tranſlated into Latin.

About the ſame period a ſociety for the improvement of northern hiſtory and languages was inſtituted by a few perſons, at the head of whom was Langebek, who has ſince greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his hiſtorical publications. Theſe perſons contributed to a collection of manuſcripts, books, coins, and other literary curioſities; and even advanced a ſum of

* Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, Vol. II. p. 53. The count of Holſtein was the firſt preſident; and the ſix perſons who firſt formed the deſign, were John Gram, Joachim Frederic Ramus, Chriſtian Louis Scheid, Marc Woldikey, Eric Pontopidan, and Bernhard Moelman. See Scripta a Soc. Haf. Edita. V. I.

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money to support the expence of their establishment. Many new members being admitted, Christian VI. with his usual zeal for letters, constituted it, in 1746, a Royal Society, and assigned an apartment in the palace of Charlottenburgh for the place of meeting. This society has proved itself not unworthy of the royal protection, having put forth several publications, containing historical details, titles, documents, diplomas, rare manuscripts and charts, which tend to throw light upon the annals of Denmark.

Beside the universities of Copenhagen and Kiel, there is an academy at Soroe, and two gymnasia at Odensee and Altona, and a seminary for Laplanders at Berghen in Norway. There are various Latin schools maintained at the expence of the crown: 19 in Denmark Proper, 4 in Norway, 11 in Schleswick, 16 in Holstein, and 2 in Iceland. The largest schools have a *rector*, or upper-master; a *corrector*, or lower-master; and two or three *collegæ scholæ*, or assistants: the smallest have only a rector. The salaries of the masters vary from £60 to £200 a year. Each parish also is provided with two or three schools for the Danish tongue; where children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. These country schoolmasters have in general a salary of about £12 per annum, a house, and a few other advantages.

I must also mention two schools at Copenhagen for the children of the nobility and gentry, who are unable to bear the expence of a proper education. One is for boys, and the other for females. That for boys is under the direction of professor Treschow, chaplain of the garrison-church at Copenhagen, a gentleman of considerable erudition, who, considering it as an act of charity, receives no recompence for his trouble. An inspector has £60 per annum. The day-scholars pay only £6 a year, and the boarders £20: they learn history, geography, and arithmetic;

metic; are inſtructed in the articles of their religion; and have maſters for the German, French, and Engliſh languages. CHAP. IV.

In general the Daniſh literati have particularly turned their reſearches upon the hiſtory and antiquities of the North; on which ſubjects many curious works have been already printed, and more are ſtill preparing for public inſpection. Among thoſe who have greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this branch of learning, muſt be mentioned the names of Meurſius, Holberg, Olaus Wormius, Pontopidan; and lately thoſe of Langebek, Schoening*, and Suhm.

Among the performances lately put forth on theſe topics, thoſe in the Icelandic tongue deſerve particular notice; as they tend to throw conſiderable light upon the antiquities, hiſtory, and mythology of the northern nations; Iceland being in the remote ages, while Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were in a ſtate of perpetual warfare, the ſole refuge and repoſitory of Northern literature. Upon obſerving ſuch a number of Icelandic manuſcripts as are contained in the Daniſh libraries, I was greatly aſtoniſhed to find that Iceland, which was conſidered by the antients as the *Ultima Thule*, or the extremity of the world, and by us as ſcarcely habitable, abounded in learning and ſcience, at a time when Europe was involved in darkneſs. I was anxious to make ſome enquiries upon this ſubject, and the reſult of them is here communicated to the reader.

It does not appear from hiſtory at what time Iceland was firſt peopled; when it was occupied by a colony of Norwegians in the

* Langebek, who, among other learned publications, has put forth, "Scriptores Re-"rum Danicarum Medii Ævi," printed at the king's expence, was a native of Jutland, and born in 1710; and, after a life devoted to the purſuits of learning, died about 1776.

Schoening, the learned editor of Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſtoria, and many other intereſting works, was born at Schatnas in Norway, in 1722, and died in 1778. The curious reader, who is deſirous of further information on this ſubject, will find an ample detail of the lives and writings of theſe two indefatigable antiquaries in the Prefaces to the 4th and 5th volumes of the Scriptores Rerum Danicarum, which publication is continued by Mr. Suhm, with the ſame diligence and accuracy that diſtinguiſhed the judicious Langebek.

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latter end of the 9th century, it contained but few inhabitants, who were ſuppoſed to have originally arrived there from England or Ireland, but whoſe number was inadequate to reſiſt the invaders. Afterwards occaſional emigrants landed at different parts from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; and the original inhabitants were ſoon loſt amid the ſwarm of the new ſettlers, who introduced the worſhip of Thor and Odin, and all the rites and cuſtoms which at that time prevailed among the nations of the neighbouring continent. Their language was the old Gothic or Teutonic, the vernacular tongue of the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, before it branched into the ſeveral dialects ſince ſpoken by the natives of thoſe three kingdoms; and on account of their inſular ſituation, it was preſerved pure for a very conſiderable time. Their alphabet was compoſed of the Runic characters, only ſixteen in number; yet, it is to theſe Icelanders that we are indebted for almoſt all the hiſtorical monuments of the northern nations now remaining *. From them ſprung the Scalds, thoſe antient bards who have tranſmitted, in their hiſtorical poems, the principal events which happened in theſe remote quarters of the world, from the arrival of Odin to the introduction of Chriſtianity; a period of barbariſm and ignorance, which, without their labours, had been totally unknown to poſterity. Although theſe Scaldic odes blend occaſionally hiſtorical events with improbable narratives, yet, as intelligent critics may ſeparate facts from fable, and truth from fiction, and as they are the only ſources of information relative to the early affairs of the North, they muſt be conſidered as very valuable monuments of antiquity. Add to this, that the recital of theſe compoſitions, at public entertainments, before the princes whoſe deeds they celebrated, and who, as well as many

* Speaking of the Icelandic writings, the editor of Kriſtni Saga ſays, "Habemus enim "irriguos illos fontes, unde religionis, poeſeos, "imo incunabulorum gentis noſtræ notitia manat, decantatiſſimas nempe Eddas, &c. Habemus integros et plenos codices hiſtoriarum, "quæ circa heroica verſantur tempora."

other perſons preſent, were well acquainted with the ſubject of the poem, affords a collateral proof of their authenticity *. CHAP. IV.

A few of theſe odes were written in Runic characters †, the far greater part, however, were conſigned only to memory; but no ſooner was the chriſtian religion introduced into Iceland, about the latter end of the 9th century ‡, than the Runic letters were exchanged for the Roman alphabet; ſchools were founded; the love of ſcience, which had in ſome degree maintained itſelf, even when the inhabitants were in a ſtate of paganiſm, revived with freſh vigour; many antient poems were collected; many chronicles digeſted into a regular form; and the very traditions of pagan theology reſcued from oblivion. The Icelanders are known to have poſſeſſed ſeveral hiſtorians, long before a ſingle annaliſt appeared among any of the nations from whom they were deſcended. Their authors Iſlief, Are, and Sæmund, who flouriſhed in the 11th century, preceded Saxo-

* Snorro Sturleſon, who drew from theſe Scaldic Odes many materials for his Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, thus ſpeaks of them: "Præcipue carmina ſumus ſecuti, quæ coram ipſis principibus aut eorum filiis ſunt decantata, vera reputantes omnia, quæ iſtis in carminibus de eorum geſtis aut bellis memoriæ ſunt prodita. More quidem Skaldis eſt receptum, præcipue laudare, cui miniſtrant. Aſt nemo facile auderet, coram ipſo principe, laudes et facta cantare, quæ tam ipſe quam alii præſentes ſcirent mera eſſe figmenta. Hoc dedecori non laudi eſſet." See Preface to Schoening's Edition of Snorro Sturlenſis, p. 12. note.

† "Though we have no reaſon to believe they were cut upon ſtones, as was practiſed among us (no Runic ſtones having been found there whoſe age reaches to the times of paganiſm); they uſed, however, to ſcratch them on their bucklers, and ſometimes on their cielings and walls; and the *Laxdaela Saga* makes mention of one Olof of Hiardarhult, who had a large houſe built, on the beams and rafters of which remarkable ſtories are ſaid to have been marked, in the ſame manner as Thorkil Hake cut an account of his own deeds on his bedſtead and chair." Letters on Iceland, p. 158.

‡ In the Kriſtni Saga, the Introduction of Chriſtianity into Iceland is thus related: "Thorwaldus, a perſon of ſome diſtinction in Iceland, the inhabitants of which were all idolaters, happening to travel through Saxony, commenced acquaintance with a certain biſhop, whoſe name was Frederic; and being inſtructed by him in the Chriſtian doctrines, was baptized. He then prevailed upon the biſhop to return with him to Iceland, in order to convert the natives to Chriſtianity. And as the biſhop was ignorant of the language, Thorwaldus, receiving inſtruction, preached to the people, and many were baptized. This event, which laid the firſt foundation of the Goſpel in Iceland, happened in the year 980." See Kriſtni Saga, p. 3, &c.

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Grammaticus and Sueno, the earlieſt of the Daniſh, Swediſh, or Norwegian writers.

It would be an intereſting ſpeculation in the theory of mankind, if it could be accounted for, "how it came to paſs, that a "people, disjoined from the reſt of the world, few in number, "depreſſed by poverty, and ſituated in ſo unfavourable a cli- "mate, ſhould be capable, in thoſe dark ages, of manifeſting "ſuch a taſte for literature. Were we better informed of cer- "tain particulars relating to the ſtate of the North during thoſe "remote ages, we might poſſibly find the cauſe of this phæno- "menon, either in the poverty of the inhabitants of Iceland, "which drove them to ſeek their fortunes in the neighbouring "countries; or in the ſucceſs of their firſt bards at foreign "courts, which excited their emulation, and at the ſame time "prepoſſeſſed ſtrangers in their favour; or, laſtly, in the nature "of their republican government, in which the talent of ora- "tory, and the reputation of ſuperior ſenſe and capacity, are the "direct roads to dignity, reſpect, and preferment *." To theſe cauſes may perhaps be joined the political tranquillity of Iceland, which remaining unſhaken amid the civil commotions that convulſed the neighbouring nations, its inhabitants had ſufficient leiſure for literary occupations; and ſome may alſo be induced to add, the nature of their climate, which obliged them to ſeek for ſome relief againſt the tedioufneſs of the long nights and continued darkneſs †.

But to return to the Icelandic authors. The moſt antient hiſtorian was Iſlief, biſhop of Skalholt. This writer was ſon of Giſſur Albus, a perſon of great diſtinction in Iceland, and deſcended from the antient kings of Denmark, who conſiderably promoted the reception and eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. Iſlief

* Nor. Ant. Vol. I. p. 392.

† Ipſi in defoſſis ſpecubus ſecura ſub altâ
Otia agunt terrâ ——
Hic noctem ludo ducunt. Virgil, Georg. III. 376.

was

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was born in 1006; and, having received the firſt rudiments of learning from his father, was ſent, about the 16th year of his age, for the purpoſe of completing his education, into Saxony, and made rapid advances in ſeveral branches of knowledge *. Being ordained prieſt, he returned to Iceland, and fixed his reſidence at Skalholt, where his father had erected a church, and preached the Goſpel with a moſt fervent and perſuaſive eloquence. Iſlief was the firſt native biſhop of Iceland: he was raiſed to that dignity in the 50th year of his age, at the requeſt of the inhabitants, by particular deſire of the emperor Henry III. and during the pontificate of Leo IX. He was conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Bremen, on the 6th of January 1056, and returning the ſame year to Iceland, fixed the ſee at Skalholt, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1080, in the 75th year of his age, Iſlief is deſcribed as a perſon of a dignified aſpect, affable, juſt and upright in all his actions, liberal and beneficent, though, from the narrowneſs of his income, he was frequently expoſed to extreme penury. The fame of his learning and piety was ſo widely diffuſed, that many foreign biſhops viſited Iceland, for the purpoſe of receiving his inſtructions: and his memory was ſo highly revered among his countrymen, that his name was eſteemed ſynonymous to ſanctity and erudition. He was married to Dalla, daughter of Thorwaldus, by whom he had three ſons, all of whom were celebrated for their talents and knowledge; but particularly Giſſur, who ſucceeded his father in the biſhopric, and in his zeal for the propagation of the Goſpel, and the promotion of learning. Iſlief guarded againſt the decline of literature in Iceland, by aſſiduouſly inſtructing many pupils, ſome of whom became eminently diſtinguiſhed; and two were advanced to the epiſcopal dignity. He was well verſed in the hiſtory of the

* This account of Iſlief I have extracted from Kriſtni Saga, p. 106 to 109, 130 to 141. Hungarvaka Saga, p. 13 to 25.

North;

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North; and compiled ſeveral annals, which, though now loſt, furniſhed materials for the chronicles of the earlieſt Icelandic authors, whoſe works are at preſent extant. I allude to Are, ſurnamed the Sage, who was educated by Teitus, ſon of Iſlief; Sæmund Sigfurſon, for his great erudition denominated Polyhiſtor; and Snorro Sturleſon, ſtyled by his learned editor the Herodotus of the North; all of whom immediately ſucceeded Iſlief, and wrote on the hiſtory of Norway.

Many ſubſequent annaliſts made their appearance, of whom it would be ſuperfluous to give an account. Several of theſe writings, compoſed in the Icelandic tongue, have been given to the public, ſome printed in Iceland *, others in Sweden; but the greateſt part in Denmark, accompanied with Swediſh, Daniſh, or Latin tranſlations †. The moſt important of theſe publications is a folio edition of the above-mentioned chronicle of Snorro, printed at Copenhagen in 1778. It is accompanied with a life of the author, from which it appears, that he was born in 1178; that he received his education, and completed his ſtudies in Iceland; that he was chief magiſtrate of the country; and that he was killed in an inſurrection in 1241, in the 63d year of his age. His biographer ſays, that he was an excellent poet, an accurate hiſtorian, and a ſkilful lawyer, that he was a proficient in the Greek and Latin tongues, and not ignorant of mathematics and mechanics ‡. From his chronicle, Torfæus, the late annaliſt of the North, has chiefly drawn the materials for his Hiſtory of Norway; and he acknowledges himſelf indebted to Snorro more than to any other writer.

* Von Troil informs us, that printing was introduced into Iceland by John (or Jonas) Areſon, biſhop of Holun; that John Mathieſſon, a Swede, was the firſt printer; and that the firſt book was the Breviarium Nidaroſieuſe, printed in 1531 at Holun. He adds, that new types were brought thither in 1574; and that the Icelandic Bible was printed in 1584. See Letters on Iceland, p. 182.

† For a liſt of the Icelandic authors, ſee Preface to Annales Biornornis de Skardſa, p. 5. North. Ant. I. p. 52, & paſſim. Letters on Iceland, Letter XIV. The library of the Britiſh Muſeum contains about 180 Icelandic manuſcripts. See Ayſcough's Catalogue of the manuſcripts of the Britiſh Muſeum, p. 890.

‡ Preface, p. ix.

From

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From the 14th century, history and letters gradually declined in Iceland, and that island was involved in the same darkness which had for some time overspread Europe. The reformation, which was introduced in the middle of the 16th century, occasioned the revival of science. Although there never have been wanting among the inhabitants men of considerable learning, yet, as knowledge has widely diffused itself in Sweden and Denmark under the protection of their sovereigns, these kingdoms have become greatly enlightened; and Iceland is no longer, what it was formerly, the sole repository of northern genius *.

Although the Danish literati have directed their chief attention to history and antiquities, yet they have by no means been deficient in the study of nature.

Frederic V. the late king of Denmark, a munificent patron of the sciences, founded, about the year 1751, a botanical garden at Charlottenburgh, intended principally to facilitate a royal and liberal design of giving a complete history, and engravings, of all the native plants in the Danish dominions †. The superintendance of this garden, with a stipend annexed, and afterwards the professorship of botany in the Royal Academy of Copenhagen, were conferred on Mr. Oeder, who was chosen to conduct the work. In prosecution of this design, having, at the king's expence, visited various parts of Denmark and Norway, he began the publication in 1762.

The Flora Danica was intended to contain, in the folio form, figures of all the indigenous plants of Denmark, Norway, those of the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, and of many from Iceland; a tract of country extending more than 16 degrees, be-

* I am chiefly indebted for information upon the literary history of Iceland to Mallet's North. Antiq. translated by Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore; Von Troil's Letters on Iceland, translated by Forster; Torfæi Hist. Norw. Snorro Sturlensis Hist. Regum Norw. and the several publications of the Icelandic writers printed at Copenhagen.

† This account of the Flora Danica, and of Messrs. Oeder and Muller, was chiefly communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, to whom I have been so repeatedly obliged.

tween

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tween the 54th degree of latitude and the North Cape. A hiſtory of all theſe plants, to be publiſhed in octavo, was alſo promiſed, but this part of the plan has not yet been completed.

Of this Flora Danica, a number, or *faſciculus*, containing 60 plates, was intended to be annually publiſhed, and the firſt came forth in 1762: but, according to the uſual fate of periodical undertakings of ſuch conſiderable extent, a variety of cauſes has, at different times, retarded its regular progreſs; inſomuch, that the 15th *faſciculus* only, completing the number of 900 plates, or 5 volumes, made its appearance in 1782. This work may be purchaſed either coloured or plain. The names of the plants are not engraved on the plates; neither from the nature of the ſubject could any regular method, or ſyſtem, be obſerved in the publication. The plants are ſeparately figured; each engraving contains one plant only, except in thoſe of the claſs Cryptogamia, where, in ſome inſtances, ſeveral are given in the ſame plate. Prefixed to each *faſciculus* is a nomenclature, with the Linnæan names, and a few ſelect ſynonyms, and an account of the places of growth. As often as the ſize will admit, the plant is exhibited in its natural magnitude; in others, a branch only, and, in moſt inſtances, the parts of fructification are ſeparately delineated: an article indiſpenſable to botanical accuracy. In ſome of the larger plants, beſide the branch of the natural ſize, the whole is given on a reduced ſcale; but it muſt be confeſſed, that this part of the deſign is the leaſt meritorious: happily it does not often occur.

The 12th *faſciculus*, in 1777, was accompanied with an index of all the plants already engraved, or intended to be contained in this work; by which it appears, that the whole number will nearly amount to 1800 ſpecies; of which more than 570 are of the claſs Cryptogamia; or that which contains the ferns, moſſes, algæ, and fungi. And, that any curious perſons, yet unacquainted with this work, may judge how far

far it might be ſubſervient to their knowledge of Engliſh botany, it may be added, that, out of 980 ſpecies already figured in the 15 firſt *faſciculi*, more than 700 are alſo ſponta-neouſly produced in Britain.

Magnificent and accurate as this work is, and though carried on at the king's expence, truth will not be offended by aſſerting, that the execution of it is ſtill inferior to a performance of the ſame kind, now publiſhing in England, at the riſk of an individual. I allude to Mr. Curtis's *Flora Londinenſis*; which, for the magnitude of the plates, the nice diſcrimination and figures of the fructification, has not been paralleled by any other publication of ſuch ſcope and deſign; nor is the merit of the *Flora Londinenſis* confined to the accurate elegance of the plates: it contains a minute deſcription of each plant, and is enriched by ſcientific, uſeful, and œconomical obſervations, either extracted from the beſt writers, or derived from the extenſive knowledge of its author. It is but juſtice to add, that the minute plants of the claſs Cryptogamia, in the delineation of which the *Flora Danica* is extremely deficient, are figured with the utmoſt exactneſs by Mr. Curtis, who has introduced to the Engliſh botaniſt five new ſpecies of *agarici* *. Every lover of ſcience muſt join in wiſhing, that the *Flora Londinenſis* may meet with all that encouragement which is due to a work that will honour the age and the nation in which it appears.

Chriſtian Oeder, to whom, through the liberality of his monarch, we are indebted for the *Flora Danica*, was the pupil and friend of the celebrated Haller, under whom he was educated at Gottingen. It appears, by Dr. Nugent's account of Oeder †, that he viſited England in his younger days, and had acquired a great knowledge of the language. Whilſt he

* A. Oſtreatus; Phycatilis; Glutinoſus; Floccoſus; Velutipes.

† See Nugent's Travels through Germany, Vol. I.

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was a ſtudent at Gottingen, he tranſlated all the Engliſh treatiſes for a Latin edition of Dr. Mead's works, which Haller publiſhed in 2 vols. 8vo, in 1748. The ſucceeding year he took his doctor's degree in phyſic, and wrote, on that occaſion, a theſis, which Haller calls "*Docta Diſſertatio contra revulſionem* "*& derivationem.*" In 1752, at which period he was ſettled at Copenhagen, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Gottingen named him a correſpondent member, and ſoon after he was made ſuperintendant of the botanical garden at Copenhagen, and profeſſor of botany. In 1752 Oeder preſided at the public diſputation of Dr. Peter Aſcanius, and took that occaſion to write on irritability; a ſubject on which the experiments and obſervations of his great maſter had drawn the attention of anatomiſts and phyſicians.

Having performed many journies, accompanied by a draughtſman, into the different provinces of Denmark, and collected great materials for the intended *Flora*, he publiſhed, in 1762, the firſt *faſciculus*; and in 1764, as a part of his plan, his Elements of Botany, in 8vo. This work exhibits a profound knowledge of his ſubject; and the author has given the outlines of a new method of arrangement, adapted only to the plants of Europe. The ſecond volume of the Elements was printed in 1766, and is embelliſhed with fourteen excellent plates, explanatory of the technical part of his ſubject. His ſyſtem was intended to comprize eight claſſes, under the following titles: 1. *Cryptantheræ*; 2. *Monocotyledones*; 3. *Amentaceæ*; 4. *Incompletæ*; 5. *Calycarpæ*; 6. *Calycanthemæ*; 7. *Monopetalæ*; 8. *Polypetalæ*. Of this ſyſtem the author has only exemplified the firſt claſs, which he publiſhed in a ſeparate volume in 1770, in 8vo, and in which are methodically arranged 1239 ſpecies, with the ſpecific names, from Dillenius, Haller, and Linnæus.

It is greatly to be regretted, that this ingenious naturaliſt has been called from the paths of ſcience by an appointment

to

to an office in the treaſury, where he has ſhowed himſelf no leſs qualified to excel in the civil line.

Upon the publication of the 11th *faſciculus* of the *Flora Danica*, in 1775, the further proſecution of the work was committed to the care of Dr. Otto Frederic Muller, a gentleman who has ſince given to the public ſeveral valuable ſpecimens of his knowledge in natural hiſtory; particularly a curious work under the title of *Hiſtoria Vermium*; another under that of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Prodromus*; and is now engaged, under the higheſt patronage, in publiſhing the figures of all the rarer animals of the kingdom of Denmark, under the title of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Icones*, of which two *faſciculi* have made their appearance.

In ſpeaking of the publications on natural hiſtory, it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the moſt ſplendid work of the kind ever produced in any nation. It is a collection of rare ſhells, in two volumes, folio, engraved and coloured by Francis Michael Regenfuſs, at the royal expence. The firſt volume, which is the only one I have ſeen, contains a ſhort account of the collections of natural hiſtory, and particularly of ſhells, in Denmark; a preliminary diſcourſe on conchology, with a detail of the ſeveral authors who have written on the ſubject, and their different ſyſtems, and 78 complete and delicately coloured figures, in 12 plates, accompanied with ſcientific deſcriptions in the Latin, French, and German languages *.

The kings of Denmark have occaſionally deputed, and ſtill continue to ſend, at their expence, men of learning through their own territories, and into various parts of the world, for the purpoſe of extending the bounds of knowledge.

Langebek travelled through the Daniſh dominions, and into Sweden, with a view to collect documents, charters, and other

* Choix de Coquillages Gravées.

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ſtate papers, relative to the antient hiſtory of the North; and Schoening for the ſame purpoſe, at the expence of prince Frederic. Among others now employed in the execution of the ſame royal plan, Dr. Moldenhauer, a gentleman of various and profound erudition, has lately viſited England and France, and is now in Spain, in order to examine the libraries for manuſcripts in Oriental and claſſical learning. But the literary expedition which reflects the higheſt honour upon the crown of Denmark, and holds up an example to be imitated by the other ſovereigns, was begun in 1761, under the auſpices of Frederic V. who, at the ſuggeſtion of the late count Bernſdorf, diſpatched four perſons * eminently verſed in different branches of ſcience, to Arabia; of which curious and intereſting journey Niebuhr, the only ſurvivor, has publiſhed a much eſteemed account †.

* Frederic Chriſtian Haven for Oriental languages; Forſkall and Dr. Cramer for natural hiſtory; Niebuhr for hiſtory and geography; they were accompanied by a draughtſman.

† Beſchreibung von Arabien; Reiſe Beſchreibung nach Arabien, &c. in 3 vols. This work has been tranſlated into the French language. Deſcription de l'Arabie. They departed from Copenhagen in 1761.

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Departure from Copenhagen.—*Journey through the* Iſle of Zealand.—Roſkild.—*The cathedral.*—*Sepulchres of ſeveral ſovereigns of* Denmark.—*Tombs and characters of* Harald Blaatand.—Sweyn II.—Margaret *of* Valdemar.—Chriſtian I.—*Genealogical tables of the kings of* Denmark.—Saxo-Grammaticus.—*Royal ſepulchres at* Ringſted.—*Paſſage acroſs the* Great Belt.—*Iſle of* Funen.—Odenſee.—*Tombs and characters of* John *and* Chriſtian II.—*Paſſage acroſs the* Little Belt.—*Journey through* Sleſwic *and* Holſtein.—*Canal of* Kiel.—*General remarks on the circular ranges of ſtones frequent in* Sweden *and* Denmark.

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APRIL 5. Upon quitting Copenhagen, we paſſed along an excellent road, through a well-cultivated open country, to Roſkild, formerly the royal reſidence and the metropolis of Denmark. It ſtands at a ſmall diſtance from the bay of Iſefiord; and, in its flouriſhing ſtate, was of great extent, comprizing within its walls 27 churches, and as many convents *. Its preſent circumference is ſcarcely half an Engliſh mile, and it contains only about 1620 ſouls: the houſes are of brick, and of a neat appearance. The only remains of its original magnificence are the ruins of a palace, and the cathedral, a brick building with two ſpires, in which the kings of Denmark are interred. According to an inſcription in the choir, it was founded † by Harald VI. who is ſtyled king of Den-

* Holberg, Vol. I. p. 618.

† Little of the original building now remains. According to Holberg, it was conſtructed of wood, and afterwards built with ſtone in the reign of Canute.

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mark, England, and Norway. Some verſes, in barbarous Latin, obſcurely allude to the principal incidents of his life; adding, that he built this church, and died in 980 *. This Harald, ſurnamed Blaatand, was ſon of Gormo III. called the Old; and was the firſt king of Denmark who embraced the Chriſtian religion. His name occurs in the old Saxon Chronicles as one of the invaders of England in the 10th century, where he eſtabliſhed his authority over the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and of Northumberland. But his hiſtory is ſo mixed with fable, that glaring contradictions appear in almoſt every incident. He loſt his life in conſequence of an inſurrection headed by his ſon Sweyn; but whether he was ſlain in battle, or by order of the rebel party, is not known. Harald was father of a line of kings, who raiſed the power of Denmark to the higheſt greatneſs. His ſon, Sweyn I. is well known in our annals for his depredations upon the coaſt of England, and his tributary exactions; and his grandſon Canute the Great, who united, in his perſon, the crowns of England and Denmark, was the moſt powerful prince of his time. The immediate deſcendants of Harald Blaatand died and were buried in England; and his male line was extinct in the perſon of Hardicanute, the laſt ſovereign who wore the two crowns.

In the ſame cathedral reſt the remains of Sweyn II. the firſt of a line of ſovereigns, called the Middle Race. He was ſon of Ulf, governor of Denmark, who had greatly ſignalized himſelf in war, and of Eſtrida, ſiſter of Canute the Great. Ulf being put to death at Roſkild, by order of Canute, Sweyn fled into Sweden; and, upon the death of Hardicanute in 1042, claimed the crown of Denmark in right of his mother; for which reaſon he is generally known by the appellation of Sweyn the ſon of Eſtrida. The ſtates, however, gave the pre-

* Fanditus haſce Jovi ſummo tunc condidit ædes,
Poſt natale Dei, dum ſcripſimus octuaginta
Nongentos, meruit ſcandere celſa poli.

ference

ference to Magnus the Good, king of Norway; but he dying in 1047, they unanimouſly elected Sweyn, who ſeems, by his abilities, to have deſerved his elevation. In a Latin inſcription, he is called king of England, as well as of Denmark and Norway; although the former crown had been reſtored to the Saxon line in the perſon of Edward the Confeſſor, and was afterwards ſeized by William the Conqueror. Sweyn ſent a fleet againſt England, in order to aſſert his right to the throne, as a lineal deſcendant from Canute the Great; but his troops were either defeated by William, or obliged to evacuate the iſland through the treachery of his brother. Sweyn is deſcribed by a contemporary hiſtorian *, who perſonally knew him, as a prince polite to foreigners, of elegant manners, and great literary accompliſhments. He died in 1074, leaving thirteen ſons and two daughters: five of the ſons ſucceſſively filled the throne of Denmark; and his poſterity, in the male line, held it in poſſeſſion until 1387, when Valdemar III. dying without male iſſue, the female branch ſucceeded; firſt in the perſon of Oloff II. ſon of the celebrated Margaret; and upon his deceaſe, in that of Margaret herſelf, whoſe aſhes are alſo interred in this cathedral. CHAP. V.

The ſepulchre of this remarkable woman, who is generally ſtyled the Semiramis of the North, ſtands conſpicuous in the middle of the church: it is encloſed within a baluſtrade; the monument is of ſtone painted black, and upon it lies the figure of the queen in alabaſter, a whole length, and, as we were informed, her exact ſize when alive. If this tradition be true, it was obvious to remark, that ſhe muſt have been very ſhort in her perſon. An inſcription upon the tomb, inſtead of enlarging in long fulſome flatteries, ſuch as are uſually paid to ſovereigns, after recording the time of her death, only adds, that "it was raiſed at the expence of Eric

* See the quotation from Adams Bremen in Pontopidan's Mar. Dan. p. 2.

"of

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"of Pomerania, in memory of a princeſs whom poſterity "could never ſufficiently honour as ſhe deſerves." Nothing leſs could be ſaid of a perſonage who ſo juſtly claims our reſpect and veneration, and whoſe glorious reign has ſcarcely its parallel in the records of hiſtory. This Margaret, daughter of Valdemar III. and Hedwige his queen, was born in 1353; and, if we may give credit to ſome of the Daniſh hiſtorians, owed her being to a circumſtance as ſingular as her whole life was illuſtrious and eminent. Valdemar, in returning from an hunting party, chanced to repair to the caſtle of Seborg, where he had confined his conſort Hedwige on account of ſome ill-grounded ſuſpicions. Being pleaſed with one of the queen's attendants, he propoſed an interview: the woman feigned compliance, but ſubſtituted her miſtreſs in her ſtead, and Margaret was the fruit of their meeting; which has led a Daniſh hiſtorian* to remark, in the high ſtyle of panegyric, that the good which he unconſciouſly performed that night in begetting Margaret, amply compenſated for all the evil actions of his life. In the ſixth year of her age ſhe was betrothed to Haquin, king of Norway, ſon of Magnus king of Sweden, which was the firſt ſtep to her future greatneſs. This marriage, after much oppoſition on the part of the Swedes, was ſolemnized at Copenhagen, in 1363, when ſhe was only in the eleventh year of her age. Margaret gave ſo many proofs of her prudence and courage when Haquin loſt the crown of Sweden, as induced Valdemar frequently to ſay of her, that nature intended her for a man, and had erred in making her a woman †.

* "Regina eadem ſui mariti & pellex, & "uxor, & concubina. Quid ad hanc ſcenam "Herculis navitatis, aut in Alcmenæ ſinu "Jupiter decumbens. Sanè autem plus eâ "nocte Valdemarus fecit boni inſcius, quàm "per omnem vitam ſciens fecerat mali; qui "prætioſiſſimam vitam donavit orbi tot regno-"rum compotem futuram Margaretam, & "legem tranſgrediendo, felicem Daniam effe-"cit." Berengii Florus Danicus, p. 506.

† Pontani Hiſt. Dan. 544.

Upon

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Upon the demiſe of her father in 1375, ſhe had the addreſs to ſecure the election of her ſon Oloff, then only five years of age, in preference to the ſon of her eldeſt ſiſter Ingeburga; and upon the death of her huſband Haquin, ſhe ſecured his ſucceſſion to the crown of Norway. Being regent during Oloff's minority, her adminiſtration was ſo vigorous, prudent, and popular, that, upon his premature death in 1385, ſhe was choſen queen by the ſtates of Denmark; the firſt inſtance, perhaps, in a government wholly elective, and in which cuſtom had not authorized the election of a female, of a woman being exalted to the throne by the free and unanimous ſuffrages of a warlike people. With the ſame addreſs ſhe procured the crown of Norway; and was equally ſucceſsful in gaining that of Sweden. Albert had been choſen king, and might have preſerved his power, if it had not been his fate to contend with ſuch a rival as Margaret. When, in alluſion to her ſex, he ſtyled her, in deriſion, the king in petticoats, ſhe anſwered his reproach by actions, not by words; and made him ſorely repent of his vaunts, when he found himſelf worſted in every engagement; when depoſed and captive, he owed his life to the clemency of the very woman whom he had ſo wantonly inſulted. By the famous union of Calmar in 1397, ſhe united the three Northern kingdoms, and held them undivided during her reign, notwithſtanding the averſion of the Swedes to the Daniſh government. But from nothing is the vigour and policy of her conduct more conſpicuous than from this conſideration, that the perpetual revolts and inteſtine convulſions, which continually diſturbed the reigns of the ſovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, were ſubdued throughout her whole adminiſtration. This internal tranquillity, more glorious, though leſs ſplendid, than her warlike atchievements, and which was very unuſual in thoſe turbulent times, could only be derived from the over-ruling aſcendancy of her ſuperior genius.

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This great princeſs died ſuddenly on the 27th of October 1412, in the 60th year of her age, and, if we include the period of her regency, in the 30th of her reign, leaving the three kingdoms to the quiet poſſeſſion of her ſucceſſor, Eric of Pomerania; and to her ſubjects the regret of her loſs, by the experience of thoſe calamities which broke in upon the ſtate when the ſceptre was wielded by a leſs able hand. Her remains were firſt depoſited at Soroe, but were removed to this cathedral by order of the biſhop of Roſkild *.

All the ſovereigns of the houſe of Oldenburgh, which ſtill poſſeſſes the throne of Denmark, are interred in the cathedral of Roſkild, excepting John, Chriſtian II. and Frederic I.

Chriſtian I. the father of this line, lies in a ſmall chapel, without any monument or inſcription. He was count of Oldenburgh, and owed his elevation, as well to his lineal deſcent from Eric VII. as to the moderation of his uncle Adolphus duke of Sleſwick. Upon the death of Chriſtopher of Bavaria without iſſue, the ſtates of Denmark offered the throne to Adolphus, as the neareſt in blood to the deceaſed monarch; but he declining it on account of his advanced age, they, at his recommendation, elected his nephew Chriſtian, then in the 22d year of his age: this event happened in 1448; and in the ſame year he was permitted alſo to aſcend the throne of Norway, in right of his deſcent from one of their antient kings. He obtained the crown of Sweden in 1558, upon the depoſition of Charles Canutſon; but wore it only a ſhort time, as well through his own activity, as through the averſion of the Swedes to a foreign ruler. Chriſtian I. reigned three-and-twenty years; a ſovereign of great moderation and humanity; whoſe qualities, being leſs ſhining than ſolid, were more adapted to the interior adminiſtration of affairs, than to the exploits of war. He is juſtly characteriſed by an hiſtorian, as one of

* Hic primùm ſepulta, ſed poſtea per Dominum Petrum Epiſcopum Roſkildenſem violenter tranſlata, & Roſkildis ſepulta. Langebek, Tom. IV. p. 542.

thoſe

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thoſe princes who do not attract the admiration of mankind, yet whom Providence never beſtows upon a nation but as a ſignal mark of his favour*.

The ſucceſſors of Chriſtian I. who are buried in the ſame church, ſeem in general to have inherited his pacific qualities; as all, except Frederic II. and Chriſtian IV. were princes of mild and temperate diſpoſitions; patrons of the arts and ſciences, rather than enterpriſing in arms; who yielded to others the palm of military glory; and for the moſt part ſhrunk before the daring ſpirit which animated the rival houſe of Vaſa.

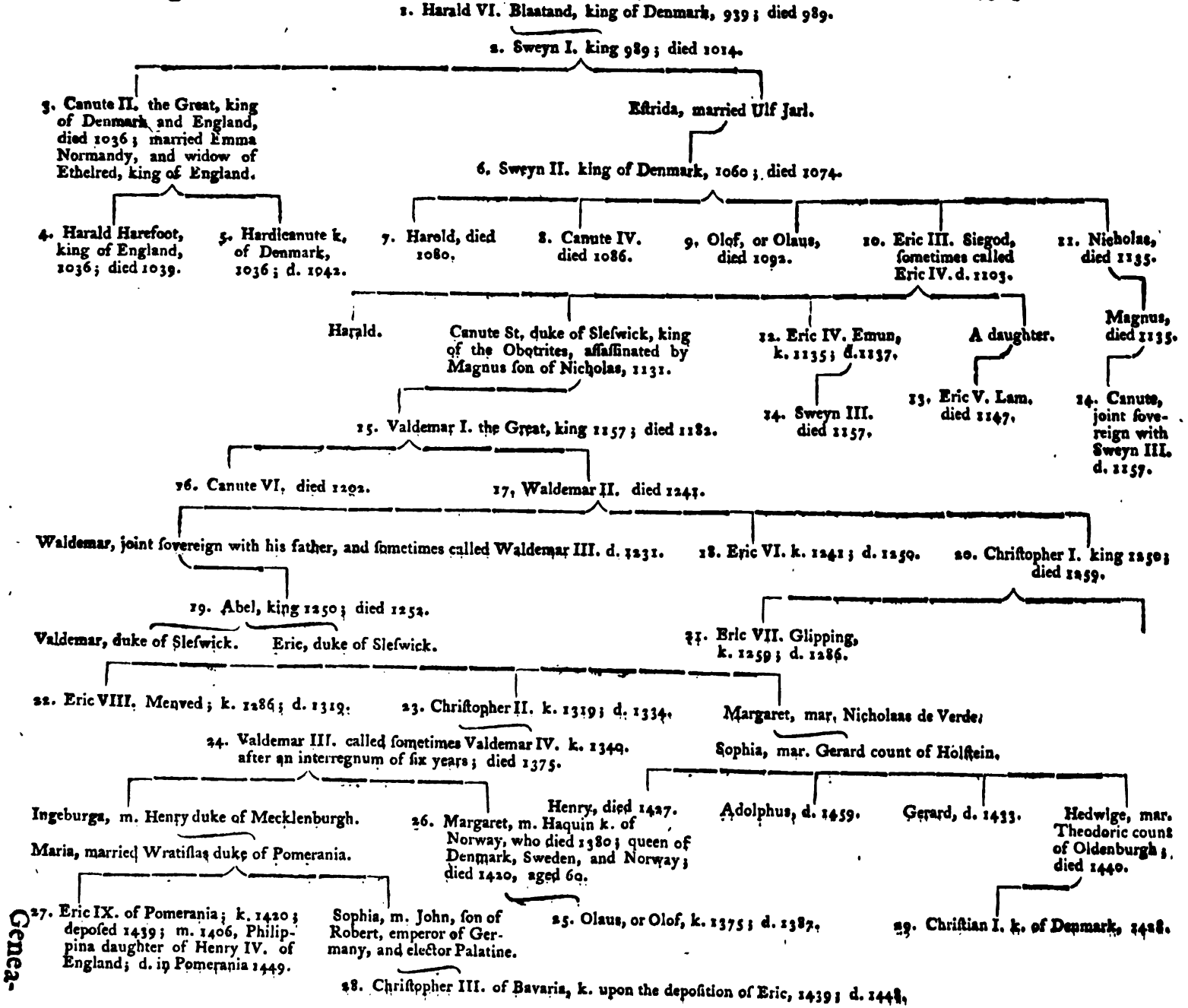
In the ſame chapel are the tombs of Chriſtian III. and Frederic II. Their ſuperb monuments, executed in Italy, at the expence of Chriſtian IV. are elegantly carved, and are eſteemed maſter-pieces of ſculpture. The ſtatues of the two ſovereigns are repreſented as large as life, under a canopy of ſtone, ſupported by Corinthian pillars. Several figures of angels, and the baſſo relievos round the mauſoleum of Frederic II. repreſenting that prince's battles, are juſtly admired. No tomb is erected to the memory of Chriſtian IV. juſtly called, by Mr. Wraxall, the Idol of Daniſh Hiſtory: his body is depoſited in a coffin covered with velvet, ornamented with ſilver trophies, eſcutcheons, and angels holding crowns of laurel.

It would be tedious to enumerate the other ſepulchres of the royal family, moſt of which are loaded with inſcriptions of great length; the reader, who is deſirous of further information, will find them accurately tranſcribed in Pontoppidan's *Marmora Danica*, and in Travels through Denmark, publiſhed in 1702.

The following genealogical tables trace in regular deſcent the Kings of Denmark, from Harald Blaatand to the preſent ſovereign.

* "Plus grand aux yeux da la ſaine raiſon "qu'à ceux du vulgaire, il fut peut-être un de "ces princes que les peuples ne louent que foi- "blement, mais que le Ciel ne leur accorde "que quand il veut leur prouver ſon amour." Mallet, Hiſt. de Dan. Tom. II. p. 95.

Genealogical Table of the KINGS of DENMARK, from HARALD BLAATAND to CHRISTIAN I.



Genea-

Genealogical Table of the Kings of Denmark of the Houſe of Oldenburgh.

I. Chriſtian I. count of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, 1448; died 1481.

- II. John, died 1513
- Margaret, mar. James III. k. of Scotland.
- IV. Frederic I. k. upon the depoſition of Chriſtian II. in 1523; d. 1533; mar. 1. Anne of Brandenburgh; 2. Sophia, princeſs of Pomerania Stettin.

III. Chriſtian II. depoſed 1523; m. Elizabeth ſiſter of the emperor Charles V. died 1559.

- John, died 1532, at Ratſbon, aged 14.
- Dorothy, m. in 1532, Frederic II. elector palatine; and died 1580 without iſſue.
- Chriſtina, m. 1. Francis Sforza duke of Milan; 2. Francis duke of Loraine, from whom deſcended, in a regular line, Francis late emperor of Germany.
- V. Chriſtian III. died 1558; m. Dorothy of Saxe Lawenburgh.
- Adolphus, author of the line of the dukes of Holſtein-Gottorp, from whom deſcended Peter III. of Ruſſia.
- Elizabeth, m. Ulric duke of Mecklenburg.
- Sophia, m. Frederic II.

- VI. Frederic II. b. 1534; d. 1588; m. Sophia princeſs of Mecklenburgh.
- Magnus, b. 1540; biſhop of Æſel and Pilten, and titular k. of Livonia; d. 1583.
- John, duke of Sleſwick, b. 1545; died 1622; author of the branches of Sonderborg, Norborg, Gluckſborg, and Plæn.
- Dorothy, b. 1546; m. Maximilian duke of Luneburgh; from whom the electors of Hanover.

- Elizabeth, b. 1573; m. Henry duke of Brunſwick Lunenburgh.
- Anne, b. 1574; m. James king of England.
- VII. Chriſtian IV. b. 1577; d. 1648: m. Anne Catharine princeſs of Brandenburgh.
- John, b. 1583; died at Moſcow 1602.

- Chriſtian, b. 1603; died 1647.
- VIII. Frederic III. b. 1609; d. 1670; m. Sophia Amelia princeſs of Brunſwick Luneburgh.
- Ulric, d. 1603.

- IX. Chriſtian V. b. 1646; d. 1699; m. Charlotte Amelia of Heſſe-Caſſel.
- George, b. 1653; m. Anne queen of England.
- Several daughters, amongſt whom Ulrica Eleonora, m. to Charles XI. king of Sweden.

X. Frederic IV. b. 1671; d. 1730;

XI. Chriſtian VI. b. 1699; d. 1746; mar. Chriſtina Sophia princeſs of Branbenburgh Bareith.

XII. Frederic V. born 1723; died 1766; mar. 1. Louiſa, daughter of George II. king of England; 2. Juliana Maria, daughter of Ferdinand Albert of Brunſwick-Wolfenbottel.

- XIII. Chriſtian VII. b. 1749; mar. Matilda, ſiſter of George III. king of England.
- Sophia Magdalena, b. 1746; m. Guſtavus III. the preſent king of Sweden.
- Wilhelmina Carolina, b. 1750; m. William hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel.
- Louiſa, b. 1750; m. Charles ſecond ſon of Frederic, Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel.
- Frederic, b. 1753; m. Sophia Frederica princeſs of Mecklenburgh Schwerin.

BOOK VIII.

In addition to the royal ſepulchres which I obſerved at Roſkild, I ſhall mention that of Saxo-Grammaticus, the moſt antient Daniſh hiſtorian.

Saxo, deſcended from an illuſtrious Daniſh * family, was born about the middle of the 12th century †; and, on account of his uncommon learning, was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Grammaticus*. He was provoſt of the cathedral church of Roſkild, and warmly patronized by the learned and warlike Abſalon, the celebrated archbiſhop of Lunden, at whoſe inſtigation he wrote the Hiſtory of Denmark. His epitaph, a dry panegyric in bad Latin verſes, gives no account of the æra of his death, which happened, according to Stephens, in 1204. His hiſtory, conſiſting of 16 books, begins from the earlieſt account of the Daniſh annals, and concludes with the year 1186. According to the opinion of an accurate writer ‡, the firſt part, which relates to the origin of the Danes, and the reigns of the antient kings, is full of fables; but the eight laſt books, and particularly thoſe which regard the events of his own times, deſerve the utmoſt credit. He wrote in Latin; the ſtyle, if we conſider the barbarous age in which he flouriſhed, is in general extremely elegant, but rather too poetical for hiſtory §.

* Some authors have erroneouſly conjectured, from his name Saxo, that he was born in Saxony; but Saxo was no uncommon appellation among the antient Danes. See Olaus Wormius Monumenta Danica, p. 186, and Stephens's Prolegomena, p. 10.

† Stephens, in his edition of Saxo-Grammaticus, printed at Soroe, indubitably proves, that he muſt have been alive in 1156, but cannot aſcertain the exact place and time of his birth. See Stephens's Prolegomena to the Notes on Saxo-Grammaticus, p. 8 to 24; alſo Holberg, Vol. I. p. 269; and Mallet's North. Antiq. Vol. I. p. 4.

‡ Holberg.

§ Mallet, in his Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, Vol. I. p. 182, ſays, "that Sperling, a writer of great erudition, has proved, in contradiction to the aſſertions of Stephens and others, that Saxo-Grammaticus was ſecretary to Abſalon; and that the Saxo provoſt of Roſkild was another perſon, and lived earlier." If ſo, Saxo-Grammaticus, the hiſtorian, is probably not buried at Roſkild. Be this particular as it may, the reader will not, it is hoped, be diſpleaſed with the account of an author ſo little known as Saxo-Grammaticus.

After

CHAP. V.

After having ſatisfied our curioſity in examining the tombs of Roſkild, we continued our journey, and paſſed the night at Ringſted, a ſmall, but neat, town, ſituated almoſt in the center of the iſland; it is ſaid by ſome antiquaries to have been built by Sigurd Ring, king of Denmark, who reigned in the 7th century; but this notion ſeems merely founded on the ſimilarity of the name Ring. The church, which is eſteemed the moſt antient Chriſtian temple in Denmark, is a brick building, with two low ſquare towers. Within, ſeveral Daniſh kings of the houſe of Sweyn II. are interred. The tombs are much more ſimple than thoſe at Roſkild; being generally plain ſtones level with the pavement, exhibiting a figure in armour carved in flat braſs, or on the naked ſtone, with Latin inſcriptions, moſtly effaced by time. A few of the ſepulchres, which are ſomewhat more modern, are raiſed in the ſhape of coffins. The firſt ſovereign buried in this church is Waldemar I. who expired in 1182: and the laſt is Eric VIII. ſurnamed Manved, who died in 1319.

April 6. We purſued our route to Corſoer, the place of embarkation, upon the Great Belt, which ſeparates the Iſle of Zealand from that of Funen. Corſoer ſtands upon the weſtern point of the Iſle of Zealand on a ſmall peninſula: it has a good harbour for light veſſels, and is fortified by a citadel defended by a rampart of earth and baſtions, with a few uſeleſs cannon, more for form than ſervice. It contains the commander's houſe, which was formerly a royal palace, and a granary, and is garriſoned by a few invalids.

Zealand, which we croſſed in our way from Copenhagen to Corſoer, is the largeſt of the iſles belonging to the king of Denmark, being about 700 miles in circumference. That part which we traverſed appears a gently waving ſurface; for the moſt part open, dotted occaſionally with ſmall woods of beech and oak, and diverſified with beautiful lakes. The

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iſland is exceedingly fertile; it produces grain of all ſorts, and in great plenty, abounds with excellent paſture, and is particularly famous for its breed of horſes. The fields, which ſeemed well cultivated, were in many parts formed into incloſures, ſeparated by mud walls: a few cottages were of brick; but the generality were of mud white-waſhed.

April 8. The wind blowing high and directly contrary, we were detained two days at Corſoer; and, upon its ſhifting, we embarked for the Iſle of Funen: the diſtance between the neareſt points on each coaſt is about 18 miles. About midday we paſſed the ſmall iſland of Sproe, near which lay a guard-ſhip, for the purpoſe of exacting the toll from all veſſels which paſs between that iſland and Zealand: other ſhips pay their duty at Nyborg. Sproe contains only two buildings; a ſmall inn for the occaſional refreſhment of the guard-ſhip's crew; and a neat farm-houſe. It produces grain and paſture. Upon the top of an height overlooking the ſea, we obſerved the ruins of an antient fortreſs; which, as the ſailors informed us, formerly belonged to pirates, who uſed to reſort in great numbers to this iſland, which ſeemed well adapted for that purpoſe.

After a favourable paſſage of four hours, we landed at Nyborg, a ſmall well-built town, in the Iſle of Funen, ſtanding upon a commodious bay. The town is ſurrounded with a rampart and ditch, and garriſoned by a company of invalids. An inſcription over an old ſquare building informed me, that Chriſtian III. ſon of Frederic I. raiſed the fortifications. Towards the ſkirts of the town, and cloſe to the ramparts, are the remains of an old palace, in which Chriſtian II. was born; and to the roof of which, as his biographer* relates, he was conveyed, while an infant, by a tame monkey, and brought down without receiving the leaſt harm.

* Svaning Vit. Chriſt. II.

In

CHAP. V.

In the afternoon we reached Odenſee, the capital of the Iſle of Funen, a place of ſuch high antiquity, that ſome Daniſh writers derive its foundation and name from Oden, the god and hero of the Gothic nations. But leaving ſuch diſquiſitions to the antiquaries of the country, I ſhall only obſerve, that its name occurs in the earlieſt ages of the Daniſh hiſtory; and that it was a town of great note long before Copenhagen exiſted. Odenſee ſtands upon a ſmall river, which is not navigable, and about two miles from the Bay of Stegeſtrand. Many of the houſes are antient, bearing dates about the middle of the 16th century; but part is newly built: it contains about 5200 inhabitants, who carry on ſome commerce, exporting chiefly grain and leather; the latter is much eſteemed, and its goodneſs is ſuppoſed to ariſe from a certain property in the river water, in which it is ſoaked for tanning. The Daniſh cavalry are ſupplied from thence with the greateſt part of their leathern accoutrements.

Odenſee is the ſeat of a biſhop, which was founded by Harald Blaatand in 980, and is the richeſt in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It has a ſchool, endowed by the celebrated Margaret of Valdemar, in which a certain number of ſcholars, from ſix to ſixteen years of age, are inſtructed gratis: they are inſtructed gratis: they live and board in the town, and each receives a yearly penſion; other ſcholarſhips have been alſo founded by private perſons. The whole number amounted to ſeventy. There is alſo a *gymnaſium*, inſtituted by Chriſtian IV. for the admiſſion of ſtudents at the age of ſixteen. This ſeminary was ſtill further improved by the liberality of Holberg the Daniſh hiſtorian, who protected letters with the ſame zeal with which he cultivated them. It is now greatly fallen from its former flouriſhing ſtate, containing, when I paſſed through the town, only eight ſtudents. The cathedral is a large old brick building, which has nothing remarkable, except ſome

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coſtly monuments of a private Daniſh family. The church, which formerly belonged to the convent of Recolets, contains the ſepulchre of John king of Denmark, and of his ſon Chriſtian II.

John aſcended the throne in 1481, upon the death of his father Chriſtian I. and in 1497, renewing the union of Calmar, he obtained the crown of Sweden; which the Swedes, however, did not long permit him to enjoy. He died on the 12th of February 1513, having on his death-bed forcibly admoniſhed his ſon Chriſtian II.; admonitions which could have but little effect upon a breaſt already corrupted by power, and impatient for dominion. John would have acted more wiſely, if he had endeavoured to render his ſon's infant mind capable of receiving the impreſſions of virtue, and had not ſhamefully neglected his education; a crime highly reprehenſible in a father, becauſe it can never be remedied; but unpardonable in a ſovereign, who is perhaps rearing a tyrant for his ſubjects, and entailing upon his country a ſeries of evils, for which he is himſelf chiefly accountable. Hiſtorians agree in repreſenting John as a wiſe and prudent prince, inclined to peace, but enterprizing in war; and as generally moderate and humane: admitting, however, that he perpetrated occaſional acts of violence and cruelty, derived from a ſpecies of melancholy madneſs, that preyed upon his mind, and at times deprived him of his ſenſes.

His ſon, the cruel and unfortunate Chriſtian II. is entombed near his father, under a plain grave-ſtone, ſomewhat raiſed, but without any inſcription. He was born at Nyborg, on the 2d of July 1481; and diſcovered in his youth many ſymptoms of a lively genius and a good underſtanding, which, if properly cultivated, might have rendered him the ornament, inſtead of becoming, as he proved, the diſhonour of his country. The young prince was entruſted to a common burgher

of Copenhagen; and was afterwards removed to the houſe of a ſchool-maſter, who was alſo a canon of the cathedral. In this latter ſituation his chief employment conſiſted in regularly accompanying his maſter to church, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond the other ſcholars and choriſters in chanting and ſinging pſalms. From thence he was placed under the tuition of a German preceptor, a man of learning, but a pedant; under whom, however, he made a conſiderable proficiency in the Latin tongue. From this humble education Chriſtian imbibed a taſte for bad company; was accuſtomed to haunt the common taverns, to mix with the loweſt of the populace, to ſcour the ſtreets, and to be guilty of every exceſs. The king at length, informed of theſe irregularities, reproved him ſeverely; but as the prince had already contracted thoſe bad habits, which were grown too ſtrong to yield to any effort, theſe admonitions were too late. He feigned, however, contrition for his paſt behaviour; and again won the affections of his father by his military ſucceſſes in Norway, and by an unwearied application to the affairs of government.

During the firſt years of his reign, which commenced in 1513, his adminiſtration was in many reſpects worthy of praiſe; and the excellence of many of his laws, which it would be unjuſt to deny, has induced Holberg * to affirm, that if the character of Chriſtian II. was to be determined by his laws, and not by his actions, he would merit the appellation of Good, rather than of Tyrant. Happy would it have been for himſelf, and his people, if he had continued his reign upon the ſame principles.

At firſt all his enterprizes were crowned with ſucceſs: he abridged the power of the Daniſh nobility, and exalted the regal prerogatives; he obtained the crown of Sweden by conqueſt, and was even proclaimed hereditary ſovereign of that

* Dan. Geſ. Vol. II. p. 94.

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kingdom. A prudent and temperate uſe of theſe advantages might have enſured to him a long and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the throne; if his natural diſpoſition, now freed from all reſtraint by proſperity, had not hurried him to the perpetration of the moſt flagrant acts of tyranny. The dreadful maſſacre of Stockholm, in which ſix hundred of the principal nobility were put to the ſword, under the ſemblance of law, and amid the rejoicings of his coronation, exhibited ſuch a ſtriking inſtance of his malignant and implacable character, that, upon the revolt of Guſtavus Vaſa, the ſpirit of reſiſtance diffuſed itſelf rapidly from Sweden to Denmark, where he had exaſperated his ſubjects by repeated cruelties and oppreſſions, and the ſole confidence which he placed in the loweſt and moſt unworthy favourites *. In 1523 he was publicly depoſed by the ſtates of Denmark; and the crown transferred to his uncle Frederic duke of Holſtein. This depoſition was neither the conſequence of Frederic's intrigues, nor of the ſpirit of party; but was occaſioned by the juſt and univerſal deteſtation which pervaded all ranks of people; and as it was the gene-

* The firſt of theſe favourites was the infamous Sigrebit, mother of the king's miſtreſs Diveke. This artful woman, who was a native of Holland, and had kept an inn at Berghen in Norway, even after her daughter's death retained ſuch power, that ſhe might be ſtyled prime miniſter: ſhe was the only channel of his favours; tranſacted all affairs of importance; had the care of the finances; ſuperintended the cuſtoms of the Sound; and had, in a word, acquired ſuch a wonderful aſcendency over the infatuated monarch, that her influence was attributed to faſcination. Upon the king's depoſition, Sigrebit was ſo much deteſted, that, from apprehenſions of the popular fury, ſhe was conveyed in a cheſt on board of the veſſel which carried Chriſtian from Denmark. Holberg adds, that ſhe conſoled the king for the loſs of his crown, by aſſuring him, that, through the emperor's intereſt, he could not fail of being choſen burgomaſter of Amſterdam. The further particulars of this woman's life ſubſequent to her eſcape from Denmark are not known.

The other favourite of Chriſtian II. no leſs infamous than the former, was Nicholas Slagelbec, originally a barber of Weſtphalia, and recommended to the king by his relation Sigrebit. He rendered himſelf ſo uſeful to Chriſtian by his ſanguinary advice at the maſſacre of Stockholm, and by being the inſtrument of his cruelty, that he was rewarded with the archbiſhopric of Lunden. Not long afterwards, however, the king threw upon this favourite all the odium of the maſſacre, and ſacrificed him to the public vengeance: the unfortunate victim was firſt racked, and then burnt alive, exhibiting a melancholy example, what little confidence is to be repoſed in the favour of a tyrant.

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ral ſenſe of the nation, it had more the appearance of a new election upon the demiſe of the crown, than of a revolution which deprived a deſpot of his throne. Chriſtian himſelf was indeed ſo ſenſible of the general odium, that, though by no means deficient in perſonal courage, he yet made not the leaſt effort to retain poſſeſſion of that throne which he had ſo often diſhonoured. Upon quitting Copenhagen he repaired to Antwerp, under the protection of Charles V. whoſe ſiſter Iſabella he had married. After many delays and ſolicitations at the different courts of Europe, he at length collected, by the emperor's aſſiſtance, a fleet and army, with which he invaded the Daniſh dominions: his attempts, however, proving unſucceſsful, he fell, in 1532, into the hands of Frederic I. and was conſigned a priſoner to the caſtle of Sunderborg, a ſtrong fortreſs in the Iſle of Alſen.

The place of his confinement was a dungeon, with a ſmall window, admitting only a few rays of light, and through which his proviſions were conveyed. Having entered this gloomy cell, with a favourite dwarf, the ſole companion of his miſery, the door was inſtantly walled up. Even the horrors of this ſituation were aggravated by the death of his only ſon John, who expired at Ratiſbon in the 15th year of his age, and on the ſame day in which his father was taken priſoner. The premature deceaſe of this accompliſhed prince, whom he tenderly loved, and on whom he reſted his ſole hopes of enlargement, reduced him to a ſtate of deſpondency. After much anxious ſolicitude by what means he could convey intelligence of his dreadful ſituation to his daughter the electreſs Palatine, and to the emperor Charles V. the king prevailed upon the dwarf to counterfeit ſickneſs, and to requeſt that he might be removed from the priſon for the recovery of his health. If he ſhould ſucceed, he was to ſeize the firſt opportunity

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tunity of eſcaping from the Daniſh dominions to the court of the electreſs, in order that ſhe might engage the emperor to intercede with the king of Denmark for ſome alleviation of her father's ſufferings. The dwarf accordingly feigned ſickneſs, was transferred to the neighbouring town, eluded the vigilance of his guards, and made his eſcape; but was overtaken at Rendſburgh, ſcarcely a day's journey from the Daniſh confines.

Chriſtian, fruſtrated in this attempt, and deprived of his faithful aſſociate, lingered for ſome time without any companion; until an old ſoldier, worn out with the fatigues of war, voluntarily offered to ſhare the king's impriſonment. This veteran being immured in the dungeon, afforded conſtant amuſement to the royal priſoner, by various anecdotes on the different princes and generals under whom he had enliſted, and by deſcribing thoſe expeditions and battles in which he had been preſent. And, as he had ſerved from his earlieſt youth, was a perſon of much obſervation, and by nature extremely loquacious, he aſſiſted in relieving the *tædium* of Chriſtian's captivity. Nor did any event, ſcarcely the loſs of his ſon, ever more ſenſibly affect the royal priſoner, than the death of this ſoother of his miſery, who expired in the dungeon. After continuing eleven years in his original cell, without being once permitted to quit it, he was at length, through the interceſſion of Charles V. removed to a commodious apartment in the ſame caſtle; was provided with ſuitable attendants; ſometimes indulged with the liberty of viſiting in the town, attending divine ſervice in the public church, and of hunting in the neighbouring diſtrict. Yet even this change of ſituation, which had been ſo long the ſole object of his wiſhes, could not make him forget that he was ſtill a priſoner: the recollection of which affected him occaſionally to ſuch a degree, that he would,

would, even in his moſt cheerful moments, ſuddenly burſt into tears, throw himſelf upon the ground, utter the moſt bitter lamentations, and continue for ſome time in a ſtate approaching to inſanity. CHAP. V.

However deſervedly odious Chriſtian II. may have appeared in the former parts of his life, yet his ſubſequent ſufferings may be conſidered as a ſufficient atonement; and it is a pleaſing ſatisfaction to every humane mind, that he at length ſeems to have recovered from his deſpondency, and to have acquieſced in his fate with the moſt perfect reſignation. At length, in 1546, after a confinement of ſixteen years and ſeven months in the caſtle of Sonderborg, he was conveyed to the palace of Callenborg, in the Iſle of Zealand; a place to which he had been particularly attached. Chriſtian III. repaired in perſon to Aſſens, where he received his fallen rival with every mark of attention, and aſſured him that he ſhould enjoy every comfort which could tend to alleviate his ſituation. Theſe unuſual honours, joined to his removal from a place where he had experienced ſo much miſery, and the proſpect of again inhabiting his favourite palace, excited ſuch tranſports of joy, that he compared himſelf to a perſon recalled from death *.

Being conducted to Callenborg, he had the ſatisfaction of finding theſe promiſes religiouſly fulfilled. He ſurvived this happy change ten years; and his mind had been ſo ſoftened by adverſity, that, old as he was, his death was ſaid to be haſtened by his affliction for the loſs of his benefactor Chriſtian III. He died on the 24th of January 1559, in the 78th

* "Trajicientem autem in Fioniam Chriſtianus cum fratre, qui tum Aſſaniæ erat ad colloquendum invitant. Ibi habita oratio a Chriſtiano, nonnullis ſenatorum præſentibus, ipſius moderatione digna, quæ non erat fortunam exprobantis, aut memoriam ſcelerum repetentis; ſed maxime ſtudium pietatis & tolerantiam intendebat. Juſſuſque ſperare omnia, quæ ad vitam lætius & honeſtius tolerandam eſſent, ſi modo in fide maneret. Quibus ille non ſecus animo exhilaratur, *ac ſi morte extractus, novam lucem intueretur.*" Cragii Annal. Chriſt. III. p. 324.

year

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year of his age, and in the 36th from the period of his depoſition *.

April 9th, we arrived at Aſſens, juſt mentioned as the place of meeting between Chriſtian II. and Chriſtian III.; it ſtands upon the Little Belt, a ſtrait of the Baltic, which ſeparates the Iſle of Funen from the continent. This iſland is about 340 miles in circumference; is remarkably fertile in paſture and grain; and exports annually to Norway, barley, oats, rye, and peaſe. The country is open, with a gently undulating ſurface; and its coaſts are generally flat and ſandy.

The paſſage acroſs the Little Belt is only nine miles; but as the wind was contrary, we were engaged five hours in performing it. We landed upon the duchy of Sleſwick, at Arroe-Sund, ſo called from the little iſland Arroe, contiguous to the continent.

On the 11th we paſſed through ſeveral ſmall, but neat towns, beautifully ſituated upon inlets of the Baltic, and particularly Flendſburgh, a place of conſiderable commerce. The inhabitants poſſeſs at leaſt 200 veſſels; and carry on no inconſiderable trade to the Weſt Indies. They traffic alſo to Norway, where they procure ſalted fiſh, which they carry to the Mediterranean; and bring back wines and dried fruits to Holland, Peterſburgh, and the ports of the Baltic.

The duchy of Sleſwick, ſometimes called South Jutland, is ſeparated from Holſtein, or the king of Denmark's German dominions, by the Eyder. The capital is an irregularly built town of great length, and contains about 5630 inhabitants. The houſes are of brick; and, like thoſe of all the other towns in the country, reſemble in neatneſs and manner of building thoſe of Holland: the inhabitants dreſs alſo like the Dutch; and

* Theſe particulars of Chriſtian the Second's life are chiefly taken from Holberg and Svaningii Vita Chriſtiani Secundi.

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many of them ſpeak their tongue, though the uſual languages are the German and Daniſh. Cloſe to Sleſwick is the old palace of Gottorp, formerly the ducal reſidence, at preſent inhabited by the ſtadtholder, or governor, prince Charles of Heſſe-Caſſel, who married Louiſa princeſs of Denmark. It is a large brick building, ſurrounded by a rampart and moat: from this caſtle the ducal line, formed by Adolphus ſon of Frederic I. king of Denmark, was denominated Holſtein-Gottorp, which ſtill ſubſiſts in the perſon of the preſent great-duke of Ruſſia.

That part of the duchy which we traverſed ſeemed well cultivated: it was in general flat and open, but occaſionally exhibited variegated landſcapes of heath, arable land, and paſture, encloſed with quickſet hedges, and ſtudded at intervals with woods of beech and oak. The farm-houſes had the appearance of great neatneſs. We paſſed alſo ranges of new cottages, lately erected for coloniſts at the expence of the crown. They are ſpacious, and reſemble thoſe of Weſtphalia, containing, under the ſame roof, a large barn, with diviſions for the cattle on each ſide, and two rooms at the further end for the family. Each family is ſupplied with ploughs, carts, and other neceſſary implements of agriculture, two horſes, and a penſion during three years.

About twenty miles from Sleſwick we quitted that duchy, and at Rendſburgh croſſed the Eyder into Holſtein; which river is conſidered as forming on this ſide the limits of Germany; and is ſuppoſed to have been the boundary of the Roman empire: a tradition recorded in the following verſe, hewn over the gate of the old town,

Eydora Romani terminus imperii.

Rendſburgh is eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the Daniſh territories. The town, which contains about 3600 inhabitants, carries on but little trade, ſcarcely poſſeſſing three veſſels. It

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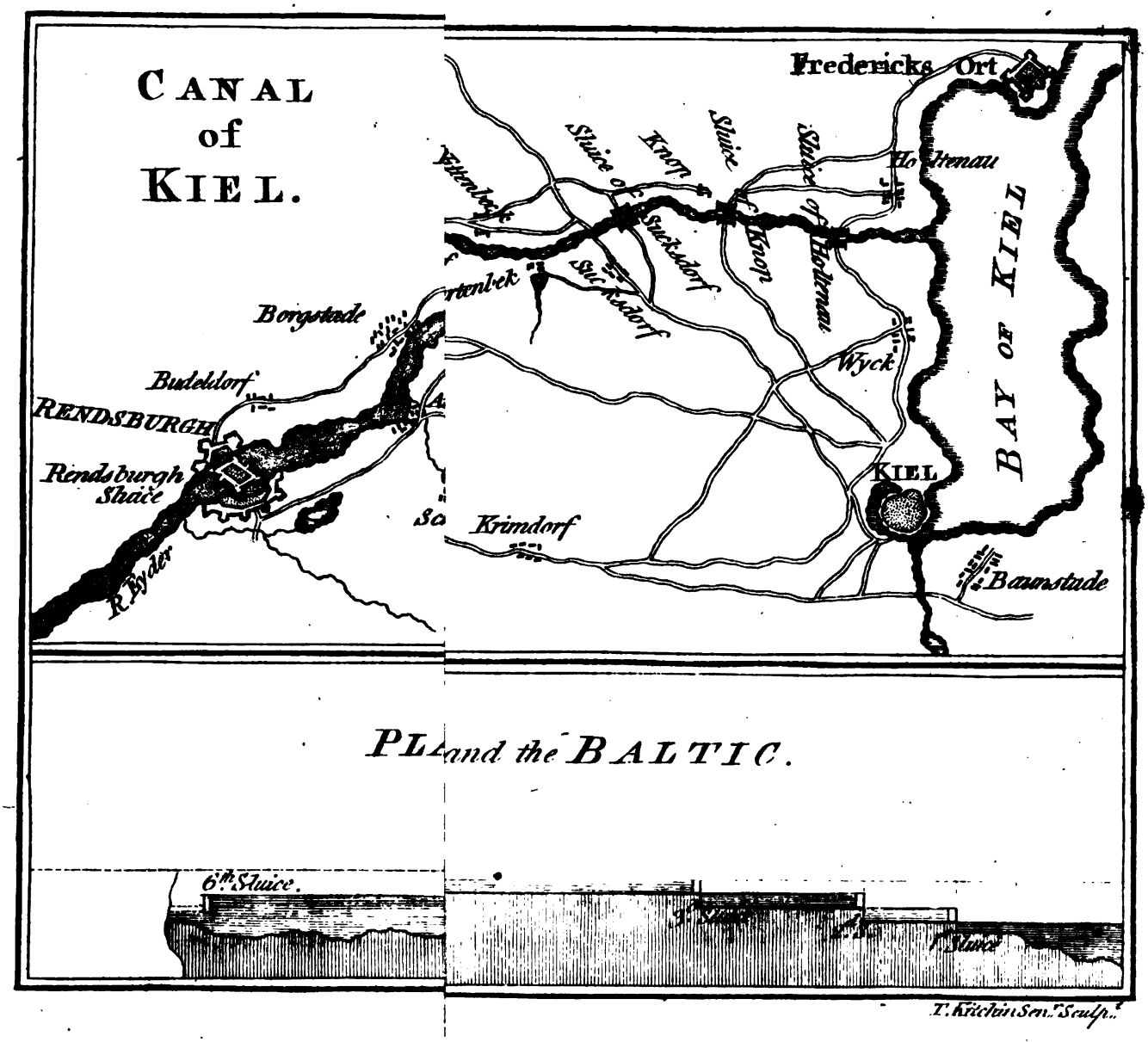
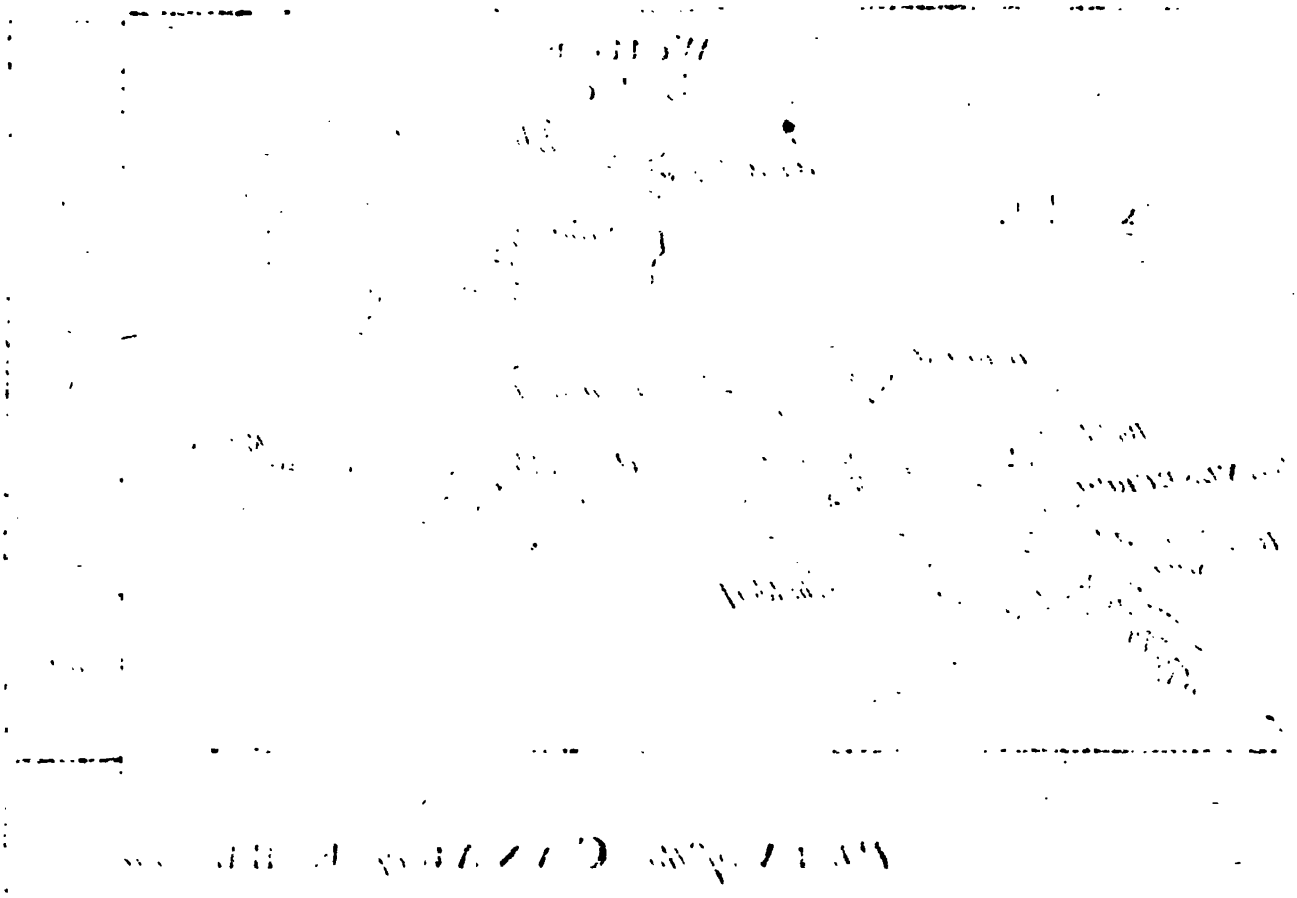
muſt ſoon, however, become a place of importance, as the canal of Kiel will neceſſarily introduce a conſiderable degree of commerce. The laſt ſluice is to be conſtructed at Rendſburgh. The river Eyder is navigable for large veſſels to within a ſhort diſtance of the town, while thoſe of inferior burden land their goods on the quays. The tide, which riſes near four feet, brings ſand into its channel; and floating machines are continually employed to deepen its bed.

The environs are chiefly a flat barren heath; but as we approached Kiel, the coaſts gradually became hilly and more fertile. We paſſed between the Wetter and Flemhuder Lakes; and again croſſed the Eyder, there only a ſmall rivulet, which flows from the former into the latter, and arrived in the evening at Kiel. The diſtrict of Kiel is that portion of the duchy of Holſtein, which deſcended to the line of Holſtein-Gottorp, and belonged to Peter III. as part of his hereditary dominions. In 1773 the preſent empreſs of Ruſſia ceded it to the king of Denmark, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, which ſhe gave to the prince biſhop of Lubec. This exchange was very favourable to Denmark, as the king now poſſeſſes the whole duchy of Holſtein; and the intended junction of the Baltic and the North Sea will be formed entirely through the Daniſh territories.

Kiel poſſeſſes an univerſity for the German ſubjects of Denmark, which was founded in 1660 by Chriſtian Albert, duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, and has lately been conſiderably enlarged by his preſent majeſty. It contains 24 profeſſors, and about 300 ſtudents. The town ſtands upon a ſmall iſland in a bay of the Baltic, and has a very commodious harbour for ſhips of the largeſt ſize. It is already one of the moſt commercial places of Holſtein; and its trade will be ſtill further augmented when the inland navigation acroſs the peninſula is finiſhed; of which I am enabled, partly from my own in-



T. Kitchin Sen.r Sculp.r



ſpection, and partly from information obtained on the ſpot, to give the following deſcription. CHAP. V.

The inland navigation, for the junction of the two ſeas, is to be formed acroſs the duchy of Holſtein, by the canal of Kiel and the river Eyder, which paſſes by Rendſburgh, and falls into the German ocean at Tonningen.

The canal begins about three miles North of Kiel, at the mouth of the rivulet Lewenſawe, which heretofore ſeparated Holſtein from Sleſwick, and will form a new boundary between thoſe two duchies. The diſtance from its beginning to the laſt ſluice at Rendſburgh is 27 Engliſh miles; but as the Eyder is navigable about 6 miles and $\frac{1}{4}$ above Rendſburgh, and only requires to be deepened in ſome places; the cut which is neceſſary for the completion of the water communication between the two ſeas is only 20 miles and $\frac{1}{4}$.

The canal was begun in July 1777; and in April 1779, when I examined it, had been carried about ſix miles, as far as Suckdorf; and it was computed that the whole would be completed in 1784. The work was performed by contract; 1024 cubic feet * of earth were taken out for 8*s.*; and the whole expence was to amount to about £200,000. Between the Flemhuder lake and the rivulet Lavens is the higheſt point, on each ſide whereof the waters take different courſes to the Baltic and German Ocean: in this part the ground muſt be opened to the depth of 50 feet. The perpendicular fall towards the Baltic is 25 feet 6 inches; and that towards the ocean 23; and the veſſels will be raiſed or let down by means of the ſix following ſluices: Holtenau, Knorp, Suckdorf, Shinkel, Niederholten, and Rendſburgh. The breadth of the cut is 100 feet at top, and 54 at bottom; the ſluices are 27 feet in breadth, and 100 in length; and the loweſt depth of water 10 feet. The canal will be furniſhed with water as far as Steinwarp from the Eyder, and the

* The foot uſed in this chapter is to the Engliſh as 21 to 22.

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lakes Flemhuder and Weſter, and from thence to Rendſburgh by the Wetter lake, from which flows a rivulet that joins the Eyder. Common merchantmen of about 120 tons burden will be able to navigate this canal.

The utility of this important undertaking will be evident from a mere inſpection of the map of Denmark. At preſent even the ſmalleſt veſſels, trading from any part of the Daniſh dominions in the Baltic to the Northern Sea, muſt make a circuit round the extremity of Jutland, and are liable to be detained by oppoſite winds. This navigation is ſo tedious, that goods ſhipped at Copenhagen for Hamburgh are not unuſually ſent by ſea only to Lubec, and from thence by land to Hamburgh. But the completion of this canal will enable veſſels of a certain burden to paſs immediately from the Baltic into the German Ocean; proceed, without unlading, to Hamburgh; or ſail to Holland, which, in times of war, receives great ſupplies of ſugar, and other Weſt Indian commodities, from Denmark.

April the 12th. After having examined the canal and town of Kiel, we continued our route, and, in about 18 miles, reached a ſmall village beautifully ſeated between two lakes, in the midſt of a romantic country, interſperſed with ſeveral foreſts of beech and oak. The largeſt of theſe lakes is that of Ploen, the banks of which were adorned with the town of Ploen, the capital of the duchy, which eſcheated to the king of Denmark in 1761, upon the deceaſe of the laſt duke Charles without iſſue male. The palace, formerly the ducal reſidence, riſing in the midſt of the town, on an elevated ſpot of ground, and overlooking the lake, was a pictureſque object. On the enſuing morning we traverſed a waving and variegated country, abounding in paſture, corn, and pleaſantly ſprinkled with wood; and, after a few miles, we quitted his Daniſh majeſty's dominions, and arrived about mid-day at Lubec.

During

CHAP. V.

During my progreſs through Sweden and Denmark, I remarked, with attentive curioſity, many of thoſe regular circles of ſtones which are ſo frequently ſcattered over the face, not only of theſe countries, but our own. According to the plan I have generally followed in the courſe of this work, I ſhall firſt deſcribe thoſe which fell under my immediate obſervation; and ſhall then throw together a few remarks upon their probable origin and deſtination.

In the province of Weſt Gothland, between Kalange and Lidkioping, I obſerved upon the top of an hill two rude maſſes of red granite, placed upright on each ſide of the high road. The talleſt meaſured 15 feet in height, five ſpans and an half in breadth; the other was about 12 feet high, ſix ſpans broad, and both were no more than four inches thick. In a plain near Runneby, in the province of Blekinge, I noted many ranges of ſtones ſet up endways, and forming various circles, all of which plainly referred to one general diſpoſition. I counted at leaſt ten of theſe circles; and among the moſt perfect, one of eight ſtones, whoſe diameter meaſured five paces, and another of ten, whoſe diameter was ſeven; the generality were from two to four feet in height and the higheſt did not exceed ten. Again, cloſe to Skillinge, the neareſt poſt to Carlſcrona, are ſeveral ſimilar remains upon a rocky eminence, which conſiſt of many oval or circular ranges: the greateſt part were in their rough ſtate; a few were hewn flat and broad; and others ſomewhat reſembled pillars pointed at top in the rudeſt manner. At the ſummit of the rock ſeveral concentric ranges incloſed a ſpace of about ten feet diameter, in the center of which ſtood two flat ſtones, ſcarcely three feet in height, placed edgeways, and between them was the lower part of a withered trunk, the remains of a tree, which had once flouriſhed in that ſpot. It appeared to me like an oak; and a perſon attached to the hypotheſis, that ſuch circles of

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of ſtone are druidical relics, might, with a ſmall degree of enthuſiaſm, have conſidered this very tree as the central oak, if he could ſuppoſe that the religion of the Druids was ever eſtabliſhed in theſe Northern kingdoms. The largeſt of theſe ſtones was about 12 feet in height. On the ſouthern ſide of the ſame village were ſimilar monuments of antiquity, the higheſt of which meaſured 18 feet; and we continually obſerved remains of the ſame through Sweden.

In the Daniſh iſles, as well as in Sleſwick and Holſtein, theſe circles occurred no leſs frequently than in Sweden; but none of the ſtones were of any ſize, few which fell under my obſervation exceeding ſix or ſeven feet; and the greateſt part were not more than two or three in height. In ſome parts I alſo noticed two placed edgeways, and upon them an unformed maſs of ſtone laid in an horizontal poſition. One of theſe monuments is thus deſcribed in colonel Floyd's Journal:

"About three or four Engliſh miles from Corſoer, at the "extremity of a wood, ſtanding on a promontory, I found one "of the moſt perfect of thoſe antient monuments. I obſerved "a large mound of earth, on the ſummit of which large "conical granite ſtones, ſtanding at ſmall intervals from each "other, encloſed an oval ſpace of a very conſiderable extent. "In the center and higheſt point, a huge, ſhapeleſs maſs of "granite was laid horizontally on four other ſtones, almoſt "buried beneath the ſurface of the ground. Near it was "another mound, on the top of which another large ſtone "was placed in a ſimilar manner on four others. I remarked "ſome veſtiges of trenches; but as the place was covered with "underwood, and as night approached, I could not trace their "direction."

In anſwer to many inquiries in ſeveral parts of Sweden, concerning the origin of theſe antient relics, the peaſants called them Gothic ſtones; and it ſeemed to be a general tradition

tradition amongſt them, that they were erected by the Goths, whom they repreſented as a race of giants formerly inhabiting theſe countries. I ſhall here take notice, that we have many ſimilar monuments in our iſland; and particularly that the Rol-rich ſtones near Burford in Oxfordſhire, the Snake's Head of Overton Temple, as deſcribed by Stukeley *; ſome of thoſe which are delineated in Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall; and that circular range in Cumberland, of which Mr. Pennant † has given an engraving in his Tour to Scotland, ſeem to approach neareſt in their general appearance to thoſe which I obſerved in Sweden and Denmark. I cannot, however, but add, that Claus Wormius, and other authors, highly exaggerate when they deduce any reſemblance between the ſtupendous fabric of Stone Henge, and theſe trifling, though genuine, remains of high antiquity; and ſtill more erroneous in concluding, from that fanciful reſemblance, that Stone Henge ‡ was conſtructed by our Anglo Saxon anceſtors, who migrated from theſe Northern parts.

* Stukeley's Abury, p. 4. Tab. III. p. 40, & Tab. XXI.

† Tour into Scotland, and annexed plate.

‡ It is curious to trace the different ſyſtems which have been framed concerning the origin of Stone Henge; and to obſerve upon what vague and uncertain principles each author has founded his hypotheſis.

The celebrated architect, Inigo Jones, in a work entitled, "Stone Henge reſtored," endeavours to aſcertain, but without ſufficient proof, that it was a Roman temple, conſecrated to Cœlum, and conſtructed between the times of Agricola and Conſtantine the Great. —Dr. Charleton, on the contrary, in his "Stone Henge reſtored to the Danes," entirely overturns the ſyſtem of Inigo Jones; and contends, with more ingenuity than argument, that it was built in the beginning of Alfred's reign by the Danes, who overran great part of England, as a place for the election of their kings.

John Webb, Eſq; in "A Vindication of "Stone Henge reſtored," refutes, with much learning, the opinion of Dr. Charleton, but fails in re-eſtabliſhing the ſyſtem of Inigo Jones. Some ſuppoſe it to have been erected in memory of 460 Britons maſſacred by Hengiſt; a chimerical notion ariſing merely from the ſimilarity of the words Henge and Hengiſt; others, that it was raiſed in honour of Aurelius Ambroſius, the laſt Britiſh king; and a few, that it was a ſepulchral monument of Bonduca, by the Old Britons.

Dr. Stukeley, in his elaborate treatiſe on Stone Henge, has amply overturned all theſe ſyſtems of former writers; but is not equally ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing his favourite poſition, that it was a Druidical temple.

In a word, all that can be collected from a diligent examination of the ſeveral ſyſtems, is, that it is a monument of very high antiquity, far beyond the reach of hiſtory or tradition; and that there are no ſufficient data by which any certain opinion can be formed of its origin.

Endleſs

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Endleſs controverſies have ariſen among the learned concerning their origin and deſtination; and each author maintains that they were raiſed by that particular nation, or ſect, as beſt ſuits his favourite hypotheſis. Thus they are ſtyled by different authors, Celtic, Cambrian, Gothic, Daniſh *, Saxon, Pictic; and by others have been ſolely attributed to the Druids, a favourite order of men, under whom we are too apt to ſhelter our ignorance. Although theſe rude monuments are undoubtedly of ſuch high antiquity as almoſt to baffle our inquiries; yet we may infer, from hiſtorical evidence, that they do not all appear to have had the ſame original deſtination: ſome were raiſed as memorials of material events; others as ſepulchres; but the greateſt part were probably places, or †objects, of ſacred worſhip. In the earlier ages of the world we find that ſtones were erected for all theſe purpoſes, and by different nations; but as it would be tedious to enumerate the ſeveral proofs of the aſſertion, I muſt refer the reader to Borlaſe's Diſſertations upon ſimilar monuments exiſting in our own country, as the moſt able writing upon this ſubject. How can we poſſibly confine to any particular nation, or religion, cuſtoms uſed indiſcriminately by all in remote periods; or how can we aſſign their epoch, ſince moſt of them were either raiſed before the Chriſtian æra, or preceded the introduction of the Goſpel into thoſe parts, when no certain tradition or literary records were extant, to aſcertain their origin?

* Olaus Wormius, in the true ſpirit of national prejudice, ſuppoſes all theſe monuments to have been erected by the Danes, becauſe great numbers are found in Denmark; upon which aſſertion, Stukeley obſerves, that their being in Denmark does not prove them to have been founded by the Danes, as they exiſted in that country long before any mention is made in hiſtory of the Danes; but they muſt have been raiſed before that people occupied the Northern iſles, by the Cimbrians, or Goths of old; and if not by them, by whom is not known from ſtory.

† Many inſtances of the worſhipping of ſtones occur among the antient Pagans; and it appears that ſome were held no leſs ſacred in theſe Northern regions. Among other proofs is the following, of one which was worſhipped at Gilia, in Iceland, before the introduction of Chriſtianity.

"In Gilia lapis, quem majores eorum reli-
"gioſe coluerant, utpote a genio ſuo tutelari
"inhabitari tradentes." Kriſtni Saga, p. 13.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

N° I.

Articles of the New Form of Government eſtabliſhed in Sweden at the Revolution of MDCCLXXII.

The following form of government is an exact tranſcript of that which was tranſlated into Engliſh, by order of his Swediſh Majeſty, from the original, and printed for the uſe of the Engliſh Merchants reſident at Stockholm. Although it contains ſeveral expreſſions and phraſes not perfectly conſonant to the idiom of the Engliſh language, yet, as it is a ſtate-paper of great conſequence, I thought it more adviſeable to print it in its preſent form, than to new-model the ſtyle; particularly as there are very few expreſſions, the meaning of which can be doubted. The reader will therefore excuſe any trifling errors in the ſtyle, or orthography; and not impute them to any negligence in the author.

WE, GUSTAVUS, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, &c. &c. &c. heir of Norway, duke of Schlefwig, Holſtein, &c. &c. make it known, that whereas, from the beginning of Our reign, We uninterruptedly have endeavoured to employ Our royal power and authority to promote the advancement, ſtrength, and welfare of this realm, as well as the improvement, ſafety, and happineſs of Our loyal ſubjects; and that, in order to obtain this end, We have found, that the preſent ſituation of the country requires an unavoidable amendment of the Fundamental Laws, adapted to the above-mentioned ſalutary purpoſe; and therefore, after the moſt exact and mature deliberation and reflection, We have drawn up a form of government, which the States of the realm now aſſembled unanimouſly have received and ſworn to; which form of government, ſo agreed to by the ſtates, We graciouſly have been pleaſed, by theſe preſents, to approve and confirm, according to its literal ſenſe, in the form and manner following.

We, the under-written Senators and States of the kingdom of Sweden, counts, barons, biſhops, knights and nobility, clergy, chiefs of the militia, deputies of the towns and peaſantry, here aſſembled in behalf of ourſelves and our fellow-ſubjects at home, make it known, that whereas We, by a ſad experience, have found, that, under the name of the bleſſed Liberty, ſeveral of our fellow-ſubjects have formed an Ariſtocracy, ſo much more intolerable, as it hath been framed under licentiouſneſs, fortified by ſelf-intereſt and ſeverities, and finally ſupported by foreign powers, to the detriment of the whole ſociety, and which hath brought us in the utmoſt inſecurity by the wrong interpretation of the law, and at laſt might have led the kingdom, our dear native country, to the dreadful fate, which the hiſtory of former times, and the example of our neighbours, hath laid before us, had not the ſpirit of zealous citizens, and their love to the country, ſupported by the zeal and atchievements of the High and Puiſſant Prince and Lord Guſtavus III. King of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, our moſt Gracious Sovereign, ſaved and drawn us out of it; ſo that we have turned our thoughts upon fortifying our liberty, in a manner, that it may not be abuſed by a bold enterprizing ruler, nor by ambitious, ſelf-intereſted, and treacherous citizens, or ſpiteful and haughty enemies; but that the old king-

dom of Sweden and Gothia for ever may be a free and independent realm: therefore we have granted and confirmed, as we, by theſe preſents, declare and aſſert this form of government to be an unchangeable and ſacred Fundamental Law, which we, for us and our poſterity, born and unborn, promiſe to obey and keep, after its literal ſenſe; and deem thoſe to be enemies to us and the kingdom, that would perſuade us to deviate therefrom, as it, word for word, here follows:

I. Unanimity in religion, and the true divine worſhip, is the ſureſt baſis of a lawful, concordant, and ſtable government; and therefore the king, and all the officers and ſubjects of the realm, ſhall, hereafter as hitherto, firſt and foremoſt be addicted to the pure and evident word of God, as it is revealed in the Prophetical and Apoſtolic Writings, explained in the Chriſtian Symbols, the Catechiſm of Luther, and the unvaried Confeſſion of Augſburg, and confirmed by the Council of Upſala, and the former Decrees and Declarations of the States, in order that the right of the church may be ſtrengthened, but without any prejudice to the rights of the king, of the crown, or of the whole Swediſh people.

II. The king is intitled to rule his realm as the law of Sweden ſays, he and no other, to fortify, love and keep juſtice and truth; but forbid, aboliſh, and deſtroy unrighteouſneſs and injury; not to ruin any man as to his life and honour, body or welfare, unleſs he be lawfully convicted and judged, nor to diſtrain, or ſuffer to be diſtrained, from any man his goods, moveable and unmoveable, without lawful trial and judgement, and to rule the kingdom according to the chapter of the law concerning the king's prerogative, the Swediſh law, and this form of government.

III. The order of ſucceſſion to the crown ſubſiſts intirely as it is eſtabliſhed in the Act of Inheritance, ſettled at Stockholm Anno Domini 1543, in conformity to the like Act of Weſteras, Anno Domini 1544, and the Decree of Norrkoping, Anno Domini 1604.

IV. Next to the king's majeſty, the greateſt reſpect hath been of old, and ſhall be hereafter, paid to the ſenators of the realm; and them the king alone creates and elects of native Swediſh knighthood and nobility, bound to his majeſty by fidelity, loyalty, and allegiance: and though they cannot be determined to a fixt number, becauſe ſo many may be conſtituted as the need and dignity of the kingdom requires; yet they ordinarily ought to be ſeventeen, inclusive of the high officers of the realm, and the lord-lieutenant of Pomerania. The chief care of all theſe ſhall be to adviſe his majeſty in all the important affairs and concerns of the kingdom, whenever it pleaſeth his majeſty to conſult them; to aſſert all rights of the realm, to adviſe all that is moſt advantageous for him and for the kingdom, after the beſt of their judgement; to influence the ſtates and the people to loyalty and willingneſs; to be careful of the right, majeſty, independency, advantage, and flouriſhing ſtate of the king and the realm: and thus, according to what the Decree of the Diet of the year 1602 ſays, adviſe, as their duty demands, but not rule. For the reſt, the ſenators are bound to the king alone, and anſwerable to him only for their counſels; yet the king cannot reproach or impute to them any bad ſucceſs, which may happen againſt their ſuffrages, expectations, thoughts, and opinions, formed upon good reaſons, eſpecially if the execution of good counſels does not reach the propoſed aim, by the fault of him to whom it is enjoined and commanded to perform and execute them.

V. The king is entitled to govern and rule, ſave and protect towns and countries, and all the rights appertaining to him and to the crown, according to the law and this form of government.

VI. Whereas the negotiations of peace, truces, and alliances offenſive and defenſive, ſeldom bear the leaſt delay, and neceſſarily require the greateſt ſecrecy, his majeſty therefore conſults with the ſenators in thoſe important matters, and, having pondered and collected their ſuffrages, takes ſuch meaſures and expedients, as he himſelf thinks to be the beſt and moſt uſeful for the kingdom; yet if, in thoſe important matters, the ſenate ſhould prove unanimous in an opinion, oppoſite to his majeſty's, then his majeſty yields to their ſentiment; but if the advices ſhould prove different, then his majeſty decides, and approves of that opinion which he himſelf thinks the beſt and moſt advantageous.

VII. If the king is a foreigner, he may not go out of his kingdom without the knowledge and conſent of the ſtates of the realm; but if he is a native Swede, then he only needs to communicate his reſolution to the ſenate, and perceive its advice, in the manner ſet down in the foregoing VI.

VIII. And that all occurring buſineſs may be performed, by his majeſty, with the more activity and order, the affairs are to be divided between the ſenators in the manner his majeſty thinks moſt uſeful and proper; his majeſty, as the head of the kingdom, only being accountable to God and the country for his ruling it; and in all theſe affairs, when his majeſty hath collected the opinions of the ſenators, who are acquainted with thoſe matters, and called by his

his majeſty to ponder them, his majeſty hath the deciſive voice; yet herefrom ſhall be excepted all the juridical caſes judged at the King's benches, courts martial, or any other of the tribunals in the kingdom, and which come in the laſt inſtance to the final deciſion of the high reviſion of juſtice, which always conſiſts of ſeven ſenators, that have been employed in juridical offices, and are reputed to be juſt and ſkilled in the law, and where his majeſty himſelf hereafter, as before, is preſent, having there but two voices, and, when the opinions prove even, the deciſive vote.

IX. It appertains to the king's majeſty alone to do acts of grace, and to give pardon, to reſtore honour, life, and goods, in all crimes, which are not evidently contrary to the holy word of God.

X. All the higher offices, from lieutenant-colonel to field-marſhal, both incluſive, and all their equals in the eccleſiaſtical and civil order, are in the king's gift, in the ſitting of the ſenate, after the following wiſe: when a place is vacant, the ſenators ought to take notice of the capacity and merits of all perſons that ſue for ſuch places, and who may come into conſideration, and make report thereof to his majeſty; and his majeſty, having in the ſenate indicated the perſon who is come in his gracious remembrance to be advanced to the ſame place, the ſenators give their conſiderations thereupon in the Protocol, but without any further votation. To all other employments the colleges, and other perſons concerned, propoſe to his majeſty three perſons of the moſt ſkilled, worthieſt, and beſt qualified for the vacant place, that are to be found; on which occaſion, ſomebody or other of merit, beſides thoſe of the college, may be remembered; and all others that ſeek for the preferment, and are competent, may be named. In the regiments, the propoſal to the vacant poſt is to be made according to the ſtatute of King Charles XII. of the 6th November 1716. If, in the propoſing, any man ſhould be found to be injured, and without reaſon neglected, the reſpective perſons concerned ſhall be accountable for it. Out of the ſoliciting perſons his majeſty chuſeth him that he thinks the moſt qualified. But all the other lower offices, of which the colleges, chapters, and colonels of the regiments, as well as other bodies, before the year 1680, have been uſed to diſpoſe, may be now and hereafter in their particular gift. Foreigners, being princes or other perſons, may not hereafter be employed in the commiſſions of the crown, neither in the civil nor military ſtate, except in his majeſty's court, if they be not by eminent and great qualities able to do ſignal honour and notable ſervice to the kingdom. To all theſe places ability and experience ſhall only open the way, without any regard to favour or birth when they are not accompanied with merit. The election of the arch-biſhop, biſhops, and ſuperintendants, ſhall proceed after the former cuſtom, and his majeſty alone nominates one of the three who are propoſed to him by the perſons concerned. The preferment of the paſtors of pariſhes ſhall be entirely according to the form of government of the year 1720, and the other ſtatutes concerning theſe affairs enacted after that time.

XI. The king alone is entitled to ennoble thoſe that by loyalty, virtue, valour, learning, and experience, have made themſelves well deſerving of the king and the country; but whereas there is a great multitude of noblemen in Sweden, his Majeſty vouchſafes to reſtrain this number to one hundred and fifty: and the order of nobles may not deny introduction to theſe one hundred and fifty new families: likewiſe the nobility may not deny introduction to the noblemen his majeſty will create counts or barons, and who by great and eminent merits have deſerved it.

XII. All affairs, here above not excepted, are to be reported to his majeſty in his cabinet; or in one of the diviſions in the ſenate, when his majeſty thinks it more proper; or, if his majeſty ſhould be pleaſed, to adviſe with a greater number of ſenators; but in that caſe they ſhall always be deemed to have been propoſed in the cabinet.

XIII. The realm being large, and the affairs many, and of greater importance than that the king alone can be able to examine and clear them all, he needs officers and governors to aſſiſt him.

XIV. For the diligent attendance, performance, and expedition of the affairs, certain colleges are inſtituted, who, like the arms of the body, extend their care to all that is to be done and executed in the kingdom. They have right and power, every one in their functions, in the name of the king, and in what relates to their charges and office, to command the officers under them, and to keep them who are under their care and direction, to the performance of their duty, to demand account of their expeditions, and to give his majeſty all neceſſary and deſired notice, as well of thoſe as their own buſineſs.

XV. In the King's Bench, which is the king's higheſt court of judicature, is to be one preſident, who, by learning and ſkill in the law, has made himſelf a qualified judge; and has, for his aſſiſtants, one vice-preſident, and the uſual counſellors and aſſeſſors of the King's Bench. Theſe high tribunals, every one in their place, have inſpection and care that juſtice

may be accountably and well administred, according to law and eſtabliſhed ſtatutes; which, without miſinterpreting, muſt be obſerved and kept in the judgements after the true and literal ſenſe; inſomuch, that the courts of King's Bench, without profit, ſelf-intereſt, or other conſiderations, do juſtice to every body, as they ſhall be anſwerable before God and the king, leſt unrighteouſneſs might ruin the land and the kingdom. A nobleman may never, in arraignments of capital cauſes, be judged in any other court than that of the King's Bench, intirely as the privileges and ſtatute relating to law-ſuits of the year 1615 preſcribes and commands; yet the trial may be made *in loco*, and no other criminal caſes than thoſe touching life and honour be brought thither. It appertains likewiſe to the King's Bench to have a narrow inſpection over the inferior judges in the cities and country, as well as executors; and when any thing is done by them out of imprudence, blundering, or avarice, they muſt immediately be ſued, judged, and puniſhed as the caſe requires; but if any of them ſhould be convicted of having wilfully, out of hatred, malignity, or for bribes, wronged the juſtice, and thus wounded his conſcience, and damaged his fellow-ſubject on his life, honour, and welfare, ſuch a one ſhall not be puniſhed with fines, or removal from his place, but with loſs of his life and honour, and, according to the caſe, pay for his malice and miſchievouſneſs, intirely after the Swediſh law. Nor may ſuch miſdemeanors be huſhed up or countenanced by indulgence or unſeaſonable mercy, leſt, in ſo grave matters, others may be induced to a licentious abuſe of juſtice, when they perceive, that, upon the offence, forfeiture and damage, due cenſure and well-deſerved puniſhment does not follow. On the contrary, they who, out of malice, raſhneſs, and revenge, fall upon the judges and executors of the law, in the performance of their offices, with calumnious, ſlandering, and injurious words and writings, without being able fully to prove what they have charged them with, ſhall be immediately and ſeverely puniſhed, as every particular caſe may require; in order that inconſiderate, malicious, and miſchievous perſons may take warning thereat: but nobody, whoſoever he is, ſhall be for a long while kept in priſon without being put to a trial and judgement. And, in order that need and diſtreſs may not give the judge an occaſion and pretence to abuſe his office, the lawman's-judge and ſeſſion-money, granted by the peaſantry to the maintenance of their judges, ſhall be kept untouched, and employed to its due end, and the pay of the judges, after the annual liſt, exactly according to the aſſurance of King Guſtavus Adolphus, of bleſſed memory, in the year 1611. The king's attornies and ſerjeants at law may not exerciſe their offices to the injury of others, and promoting their own ſelf-intereſt: and if this ſhould happen, they ſhall be accountable for it according to law; of which the chancellor of juſtice ſhall have a narrow inſpection: his incumbent duty it is likewiſe, to ſee how the law and the ordinances are obeyed, and give an account thereof to his majeſty. The above-mentioned King's Benches ſhall, hereafter as hitherto, be three: the firſt at Stockholm, whereto appertains the whole kingdom of Sweden, properly ſo called in the old law; the ſecond is always at Ionkoping, whereto belongs the whole kingdom of Gothia; and the third has its ſeat at Abo, to which the Great Duchy of Finland reſorts.

XVI. All commiſſions, deputations with juriſdiction, or extraordinary tribunals, either eſtabliſhed by the king or the ſtates, ſhall be hereafter aboliſhed, as being the means to further ſovereignty or tyranny; and every Swediſh man ſhall enjoy the right to be judged by that court to which he belongs, after the law of Sweden: but if it ſhould happen, that any of ſo high a birth, or the ſenators, or a whole college, ſhould prove guilty of ſo high crimes and miſdemeanors, that it concerns the king, the realm, or the majeſty of the crown; and that the criminal could not be judged neither by the King's Bench, nor by the ſenate, then a tribunal of the realm ſhall be conſtituted, where the king ſhall be preſent, or in his place the prince royal ſhall preſide, or the firſt of the hereditary princes, or the eldeſt ſenator; and whoſe members are to be all the ſenators, the field-marſhal, all the preſidents of the royal colleges, four of the eldeſt counſellors of the three King's Benches, one general, two of the eldeſt lieutenant-generals, two of the eldeſt major-generals, the eldeſt admiral, the two eldeſt vice-admirals, the two eldeſt rear-admirals, the chancellor of the court, and the three ſecretaries of ſtate; the chancellor of juſtice is always ſollicitor; and the eldeſt ſecretary of reviſion ſhall keep the minutes. This tribunal is intitled, the trial paſt, to publiſh the judgement with the doors open, and nobody may afterwards have power to alter it, and much leſs to make it more ſevere: his majeſty not deprived of his prerogative to pardon.

XVII. Next to the King's Benches follows the Military College, where now, as before, is to be a preſident, the maſter of ordnance, the quarter-maſter-general, and the wonted counſellors of war, who muſt be well uſed to accounts, and are eſpecially to be taken out of thoſe that are ſkilled in matters of war. This college has inſpection and care of the land army in the kingdom, the artillery, uſed both in the field and in the fortreſſes, the body of fortification, guns, factories, weapons, ammunitions, and what belongs thereunto, the condition of the

the fortreſſes, eſpecially at the frontiers, caſtles, and building for the war, the levying, enliſting, and reviewing of ſoldiers; and ſo further, according to the inſtructions, ordinances, and royal writs, as are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XVIII. The whole land army and navy of the kingdom, with the high and low commanders thereof, ſhall take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his majeſty, the realm, and the ſtates, according to the eſtabliſhed form. The army of horſe and foot, as well as the mariners, continues, as it is appointed, according to the ſanction, called Indelnings-Werk, and is to be maintained by the contracts made with the peaſantry and the towns, which are to be narrowly performed, obeyed, and kept, until his majeſty, with the ſtates, ſhall find it neceſſary to alter them in any way.

XIX. No colonel, or any other of the military commanders, may, without his majeſty's own order, ſummon any home-ſent troops to aſſemble, excepted the uſual rendezvous of the regiments, unleſs in caſe of an unexpected invaſion of the enemies of the kingdom, which ſhall then be inſtantly reported to his majeſty; the chief command belonging to him alone over his whole army and navy, as it has always been uſual in former, and for the country the moſt flouriſhing and happy times.

XX. The third college of the realm is the Board of Admiralty, wherein is to be a preſident, and the members are to be all the admirals and flag-officers preſent; but for the better managing of theſe affairs, in his majeſty's council there ſhall be at leaſt one ſenator who hath ſerved in the navy, and is experienced in the marine. This college has the inſpection and care of the navy of the realm, with all things thereto belonging, as well the building of the ſhips, their equipping and furniſhing with guns, as the victualling, the raiſing of the marines, the company of divers, the pilotry, and all other buſineſs thereto belonging, according to the inſtructions, royal writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XXI. The fourth college is the Chancery of the Realm, where one of the ſenators always is preſident, having, as members, one or more of the ſenators, one chancellor of the court, the ſecretaries of ſtate, and the uſual counſellors of chancery. In this college, all the ſtatutes, ordinances, and receſſes, concerning the kingdom in general, and the privileges of particular towns and perſons, are framed and penned, eſpecially commiſſions for places, edicts, writs, and warrants: hereto belong likewiſe all the records and rolls of the diets and other aſſemblies, alliances with foreign powers, treaties of peace with enemies, the due diſpatching of envoys, all the counſels the king ordinarily takes from the ſenators, or ſome of them, and the records thereof, as well as all what is iſſued under his majeſty's name and ſeal. This college has likewiſe the neceſſary care for the poſt-offices in the whole kingdom and the adjacent provinces, in order that they, under the inſpection of the chief director, may be duly adminiſtred. The ſecretaries of ſtate are to take particular care that the reſolutions, according to his majeſty's deciſion, and in conformity with the records, may be readily and ſpeedily, duly, and in good order, iſſued, without the leaſt neglect, in what view ſoever it might be. Should any perſon prove ſo raſh as to iſſue a warrant, contrary to his majeſty's deciſion, and therewith endeavour to ſurprize his majeſty (which, in ſuch a multitude of expeditions, eaſily might happen), the ſame perſon ſhall, after trial and lawful judgement, be removed from his place, and puniſhed as the crime deſerves. Nor ſhall, therefore, any warrant be hereafter, more than hitherto, obeyed and executed, without due counterſignation, except in military affairs. This college is beſides to follow the ordinance of the chancery, the inſtructions, writs, and royal ſtatutes, which are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XXII. His majeſty denominates in the ſenate, but without voting, the preſident of the chancery, the counſellors of chancery that are ſenators, the chancellor of the court, the chancellor of juſtice, the ſecretaries of ſtate, the counſellors of chancery, as well as the ſecretaries of expeditions, and chuſes them to whom his majeſty has the beſt truſt. In the ſame manner his majeſty's envoys to foreign courts are to be conſtituted.

XXIII. The fifth college of the realm is the College of the Chamber, which has a preſident and the uſual counſellors of the chambers. There all who have any buſineſs with the income and expences of the king and the crown, are to receive their order and give their accounts, according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, hitherto iſſued, or which may hereafter be enacted. The care and endeavour of this college ſhall be to ſee that the rents and taxes be duly and ſeaſonably gathered and encreaſed, the ground well cultivated and improved by a good tillage and huſbandry, in order that the *Regalia Fiſci* may not be neglected, forfeited, and purloined; but the ſubſtance of the realm by all means amended, adapted to the expences, kept in order, and in due time received, ſo that the public credit may not be loſt; but that his majeſty, in caſe of need, can depend upon aid and aſſiſtance as well within the kingdom as abroad. The great cuſtom-houſe, with its receipt and accounts, as well as the petty land-tolls and the exciſe, appertain likewiſe, under the inſpection of a chief director, to the care of the college

college of the chamber, where commiſſions are to be given to the reſpective cuſtom-houſe officers and gatherers, and due ſecurity for his majeſty to be obſerved.

XXIV. In the Exchequer is to be a preſident and the uſual commiſſioners of the Exchequer. Hereunto belongs the diſpoſition and diſtribution of the caſh of the crown; and here likewiſe every one that handles the king's money, in due time ought to come in with their accounts (Fœrſlag) according to what their inſtructions ordain. The eſtimates muſt alſo in due time every year be ſettled, and thereby the eſtabliſhment, or liſt of the year 1696, be the baſis and rule; and care be taken, that the officers may be paid out of the incomes and coffers of the crown. But the aforeſaid liſt may not be exceeded or augmented, ſhould not the unavoidable ſervice and intereſt of the king and the kingdom require it. In the liſt ſhall not only ſubſiſt the determined ſum for his majeſty's privy purſe, which always is left to his majeſty's particular will and diſpoſition, but alſo a ſum annually to be appropriated to extraordinary iſſues, and managed after his majeſty's underwritten and counterſigned order: the whole, according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be enacted.

XXV. His majeſty denominates in the ſenate, but without voting, the preſident and the commiſſioners of the Exchequer, out of ſuch perſons as, by faithfulneſs and ſkill in this intereſting matter, have proved themſelves worthy of his majeſty's truſt.

XXVI. The College of the Mines ſhall likewiſe have a preſident and the uſual counſellors and aſſeſſors; all ſuch perſons, who by learning and experience have made themſelves qualified to be officers of judicature, and alſo have acquired a ſolid knowledge in metallurgic matters, and all the ſciences thereto belonging. This college has inſpection and care of all what concerns the riſe and improvement of the mines and forges.

XXVII. The College of Commerce has alſo a preſident, the uſual counſellors, aſſeſſors and commiſſioners, who have a conſummate knowledge in the matters of commerce and trade. It is the incumbent duty of this college to take care that the commerce may proſper and increaſe, that the manufactures may be ſupported, the work-houſes well regulated and maintained, and duty, (Licent) portory, cuſtom-ordinances and taxes obſerved; over and above what inſtructions, writs, and ſtatutes, as are at preſent preſcribed, or hereafter ſhall be ordained.

XXVIII. The Reviſion of the Chamber muſt likewiſe have a preſident, who, with the uſual members, takes care, not only that all juridical affairs, there depending, may be lawfully judged and executed by the ſerjeants at law, but alſo that the annual accounts of the crown, without any delay, from that very time they are ſent to the Royal College of the Chamber, and the Reviſion of the Chamber takes notice thereof, may be ſurveyed, explained, elaborated, and finally decided; all according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, which are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XXIX. The Lord High Steward of the Realm is one of the ſenators, in whoſe inſpection his majeſty's court, palace, and houſehold are, and who rules, keeps, and takes care of his table and ſervants of the court, with all what thereto belongs.

XXX. His Majeſty's Court and Houſehold is to be at his own peculiar diſpoſition; his majeſty alone being able to alter, change, and reform whatever he ſhould find neceſſary.

XXXI. The grand governor (Öfver-Ståthallare) of Stockholm, the captain-lieutenant, lieutenant and quarter-maſter of the life-guard-man, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the foot-guard, and alſo the colonel of the horſe-guard, the colonel of the life-dragoons, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the artillery, the general-adjutants and the commandants of the frontier towns, are all charges of truſt, which his majeſty grants or recalls in ſitting ſenate, yet without voting.

XXXII. All the colleges are bound to aſſiſt each other in all what can be conducive to the good and emolument of the king and the kingdom, whenever it ſhall be required and neceſſary: yet one college muſt not incroach, or do any hindrance and prejudice to the other; but each attend to its buſineſs with due activity, care, ſedulity, faith, and prudence. The preſidents, when they are preſent in their colleges, enjoy their due power and authority; but when they are abſent in the king's, or their own private affairs, although they then keep the title and honour due to their quality, yet they cannot order, diſpoſe, and command any thing that belongs to the charge of preſidents, till they ſhall return and be ſeated in their regular function. During their abſence, the eldeſt member of the college performs, with equal right, authority, and effect, all what is adherent to the charge. The colleges are accountable to the king for their behaviour when he requires, and ſhall anſwer nobody but him alone for their adminiſtration.

XXXIII. The regency of the provinces is eſtabliſhed in certain governments juſt as they now are conſtituted; ſo that there never, for the future, ſhall be any general-governor in this realm, if not on a very peculiar emergency, and then for a ſhort time: alſo ſhall there no

appanage, province, or government be beſtowed; but the provinces ſhall be divided in the ſame governments they now, according to the Form of Regency de Anno 1720, actually are.

XXXIV. The prince heir apparent to the crown of Sweden, and alſo the princes of the royal Swediſh blood, cannot have any appanage, or general-government, but muſt depend upon ſuch annual allowance that can be allotted them from the Exchequer, which money, for the hereditary princes, muſt not be leſs than one hundred thouſand dollars S. mt. * from the day they ſhall be declared of age, which is at twenty-one years. The princes of the Swediſh blood, who are more diſtant from the crown, ſhall have ſuch an annual penſion for their maintenance, as can be convenient and ſuitable to their birth. Yet they can be diſtinguiſhed with the titles of duchies, as in old times has been in faſhion; but without any right to thoſe provinces whoſe name they bear, which always ſhall be incorporated under one head and ruler, without diminution or ſeparation.

XXXV. Concerning the ſuſtenance of the prince royal, who always is the reigning king his eldeſt ſon, or grand-ſon, in a direct deſcending line, it muſt be beſtowed in the ſame manner as eſtabliſhed for the late king Adolphus Friedrichus his ſon's, our now reigning moſt gracious king's Guſtavus's the III. annual maintenance. And when he is come to the age of eighteen years, he ſhall be admitted into the council of the king.

XXXVI. No prince of the Swediſh blood, although he may be prince royal, or hereditary prince, or of a more diſtant line, may marry without the king's knowledge and conſent. In the caſe any one ſhould contravene, he ſhall be judged after the Swediſh law, and the children be diſinherited.

XXXVII. The king being ſick, or abſent upon a long journey, then the regency is to be adminiſtred by thoſe of the ſenate, whom the king has denominated for that purpoſe: but if the king ſhould fall ſick ſo ſuddenly that he cannot give any orders how the affairs of the realm ſhould be managed, then all the warrants and decrees are to be ſigned by the four eldeſt ſenators and the preſident of the chancery: theſe five together are to exerciſe the royal power in all affairs that require a quick diſpatch; but they are not intitled to denomination of employments, nor to conclude alliances, before the king being ſo reſtored to health, that he himſelf can take in hands the affairs of government; and then theſe ſhall be accountable to the king how buſineſs has been diſpatched. But if the king dies, and the prince royal is under age, then the government of the realm is to be adminiſtred in the manner above-mentioned, unleſs that the late king had made any teſtamentary diſpoſition; in which caſe it ſhall be according to the king's ſaid teſtament.

XXXVIII. The ſtates of the realm muſt not fail to convene, when called by the king, on time and place indicated, there to conſult with his majeſty on ſuch affairs, whereabout his majeſty deſires their meeting. Nobody elſe but the king alone ſhall have the power to call the ſtates to a public diet, except in the minority of the king; then the tutors † exerciſe this power. But if the crown ſhould happen to be vacant by the extinction of the whole royal family on the male ſide (for which ſad event the gracious God beware!), then the ſtates of the kingdom are bound, without any convocation, on the 30th day after the death of the king, of themſelves to meet at Stockholm, according to our act of convention, de dato Junii 23d, 1743; which act alſo expreſſes the penalty on whoſoever in that caſe ſhould endeavour, with practices and conſpiracies, to incroach upon the free election of the ſtates. In that unhappy event, it is incumbent on the wardens of the houſe of nobles, the chapter of Upſala, and the court of magiſtrates at Stockholm, inſtantly to publiſh it in all the provinces, for the knowledge of all who are concerned; and whereas the provincial governors then are obliged, each in his territory, to make known the demiſe of the king to all the inhabitants, it is expected, that ſo many will be preſent before the appointed time, that they may be able to ſave and defend the liberty of the country, and a new ſucceſſor to the crown be choſen.

XXXIX. The ſtates of the kingdom are bound, with faithful concern, to leave intemerate all the royal prerogatives, after the dictates of the Swediſh law, ſo that they ſhall be kept in their full vigour and ſtrength, in order that all what in ſuch manner appertains to the royal authority ſhall be zealouſly and carefully maintained, defended, and ſtrengthened; wherefore, nothing of theſe fundamental laws is to be reformed, augmented, or diminiſhed, without the concert and agreement of the king, on purpoſe that no unlawfulneſs might render invalid the enacted law, or the liberty of the ſubjects, together with the king's rights, be invaded and ſubdued; but each be in poſſeſſion of his due rights and privileges: to that end all the ſtatutes, from the year 1680 till this preſent time, which have been conſidered as fundamental laws, in virtue of this ſhall be abrogated and rejected.

* About £4166. † Guardians.

XL. The king ſhall have no power to make new laws without the knowledge and aſſent of the ſtates, nor abrogate an old one received formerly.

XLI. The ſtates ſhall have no power to abrogate old laws, nor to make new ones, without the king's conſent and approbation.

XLII. When a new law is to be ſettled, the following method ſhall be obſerved: if the ſtates of the realm wiſh for a new ſtatute, then they are to conſult among themſelves, and, after they are come to agreement, the project is to be preſented to his majeſty by their four ſpeakers, for to perceive the king's ſentiment. His majeſty thereupon aſks the advice of the ſenate; and when he himſelf has pondered it, and fixed his reſolution, he calls the ſtates to public meeting in the Great-Hall (Riks-Salen), and gives them, in a ſhort ſpeech, his conſent and agreement, or elſe the reaſons for his refuſal. But if the king ſhould propoſe a new law, he is at firſt to communicate it to the ſenate; and when the ſenators have given their advice to the protocol, the whole matter is to be delivered to the ſtates, who, after having conſulted, and come to an agreement amongſt themſelves, aſk for a day to preſent their conſent to his majeſty in the Great-Hall: but if it happens to be a refuſal, then they deliver their reaſons for it in writing by their four ſpeakers.

XLIII. If there ſhould be raiſed ſome new queſtion about the true meaning of the law, as in former times frequently has happened, then it ſhall be decided in the ſame manner as in the 42d article here above is enacted.

XLIV. Although it always is an appurtenance to the Crown to coin money, yet the ſtates have reſerved themſelves, when any raiſing or debaſing of the ſtandard, or intrinſic value, ſhould be deſigned or undertaken, that ſuch a reformation ſhall not come to paſs without their knowledge and agreement.

XLV. The king is to defend and ſave the country, particularly from foreign and hoſtile invaſion; but he cannot againſt the tenor of the law, his royal oath and aſſurance, levy any aids for war, new taxes, enrolling of men, or other duties, without the knowledge of the ſtates and their free will and conſent: yet, that unhappy caſe excepted, when the kingdom ſhould be attacked by an army, then his majeſty has power to take ſuch meaſures, for the ſecurity of the realm, as he ſhall judge convenient for the good of his ſubjects; but as ſoon as the war is finiſhed, the ſtates muſt be called, and the new taxes in behalf of the war quite aboliſhed.

XLVI. The aſſemblies of the ſtates are not to ſubſiſt longer than at moſt three months: and in order to avoid that the country being aggrieved by the expences of long diets, as has happened heretofore, the king is impowered, after that time, to diſſolve the aſſembly, and ſend away the deputies each to his own home; and if, in the like occaſion, no new ſubſidies were granted, the old ones then are to ſubſiſt.

XLVII. The ſtates are intitled to denominate and chuſe the perſons who are to be ſeated in thoſe committees, with which the king will pleaſe to conſult about ſuch buſineſs as he deſigns ſhall be kept ſecret. Theſe members are inveſted with all that right and authority which appertains to the ſtates themſelves: but all matters that can be publiſhed ſhall be communicated to the ſtates, and imparted to their deliberation.

XLVIII. The king has no power to wage war without the aſſent and agreement of the ſtates.

XLIX. No other minutes, but of ſuch affairs that have been under the deliberation of the king with the ſtates, can be required or delivered to them.

L. The ſtate and condition of the Exchequer ſhall be laid open before the ſtates of the realm, in order to take cognizance that the public money has been ſpent to the good and welfare of the country.

LI. If a member of the ſtates, during the diet, or on his journey to or from the diets, ſhould be injured and wronged with words and deeds, when he has made known that he is in that quality and buſineſs, it ſhall be puniſhed as a breach of the king's peace.

LII. His majeſty aſſures to maintain all the ſtates of the kingdom in their duly acquired old privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties: and alſo, no new privileges for any one of the ſtates, without the knowledge, advice, and conſent of all the four ſtates, ſhall be given or imparted.

LIII. To his majeſty's gracious care alone the German provinces are left, that they may be governed according to the Laws of the empire, and the tenor of the treaty of Weſtphaly.

LIV. The cities and towns of the kingdom are to remain in their duly acquired privileges and rights, which were granted and given them by former kings; yet ſo, that they are to be fitted and adapted to the circumſtances of the times, for the good and advantage of the commonwealth.

LV. The

LV. The bank of the ſtates is to remain hereafter as before, under their guarantee, and at their own diſpoſition, ſo that it is to be adminiſtered according to the rules and ſtatutes already enacted, or ſuch as the ſtates will eſtabliſh for the future.

LVI. The caſh of penſions belonging to the army ſhall remain, according to the ordinances already confirmed, or ſuch as his majeſty, with the faithful military commanders and deputies from the regiments, will agree to.

LVII. If this Law in any point ſhould be found obſcure, the literal contents muſt be obſerved, till the king and the ſtates, in the manner expreſſed hereabove, articles XXXIX. and XLII. ſhall agree upon the true ſenſe.

All this, We, now here aſſembled States, have judged neceſſary for the regular government of the realm, our liberty and ſecurity, to ratify and enact for us, our abſent fellow-ſubjects, our poſterity born and unborn. We declare and proteſt hereby anew, that we bear the greateſt abhorrence to a king's deſpotic power, or the ſo-called ſovereignty; deeming that our higheſt felicity, honour, and advantage, to be and dwell free and ſelf-independent, law-giving, but law-obſerving ſtates, under the ſway of a king in power, but bound to the law; both of us tied together and protected by the law, who preſerves us and our dear country from the dangers which are the ſad effects of diſorder, licentiouſneſs, deſpotiſm, and an Ariſtocratic government of many, to the detriment of the whole ſociety, and to the grievance and diſtreſs of every ſubject. We are ſo much the more aſſured to have an orderly, lawful, and happy government, as his majeſty has declared, that he will regard it as his greateſt honour to be the firſt citizen amongſt a free people; and we are hopeful that the like ſentiments will be propagated in the Royal Family, from father to ſon, till the lateſt times of the world. Therefore we declare enemy to us and the country whoever ſhall be ſo imprudent and malignant a fellow-ſubject, as to endeavour to draw us off from this ſanction by cheat and craft, ſecret plots or open violence, in order to intrude upon us royal deſpotiſm or ſovereignty; or, under the pretence and ſhow of liberty, overthrow theſe laws, which, when they corroborate a true and uſeful liberty, ſhut the doors to licentiouſneſs and confuſion. Whoever it may be, ſhall be puniſhed without mercy, according to the plain law of Sweden. We aſſure alſo, in virtue of our ſworn fealty and this form of government, that we ſhall keep loyal obedience to his majeſty, fulfil his orders in all that is due and warrantable before God and men, for him to command, and for us to do, all rights being ſafe, that belong to him and ourſelves, as it becomes faithful men and ſubjects.

Signed and ſealed in Stockholm the 21ſt day of Auguſt, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour 1772.

For the Nobility.
A. G. LEIONHUFWUD.
h. t. Landtmarſhal.
(L. S.)

For the Clergy.
AND. H. FORSSENIUS,
Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Burghers.
JOH. H. HOCHSCHILD,
In the place of the Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Peaſantry,
JOSEPH HANSSON,
Speaker.
(L. S.)

All this here above written, We ourſelves not only receive as a firm fundamental law; but We ordain likewiſe, and enjoin all who are bound to Us and our Succeſſors to the reign, with fidelity, allegiance, and loyalty, to acknowledge, keep, and obey this form of government. For the more certainty, We have ſigned this with our own hand, and cauſed Our Royal Seal to be put hereunder, at Stockholm, the 21ſt day of Auguſt, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour one thouſand ſeven hundred and the ſeventy ſecond.

GUSTAVUS.

No. II.

Value of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS from and to ENGLAND and RUSSIA, SWEDEN, and DENMARK, from CHRISTMAS 1778 to CHRISTMAS 1782.

	RUSSIA.						SWEDEN.						DENMARK.					
	Value of Exports.			Value of Imports.			Value of Exports.			Value of Imports.			Value of Exports.			Value of Imports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1779	306,072	15	11	1,201,377	14	4	108,403	4	7	252,431	4	2	150,615	2	4	73,171	13	5
1780	161,031	10	5	1,150,429	12	11	49,678	10	5	144,180	17	1	156,085	19	5	86,731	4	4
1781	137,967	6	7	1,206,806	18	7	62,510	8	10	212,414	19	11	172,012	19	9	94,639	1	10
1782	196,577	9	10	1,185,844	14	4	96,083	2	7	163,219	7	11	164,732	2	4	73,038	9	2

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